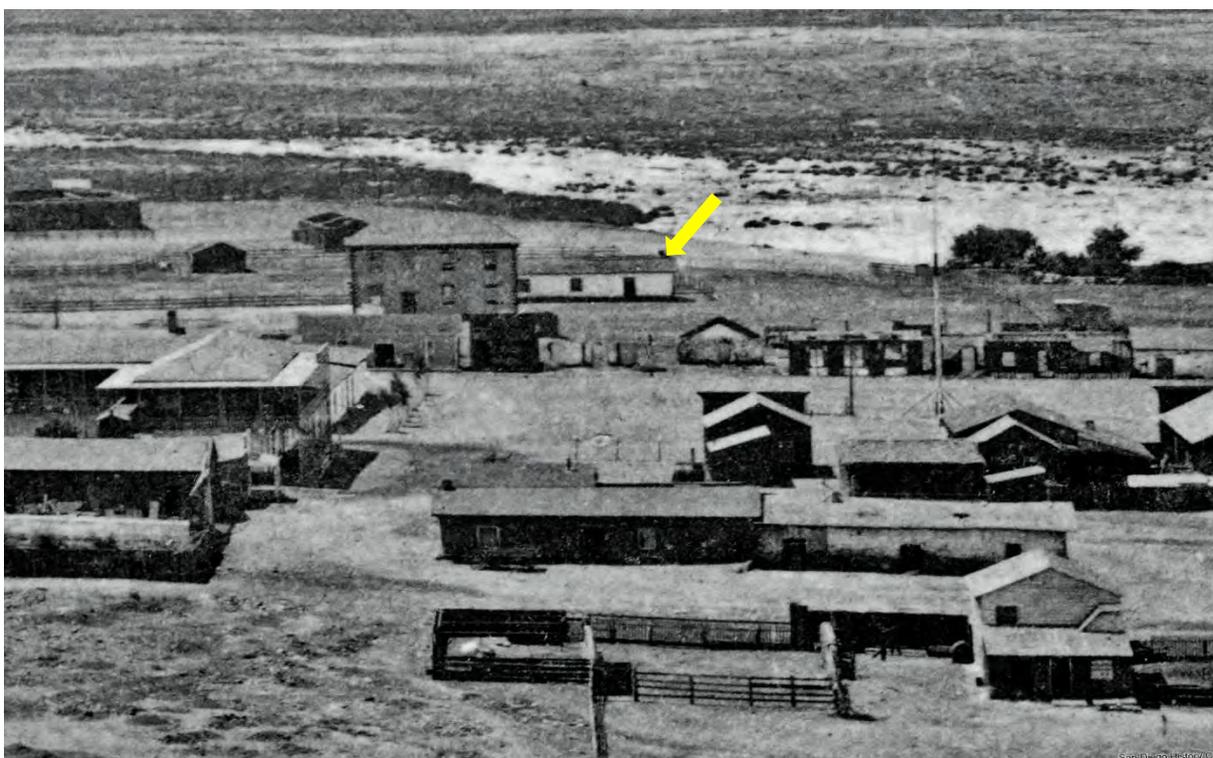


**CASA DE MACHADO Y STEWART:  
THE PIONEERING LEGACY OF JOSÉ MANUEL MACHADO  
AND JOHN COLLINS STEWART**

By

Charles W. Hughes, Public Historian/Archivist  
October, 2013



Casa de Machado y Stewart, 1874

Report Prepared  
For

**Dr. Therese Muranaka, Associate State Archaeologist,**

**California Department of Parks and Recreation, San Diego Coast  
District**

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# *CASA DE MACHADO Y STEWART:*

THE PIONEERING LEGACY OF JOSÉ MANUEL MACHADO AND JOHN COLLINS STEWART

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## INTRODUCTION

José Manuel Machado and John Collins (Jack) Stewart were among their countries' first pioneers to come to the distant California territory on the west coast of North America. One arrived in Los Angeles after his parents made the overland trek from Sonora in 1781; the other, a New England mariner from Hallowell, Maine, stayed in California in 1838 after making two perilous voyages around Cape Horn from Boston. Following their marriages in 1805 and 1845, respectively both men settled in San Diego and, despite the region's economic struggles during most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, their descendants have continued to reside in the community for over 200 years. The Machados and Stewarts are some of San Diego's and southern California's earliest and oldest residents.

For over 130 years the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* was the family home for the Machados and Stewarts from the Mexican Period of California history well into the American Era. While some writers have repeated Richard Henry Dana's description of the house as the home of a "respectable lower-class family," a closer review of available evidence would suggest that this characterization is, at best, misleading. The Machados were part of the former military community that dominated California society during the Mexican

period, prominent in local affairs, occupants of several ranchos, and the owners of four different houses in Old Town.<sup>1</sup>

Rather than argue that the Machados were part of Californio elite society, it is probably more accurate to say that they were, as historians Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz described it, “part of a second-level coterie, composed of those who were eminent, but hardly preeminent, in Alta California.” These were families who could trace their California ancestry to eighteenth-century Antigua California. “These people were not the elite who gave the territory its direction, but rather those immediately below them on the social scale, those who provided the initiative, the commitment, and the capability that allowed the territory to develop.”<sup>2</sup>

The history of the Machado and Stewart Family home in Old Town San Diego strongly reflects the pioneering experience along Alta California’s far southern border, an isolated region of sparse rainfall viewed by many, at the time, as a vast, empty wasteland. During the first half of its history, the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* operated as a *ranchita* [small ranch] for much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the house and other outlying buildings surrounded by gardens, an orchard and corral. The passing of the second generation of residents ushered in the second half of the house’s history, where it served as an urban dwelling for the descendants of John and Rosa Stewart for almost seventy years. It was during these years that the Stewart Family’s fortunes declined.

The history of the *Casa de Machado & Stewart* has not been reviewed or reexamined in the past thirty years; in the interim, additional historical resources have found their way into local and regional archival depositories and the internet has come of age. The primary historical writings about the house were written in the 1960s and 70s. The reports prepared by Orion Zink, Clyde Trudell, James E. Redding, and Ray Brandes are based on resources that were available locally at that time.<sup>3</sup> Over the years new evidence has come to light that adds to our understanding of the history associated with the house. As an example, in the reports cited above José Manuel Machado, the founder of the San Diego branch of the Machado family, was never correctly identified in any of them, nor was the role his parents had in the founding of the Pueblo of Los Angeles and the Presidio of Santa Barbara.

The California Department of Parks and Recreation, San Diego Coast District (DPR), wanting to review and update the history of the house, entered into a contract with Charles W. Hughes, this writer, to “research and write historic report on La Casa de Machado y Stewart in Old Town San Diego State Historical Park. Report will include social history of the family, architectural history of the house, and landscape history of the surroundings.”<sup>4</sup> The scope and content of this report was elaborated on in subsequent communications with DPR staff. These communications stressed the need for up-to-date information about the house’s construction history, the shape of the building, and modifications or changes made to it over the years. They sought a review

of the history associated with the Machados, Stewarts, and its various occupants over 131 years; details about the property's history and use; and background on the house's relationship to surrounding buildings.

Over the past several months, research for this report was completed in area repositories, primarily at the San Diego History Center, California Room at the San Diego Public Library, the San Diego California Family Search Library<sup>5</sup>, the San Diego County Assessor, Recorder, and Clerk's office (hereinafter referred to Assessor's Office), and the City Clerk's Archives – City of San Diego. DPR staff at the South Coast District Office made their files related to the Machado/Stewart House available for review. Electronic records available through the San Diego Genealogy Society, Ancestry.com, California Digital Newspaper Project, On-Line Archives of California (OAC) and the *San Diego Union/Evening Tribune* were also consulted.

In addition to reviewing available secondary materials, a significant effort was made to examine available U.S. Census schedules, deed records, assessment rolls, voting registration lists, city directories, Catholic Church birth, marriage and death registers, court documents and other city and county records relating to the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* and its occupants. Also examined were historic drawings, sketches, maps and photographs depicting the house at various times in its history, including almost two hundred 35mm slides taken by DPR staff at the time of the house's restoration in 1967-1969.

An informal oral interview was conducted with Mrs. Stella Meza-Pelletier, the daughter of Carmen Stewart Meza and great-granddaughter of John and Rosa Stewart. Mrs. Meza-Pelletier grew-up in the Machado/Stewart House with her mother and two brothers, living in the house for over thirty years. For the purposes of disclosure, Mrs. Meza-Pelletier and this writer have been friends since we were kids growing up in Old Town San Diego. Finally, a site visit was conducted with Dr. Therese Muranaka, Associate State Archaeologist, DPR, to discuss archaeological evidence and early twentieth century floor plans of the house produced in 1967 based on information provided by Lottie Mustain, a Stewart granddaughter.

Regrettably, there were no funds or sufficient time to conduct research outside the San Diego area at archival institutions around California. Repositories in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Berkeley, Davis and Sacramento no doubt have historical resources in their holdings, which would aid in learning more about the history of the Machados, Stewarts and their Old Town *casa*. The one significant deficiency with all the reports that have been completed about the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, including this one, is the failure to consult the holdings of archival institutions around the state. The endnotes that accompany this report include suggestions for future research strategies to pursue at these other institutions.

The report begins with the Machado/Stewart Family genealogy focusing on those members who were the primary occupants of the house during the

adult years of their lives. The Historical Overview follows and briefly traces the events and conditions influencing the lives of five generations of Machados and Stewarts and their Old Town *casa*. The Property History examines the ownership, modifications, and use of the land associated with the house while it was in the possession of the family. Finally, the Architectural Analysis discusses the original design and subsequent alterations to the house which, for the most part, reflect the accommodations made as the fortunes of the family evolved and their needs changed.

Research for this report could not have been accomplished without the cooperation of several different agencies and individuals. The DPR staff in the South Coast District office has been forthcoming in opening their files and taking time out of their busy schedules as needed to discuss the project with me, especially Dr. Therese Muranaka, Associate State Archaeologist. Equally generous with her time and knowledge of local archival resources was Jane Kenealy, Archivist at the San Diego History Center. Rick Crawford and the staff at the San Diego Public Library are always helpful in response to my inquiries and requests for assistance with my various research issues. Staffs in local agencies have been cooperative in responding to my requests for copies of public records, most prominently the personnel in the City Clerk's Office at the City of San Diego and the Assessor's office. Mr. Manuel Elizondo, Division Chief and Michelle D. Smith were especially forthcoming with their time

helping to track down 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> county centuries records held in off-site facilities.

#### GENEALOGY OF ITS OCCUPANTS

In contracting for this report, DPR staff made a specific request for information about the people associated with the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* over its 130 year history. They wanted to know who the people were and how they were related. The genealogy charts included in this section identify six generations of people including four generations of occupants, outlining the family origins and background of its residents. Rather than provide this information in an appendix, these charts are presented in the first section of the report to allow better understanding of the data that follows in the remaining three sections.

Two published accounts of the Machado Family genealogy provided a starting point for studying the family's history. A 1969 Journal of San Diego History article by Orin Zink and a two volume study by Maria Northrop on early California families were two published works that traced the first three generations of the Machado Family in California.<sup>6</sup> They were used in conjunction with primary resources to develop the foundation for compiling the genealogy of the six generations of *Casa de Machado y Stewart* residents. Original sources consulted included U.S. and Mexican census documents, city directories, newspapers, and vital statistics records.

Catholic Church records belonging to Mission San Diego de Alcalá, beginning with the reestablishment of the mission in 1776 to approximately 1880, were consulted to identify members of the first four generations of Machados. Since access to the original records could not be arranged in the time available, microfilm and transcribed copies of the original baptism, marriage and death registers were reviewed. In the charts that follow, specific information about the book and register number is included to document the sources of the information provided.<sup>7</sup>

The Mission Hills' Pioneer Calvary Cemetery website and its database for the people who are buried there proved an invaluable resource. This site is the work product of Marna L. Clemons, and much of what we know about the genealogy of the Machados and Stewarts in San Diego is as a result of her diligent research. Ms. Clemons is the current owner of the Stewart Family Bible that includes valuable information about family members, which she makes available on the website. Comments made about the birth of the Stewart children and noted in the charts come from the bible.<sup>8</sup>

Four generations of Machados and Stewarts lived in the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* between 1835, when the house was first built, and 1965, when damages from heavy rains forced Carmen Stewart Meza and her family to vacate their home. The occupancy of the house began with José Manuel and his wife María Serafina Machado who originally built the structure upon his retirement from the army. Their youngest daughter, Rosa Maria Machado, and

her husband, John Collins (Juan Baptista) Stewart, with their eleven children made up the second generation of residents to occupy the house. After Rosa and John passed away, their oldest daughter Rosita and their youngest son Francisco (Pancho or Frank) and his family became the third generation to reside in their grandparents' adobe home. Frank's wife Julia, and daughter Carmen, with her four children, were the last generation of the Machado-Stewart Family to live in the house.

The five genealogy charts that follow introduce six generations of Machados and Stewarts associated with the house. José Manuel Orchaga y Machado was a *soldado de cuera* (leather jacket soldier) who arrived in California as part of the Rivera y Moncado expedition of 1781 from Sonora, Mexico. His oldest son and namesake, José Manuel Machado, as part of his military service, was assigned to the Presidio of San Diego sometime after 1806. He and his wife, María Serafina Valdez y Machado, resided in the San Diego community until their deaths in 1852 and 1861. They were the founders of the San Diego branch of the Machado Family (Chart Two) and the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* was their family home after 1830. Six of José Manuel and Maria Serafina's nine children – Guadalupe, José, Jesus, Rafael, Rosa and Joaquin – were the family members from the second generation most likely to have resided in the house for any length of time. By the time the house was built the three oldest children – Juan, Juana and Antonia - were married and probably no longer members of their parents' household.

Rosa María Machado and John C. Stewart's family (Chart Three) is the generation with the strongest attachment to the house starting with their marriage in 1845 until her death in 1898. All eleven of their children were born in the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* between 1845 and 1868. Rosa and her oldest daughter Rosita are the two people who lived in the house for the longest period of time: Rosa from 1835 until her death in 1898, a total of 63 years; and Rosita from 1845 to 1933, 88 years – her entire life. All of the Stewart children had extended contact with the house well into their adult years. Often times the daughters came home to their parents' house to give birth to their children. In later years, the grandchildren recalled how they were born at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, and told of their earliest memories spending time with their grandparents and other relatives at family gatherings in the house.

The passing of John and Rosa at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period of transition for the house as the third generation of occupants became the primary residents – Manuel, James, Rosita and Frank Stewart. Up to this point the house and surrounding property served as a *ranchita* that included a garden, orchard, and some livestock. As the new century began and San Diego developed into an urban center, the house and surrounding property no longer offered a viable livelihood for its residents. The Stewart boys became wage earners – John was employed as a teamster in San Bernardino; Manuel and James went to work for the City of San Diego; and Frank owned and operated a

small market on the southeast end of the property next to his grandparents' home.

Frank died in 1925 and Rosita eight years later marking the end of the third generation to reside in the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*. Julia Stewart and her daughter's family became the house's primary occupants over the next forty years. During this time, other relatives, for various periods of time, also resided on the property as health and financial problems beset the family. In 1937 the occupants lost control of the house and became renters living in their family home, as the County Tax Assessor sold the property for delinquent taxes.

Five years earlier (December, 1932) the State Parks Commission in cooperation with the California State Chamber of Commerce designated the *Casa de Stewart* a California State Historical Landmark, based on the fame of John Collins "Jack" Stewart as a shipmate of Richard Henry Dana. The historical importance of José Manuel Machado, María Serafina Valdez y Machado, and the house's Mexican heritage were not of interest. The California Department of Parks and Recreation became the fifth and current generation to occupy the house when it purchased the property in June, 1967, as part of its development of the Old Town San Diego State Historic Park. In one of its first acts, the DPR completed a restoration of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* and restored the Machado name to their family home.

In compiling these genealogical charts, a review of primary sources reveals several inconsistencies in the records for Machado Family members involving the third generation – at the time Mexico governed the territory and the California missions were secularized. As the social order went through fundamental changes, the record keeping processes became less precise and over the years some of the original church documents were lost. To date no evidence has been located as to the birth and marriage of Juan Machado, the oldest son of José Manuel and María Serafina. Additionally, documentation concerning the marriage of their fourth daughter, María Antonia Juliana Machado to José Antonio Nicasio Silvas, has not been uncovered. Three of their children died in their infancy, and for two of them no records remain as to the time and place of their deaths.

The other more notable discrepancy in the records concerns the date of birth for Rosa Maria Machado de Stewart. At the time of her passing in 1898, her obituary and death certificate gave her age as seventy-two but provided no information as to the date of her birth.<sup>9</sup> The headstone on her grave indicated 15 November, 1828, as the date when she was born, which, if seventy-two was her correct age, should have read 1826. Subsequently, historians and genealogists have not had any reason to question the validity of this gravestone birth date. However, the mission's baptismal register does not show an entry during November, 1828, confirming this date as the time of her birth

or baptism. Additionally, these church records cast further doubt on the validity of the 1828 date. Two months after his sister's reported birth, mission's register recorded the baptism of Rosa María's youngest brother, Joaquín Aquilino in January, 1829.



Rosa Stewart's Headstone, 2013

*"In Loving Remembrance of Our Mother Rosa Machado Stewart  
Born Nov 15, 1828 Died May 4, 1898 Rest in peace"*

Probably sometime in early September, 1822, Fr. Fernando Martín recorded in the mission register the baptism of María Rosa Agustina, the fifth daughter of Manuel and María Serafina Machado. Born on 28<sup>th</sup> of August, the family decided not to wait for a priest to come to the Presidio of San Diego and asked María Aqueda Briones to

baptized the child in the fort's chapel when she was two days old. Briones, most likely the mid-wife, performed the ceremony because the infant was "*in periculo mortis*" [in danger of death]. Genealogists and historians have assumed that Rosa María Machado de Stewart was named after her sister born in August, 1822, who they believed died shortly after her birth. The evidence uncovered preparing this report supports an alternate explanation: that both girls were one and the same person, and that Machado de Stewart or members of her family misstated the date of her birth, which was 28 August 1822.

GENEALOGY CHART 1

*MACHADOS*

*First & Second Generations*

José Manuel Orchaga y Machado [co-founder of the Machado Family in California]

Born - about 1756 in Sinaloa, Mexico

Parents - Isidro Orchaga y Machado and María Catarina Yañez

Married: 28 February 1780 to María de la Luz Valenzuela in the church of *La Purisima Concepcion* at Alamos, Sonora, Mexico [co-founder of the Machado Family in California]

Born - about 1762 at Alamos, Sonora, Mexico

Parents - Francisco Valenzuela and Rita Antonia Aviles

Buried - 22 January 1841 at Los Angeles Plaza Church

Buried - 26 February 1810 at Mission San Gabriel

Children:

1. José Manuel Machado

Born - 28 November 1781; baptized 30 November 1781 at Mission San Gabriel

Married - 26 September 1805 to María Serafina Valdez, at Mission San Gabriel

Buried - 18 October 1852 "*en el cemeterio del Pueblo*" [in the cemetery of the town]

2. José Hilario Machado

Born - 10 October 1783; baptized 16 October 1783 at Mission Santa Barbara

Married - 3 July 1816 to María Antonia Poyorena at Mission San Gabriel

Buried - 17 December 1851 at Los Angeles Plaza Church

3. María Candelaria de los Dolores Machado

Born - 2 February 1786; baptized 5 February 1786 at Mission San Buenaventura

Married - 11 May 1806 to José María Ignacio Aguilar at Mission San Gabriel

Buried - 10 January 1820 at Mission San Diego [Registers of Burials, Bk 1, Entry 2928]

4. José Antonio Machado

Born - 2 May 1788; baptized 4 May 1788 at Mission Santa Barbara

Married - 11 April 1825 to María Ygnacia Avila at Mission San Gabriel

Died/Buried - unknown

5. José Basilio Antonio Machado

Baptized - 15 June 1790 at Mission La Purisima

Married - Unmarried

Buried - 6 November 1790 at Mission La Purisima (*parvulo*) [small child]

(GENEALOGY CHART 1 – continued) Machados - First & Second Generations

6. María Antonia Francisca Valentina Machado  
Born - 14 February 1792; baptized 15 February 1792 at Mission Santa Barbara  
Married - 20 November 1808 to José Jacinto Reyes at Mission San Gabriel  
Buried - 8 February 1863 at Los Angeles Plaza Church
  
7. José Augustin Antonio Machado  
Born - 27 August 1794; baptized 28 August 1794 at Mission Santa Barbara  
Married - (1) 1 March 1824 to María Petra Manuela Buelna at Mission San Gabriel  
(2) February 1827 to María Ramona Sepulveda at Los Angeles Plaza Church; (*Investigación* [Investigation] on 29 January 1827 at Los Angeles Plaza Church)  
Buried - 18 May 1865 at Los Angeles Plaza Church
  
8. José Ygnacio Antonio Machado  
Born - 20 February 1797; baptized 21 February 1797 at Mission Santa Barbara  
Married - 7 February 1826 to María Palomares at Los Angeles Plaza Church  
Buried - 10 September 1878 at Los Angeles Plaza Church
  
9. María del Carmen Barbara Machado  
Born - 24 August 1799; baptized 25 August 1799 at Mission San Gabriel  
Married - 25 January 1815 to José Manuel María Cota at Mission San Gabriel  
Died/Buried - unknown

GENEALOGY CHART 2

***MACHADOS – SAN DIEGO BRANCH***

*Second & Third Generation*

FIRST GENERATION TO LIVE IN THE CASA DE MACHADO Y STEWART (1835-1861)

José Manuel Machado (Primary Occupant: co-founder of the San Diego branch of the Machado Family)

Born - 28 November 1781; baptized 30 November 1781 at Mission San Gabriel

Parents - José Manuel Machado (1756-1810) & María del Carmen Valenzuela (1762-1841)

Married - María Serafina Valdez, 26 September 1805, Mission San Gabriel (Primary Occupant: co-founder of the San Diego branch of the Machado Family)

Born – 1 September 1788, Mission Santa Barbara

Parents – Eugenio Valdes (1755-1838) and María Sebastiana Quintero (?)

Died – 12 March 1861, buried at *El Campo*; reburied at Calvary Cemetery, San Diego

Died – 18 October 1852, buried at *El Campo*, San Diego, [Bk. III, Entry #34]

Children:

1. María Antonia Candelaria Machado

Born - about 1806 at San Diego [No entry found in register.]

Died - 15 November 1807, buried at Mission San Diego [No entry found in register.]

2. Juan Machado

Born – 1809, San Diego [? – possibly San Luis Rey]

Married – María Serafina Serrano, date & location unknown

Died – 9 July 1880, buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

3. María Guadalupe Gregoria Machado

Baptized – 25 April 1810 at Mission San Diego, [Bk I, Entry #3681]

Buried – 24 April 1812 at Mission San Gabriel

4. Juana de Dios Machado

Baptized – 13 March 1814, at Mission San Diego, [Bk I, Entry #4085]

Married:

(1) Damasio Alipas, 22 August 1829 [Bk I, Entry #1713]

(2) Thomas Wrightington (Ridington) of Boston, 27 January 1842 [Bk I, Entry #2012]

Died – 24 December 1901, buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

(GENEALOGY CHART 2 – continued) *Machados-San Diego Branch – Second & Third Generations*

FIRST GENERATION TO LIVE IN CASA DE MACHADO Y STEWART (1835-1861)

5. María Antonia Juliana Machado

Baptized – 21 December 1815 at Mission San Diego, [Bk I, Entry #4247]

Married – about 1833 to José Antonio Nicasio Silvas (Mission San Gabriel?)

Died - Spring of 1888 in San Diego, buried Calvary Pioneer Cemetery (?)

6. José Arcadio Machado

Baptized – 13 January 1818 at Mission San Diego, [Bk I, Entry #4534]

Married - Unmarried

Died – 12 May 1873, Rancho San Antonio, Baja California

7. María Guadalupe Idefonsa Machado

Baptized – 2 March 1820 at Mission San Diego, (Bk I, Entry #4949)

Married – (1) Peter Wilder (Peter Ball) of Boston, 1 August 1836 [Bk I, Entry #1923]

(2) Albert B. Smith of New York, 27 November 1850 [Bk II, Entry #6]

Died – 8 May 1884, buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

8. María (Rosa) Agustina Machado

Born – 28 August 1822; baptized 30 August 1822 at San Diego Presidio, *en periculo mortis* (in danger of death), [Bk II, Entry #5360]

Married – John C. (“Juan Bautista”) Stewart of Hallowell, Maine, 3 February 1845 [Bk I, Entry #2041]

Died – 4 May 1898, buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

9. José de Jesus Machado

Born – 13 January 1825; baptized at Mission San Diego, 16 January 1825, [Bk II, Entry #5865]

Married – Lugarda Osuna, 30 January 1850 [Bk II, Entry #1a]

Died – about 1880

10. José Rafael del Gracia Machado

Born 26 November 1826; baptized 28 November 1826 at Mission San Diego, [Bk II, Entry #6076]

Married – María Presentacion de la Alta Gracia Osuna, 24 April 1850 [Bk II, Entry #3]

Died/Buried - Unknown

11. José Herculano de Machado

Born – 2 January 1829; baptized 7 January 1829 at Mission San Diego, [Bk II, Entry #6251] - DATE CONFLICTS WITH ENTRY #6312 - José Herculano may have been a twin brother who died.

12. Joaquín Aquilino de Machado

Born – 7 January 1829; baptized at the Church of the Presidio of San Diego, [Bk II, Entry #6312]

Married – Dominga Arce, date unknown

Died – 17 November 1910, buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

GENEALOGY CHART 3

***MACHADOS – STEWARTS BRANCH***

*Third & Fourth Generations – Stewart Family*

SECOND GENERATION TO LIVE IN *LA CASA DE MACHADO Y STEWART* (1845-1898)

John C. (Juan Bautista) Stewart (Primary Occupant: co-founder Stewart Branch, Machado Family)

Born - 3 September 1812 at Hallowell, Maine

Parents - Solomon Freeman Stewart (??-1817) & Margaret Drew (??-1840)

Married - Rosa María Augustina de Machado, 3 February 1845, “in the church of the Port of San Diego” -*Casa de Estudillo*; (Primary Occupant: co-founder of the Stewart Branch, Machado Family), [Bk I, Entry #2041]

Born – 30 April 1822 [Bk II, Entry #5360]

Parents: José Manuel Machado (1781-1852) and María Serafina Valdez (1788-1861)

Death - 2 February 1892; buried at Calvary Cemetery, San Diego

Children:

1. Rosa María Elojia Stewart

Born – 1 December 1845 at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* “in the morning”

Married - Unmarried

Died – 16 September 1933; buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

2. María Jesusa Elojia Stewart

Born – 7 September 1847 at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* “in the middle of the night”

Married - Unmarried

Died – 20 April 1867 “in the morning at 19 years, 7 months and 3 days”; buried at *El Campo Santo*; reburied at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

3. Juan Bautist Stewart

Born – 20 November 1849 at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* “in the morning”

Died – 3 December 1849 “in the morning”; buried at [*El Campo Santo*?]

4. María Serafina Stewart

Born – 31 January 1851 at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* “in the morning”

Married – Luis Serrano, 1 February 1870 by Fr. Antonio Ubach

Died – 18 January 1929; buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

*Casa de Machado y Stewart*

(GENEALOGY CHART 3 – continued) Machados-Stewarts – Third & Fourth Generation, Stewart Family

SECOND GENERATION TO LIVE IN THE *CASA DE MACHADO Y STEWART* (1845-1898)

5. Juan Bautist Stewart

Born – 4 March 1853 at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* “at half past 4 in the morning”

Married – Unknown, San Bernardino?

Died – 10 April 1911; buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

6. José Manuel Stewart

Born – 29 January 1855 at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* “at 8 o’clock in the evening”

Married - Unmarried

Died – 10 December 1907; buried at Calvary Cemetery, San Diego

7. James Stewart

Born – 3 November 1857 at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* “at 3 o’clock in the morning”

Married – (1) Maud Hernon, about 1895 (?)

(2) Laura Victoria Casanova, 6 January 1907; divorced (1915)

Died – 12 April 1920; buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

8. Francisco Javier “Pancho” Stewart

Born – 29 February 1860 at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* at 11 o’clock in the evening

Married – Julia Alvarez, 1 January 1910 – “in Old Town San Diego” by Fr. Mesny

Died – 16 June 1925; buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

9. Margaret Stewart

Born – 4 February 1862 at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* at 9 o’clock in the evening;

Married - Unmarried

Died – 17 May 1900; buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

10. María de las Nieves E. Stewart

Born – 3 September 1863 at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* at 10 o’clock in the evening

Married – Paul St. Clair Connors, 23 October 1887

Died – 18 June 1924; buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

11. María Jesusa “Susa” Elojia Stewart

Born – 2 January 1868 at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*

Married – Benjamin Franklin Parsons, 12 April 1891

Died - 19 January 1945; buried at Holy Cross Cemetery, San Diego

GENEALOGY CHART 4

***STEWARTS***

*Second & Third Generations – Stewart Family*

THIRD GENERATION TO LIVE IN THE *CASA DE MACHADO Y STEWART* (1898-1933)

Rosa María Elojia Stewart (Primary Occupant: Granddaughter of José Manuel & María Serafina Machado & Sister of Francisco “Frank” Stewart)

Born – 1 December 1845 at *the Casa de Machado y Stewart* “in the morning”

Married – Unmarried, lived in *the Casa de Machado y Stewart* her entire life- 88 years.

Died – 16 September 1933; buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

Francisco Javier “Frank” Stewart (Primary Occupant: Grandson of José Manuel & Maria Serafina Machado & Brother of Rosa Stewart)

Born – 19 February 1860 at the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* “at 11 o’clock in the evening”

Married – Julia Alvarez, 1 January 1910 – “in Old Town San Diego” by Fr. Mesny

Born – 30 January 1879, San Diego, California

Parents –

Died – 25 March 1958, buried at Holy Cross Cemetery, San Diego, California

Died – 16 June 1925, buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego

Children:

1. Rosa Margarita Stewart  
Born: 21 July 1911 at *La Casa de Machado y Stewart*  
Died: 19 December 1918 – influenza; buried at Calvary Pioneer Cemetery, San Diego
2. Carmen Anna Stewart  
Born: 17 July 1912, at *La Casa de Machado y Stewart*  
Married: 5 May 1932 to Joe S. Meza at North San Diego  
Died: 17 September 1973, buried at Holy Cross Cemetery
3. John Stewart  
Born: 6 February 1914, San Diego, California  
Died: 22 January 1915, buried at Calvary Cemetery, San Diego, California

*Casa de Machado y Stewart*

(GENEALOGY CHART 4 – continued) *Second and Third Generations, Stewart Family*

THIRD GENERATION TO LIVE IN THE *CASA DE MACHADO Y STEWART*(1898-1933)

4. John Baptist Stewart

Born - 27 April 1915 at *La Casa de Machado y Stewart*

Married - Never Married

Died - 27 June 1971, buried at Holy Cross Cemetery

5. Jess Stewart

Born - 5 March 1918 at *La Casa de Machado y Stewart*

Died - 28 September 1918 of cerebral meningitis, buried at Calvary Pioneer  
Cemetery, San Diego

6. Vida Fe Stewart

Born - 5 March 1918 at *La Casa de Machado y Stewart*

Married - unknown

Died - 25 September 1998, Santee, California

GENEALOGY CHART 5

*STEWARTS*

*Second, Third & Fourth Generations – Stewart Family*

Fourth (Last) Generations to Live in La Casa de Machado y Stewart (1925 -1965)

Julia Alvarez Stewart (Primary Occupant: wife of Francisco “Frank” Stewart & mother of Carmen Stewart Meza)

Born – 30 January 1879, at San Diego

Married – Francisco “Frank” Stewart 1 January 1910 - “in Old Town San Diego” by Fr. Mesny; witnesses Frank’s sister & brother-in-law Maria Serafina & Luis Serrano

Died – 25 March 1958, buried at Holy Cross Cemetery, San Diego

Carmen Stewart Meza (Primary Occupant: daughter of Frank & Julia Stewart; granddaughter of John & Rosa Stewart; and great-granddaughter of José Manuel & Serafina Machado)

Born – 17 July 1912 at *La Casa de Machado y Stewart*

Married – 5 May 1932 to Joe S. Meza, Immaculate Conception Church, North San Diego

Born – 15 December 1907, San Bernardino, California

Parents – Faustino & Alejandra Meza, both born in Mexico

Died - 11 June 1941, acute pancreatitis, buried at Holy Cross Cemetery, San Diego

Died – 17 September 1973, buried at Holy Cross Cemetery, San Diego

Children:

1. Joseph Meza, Jr.

Born – 1934, San Diego, California

Married – unknown

Died – unknown

2. Rose Meza

Born – 1935, San Diego, California

Married – unknown

Died – unknown

*Casa de Machado y Stewart*

(CHART 5 – continued) Julia Alvarez Stewart & Carmen Stewart Meza – *Fifth & Sixth Generations Stewarts*

*Fourth (Last) Generation to Live in Casa de Machado y Stewart (1925 -1965)*

3. Stella Meza Pellitier

Born – 1937, San Diego, California

Married – 1973 to Raymond Pellitier at the Immaculate Conception Church, Old Town San Diego

Currently residing – San Diego, California

4. William “Billy” Meza

Born – 1940, San Diego, California

Married – unknown

Died – 2012 San Diego, California

Final Note: 1940 U.S. Census reported (April 12<sup>th</sup>) that Frank Stewart, Julia Stewart’s nephew, was also living at *La Casa de Machado y Stewart* “in the rear.” Frank, named after his uncle (Julia’s husband), was the son of John Baptist and Theresa Stewart, the sixth of seven children, born January, 1896. This same nephew was living with his Julia and Frank on Hancock Street in Old Town at the time the census was taken in 1910 and three years after his father had passed away. At the time of the 1920 and 1930 censuses were taken, he was not residing with the family. Nephew Frank died at *La Casa de Machado y Stewart* in December, 1944 after a long illness and was buried at Holy Cross Cemetery. [*San Diego Union*, 12 December 1944, 10:4]

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The history of the Machado Family in California began in the summer of 1781 when the Rivera y Moncada expedition arrived at the Mission San Gabriel with new recruits assigned to garrison the province's *presidios*. Captain Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, in addition to bringing the soldiers and their families, escorted new settlers destined to establish the *Pueblo de la Reyna de Los Angeles* (The Queen of the Angeles).<sup>10</sup> Following the founding of Los Angeles, many of the soldiers and their families, including the Machados, traveled north to establish a new *presidio* at Santa Barbara.

The expedition with its new recruits arrived at the Mission of San Gabriel on 14 July 1781, a group that included 23 year old Josef Manuel Orchaga y Machado and his 18 year old wife, María de la Luz Valenzuela.<sup>11</sup> The young couple had been married the previous year at the parish church of *La Purisima Concepcion* in Alamos, Sonora, Mexico. At the time they began their journey to California, María was two months pregnant with their first child. On 28 November 1781 she gave birth to a son who was named after his father and baptized two days later at the mission.<sup>12</sup>

José Manuel was the first of nine children born over the next eighteen years (see Genealogy Chart No. 1), eight of whom lived into their adult years. The five brothers and three sisters all married and raised families of their own settling in communities around Los Angeles, Santa Barbara and San Diego. Many of them and their descendants became well known in the economic,

political and social affairs of southern California during the Mexican Period and well into the American Era. The most successful was probably the fourth son, José Agustín, a ranchero and grantee of Rancho La Ballona, a 14,000 acre ranch that today encompasses the communities of Venice, Playa del Rey and Culver City in Los Angeles County.<sup>13</sup>

José Manuel and his oldest sister, María Candelaria, both relocated to San Diego following their marriages at the Mission San Gabriel in 1805 and 1806, respectfully. José and his new brother-in-law, José María Ignacio Aguilar, were members of the *presidio* garrison – José serving as a *soldado de cuera* and José María as a “soldier of artillery.” José Manuel’s military career spanned over thirty years under Spanish and Mexican governments in California, much of it spent at the San Diego *Presidio*. Little is known about his years of service at the *presidio*; all we have are the recollections of a daughter’s early childhood memories about her father, most significantly about his role in the founding of the mission outpost at Pala – the *asistencia San Antonio de Pala*. According to Stewart Family oral tradition, in the final years of his military duty he was briefly in command of the *presidio*, although he reportedly never reached a rank higher than corporal.<sup>14</sup>

All but one of José Manuel and María Serafina’s twelve children were born between 1806 and 1829, in San Diego, likely at their living quarters in the *presidio*; three of these children died in their infancy. The baptism of their oldest son, Juan, is not recorded in the Book of Baptisms at the San Diego

Mission, and the date and place of his birth remains unknown. The Machados continued to reside at the *presidio* until deteriorating conditions forced the soldiers and their families to relocate and build new homes on the plateau at the bottom of the hill below the old fort. During these years of transition, four of the five older children married – Juan, Juana, Guadalupe and María Antonia – and like their parents acquired property around or near the town’s newly laid out plaza.<sup>15</sup>

The emerging society of San Diego was heavily dominated by the former presidio soldiers and their descendants with José Manuel having an active role in community affairs throughout the region until he fell into disfavor. Reportedly, he and his wife at one point, following his retirement, operated a cattle station at *Los Piños* – today’s Pine Valley in San Diego County. In 1836 he was the recipient of a 14,000 acre land grant, *Rancho Rosario* or *Las Barracas* (cabin for soldiers), located in an area that would today include Rosarito Beach in Baja California. This land grant was one of the earliest grants issued in the San Diego District (i.e., San Diego/Tijuana region), more than likely given to him for his years of military service.<sup>16</sup>

In 1833 the fledgling town petitioned the governor and *diputación* (territorial assembly) for home rule believing that the current military administration “stifled the growth of the community.” One of the six leading citizens to sign and submit the petition was José Manuel Machado. San Diego had over 500 residents, and many were convinced that for the community to

develop, home rule was critical to their future prosperity. It was sometime during these years, 1830 – 1835, that José and María acquired their property southwest of the new plaza and built a family home and small ranch – the site known today as *Casa de Machado y Stewart*.

José continued to have a prominent role in community affairs after *ayuntamiento* (town council) was approved and the first elections held in 1835. The next year, José was named one of the electors to nominate the new members of the council to succeed the office holders elected previously. He subsequently became one of the two *regidores* (council members) in 1836 and served briefly as the *alcalde* (mayor). The following year he received a commission with ten others to serve as a *Comissarios de Policía & Seguridad Publica* (Commissioner of Police and Public Safety).<sup>17</sup>

José's participation in community affairs stopped in 1839 when María Serafina initiated proceedings against him to compel his return to San Diego to live with his family, or to arrange for them to join him in Los Angeles. The *Juez de Paz* (judicial administrator of the district) in San Diego decided to forward the matter to his counterpart in Los Angeles, after which nothing more is known. José's brother, José Antonio, was a senior administrative official in Los Angeles, which may have been the reason the matter appears to have proceeded no further. At some point, José and María must have reconciled. By 1850 they were residing together in their Old Town home at the time the U.S. census was taken.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to political transitions, the opening of coastal ports to foreign trading vessels in the 1820s brought other changes to the isolated California province, changes which had a far reaching impact on the Machados of San Diego. Once Mexico gained its independence from Spain, mercantile policies were rescinded to allow commercial trading with sailing ships from England, United States and other foreign countries. The hunting of sea otters and the hide and tallow trade attracted these maritime merchants annually to California ports and missions up and down the coast. Agents from the trading companies and sailors from the ships eventually settled in the coastal towns, adopted the life style of the *Californios* (regional name for the non-Indian inhabitants of Mexican California), with some marrying into prominent local families.

San Diego, with its fine harbor, became one of the principal trading centers along the coast that included hide houses built to process the hides and tallow prior to shipping them east and south. Henry Delano Fitch was one of the first U.S. mariners to take up residence in the community in 1830 following his marriage to Josefa Carrillo. After the controversy surrounding their marriage had passed, other young couples soon went down the same path, especially the daughters of José and María Machado.<sup>19</sup>

Three of the four Machado girls married former sailors who arrived in California on American trading ships in the 1830s. Guadalupe married Peter Wilder, a Bostonian, in 1836; and following his death, Albert B. Smith, a New

Yorker, in 1850. After the passing of her first husband, Juana became the wife of Thomas Wrightington, another Bostonian, in January, 1842. It was, however, the marriage of the youngest daughter, Rosa María, to John Collins (Jack) Stewart in 1845 that had the most lasting significance. Stewarts and their descendants remained residents of the Old Town community for over 130 years, with different family members residing in the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* for most of those years.<sup>20</sup>

In the annals of California history, Stewart is best known as being a shipmate of Richard Henry Dana, Jr., the author of the American classic *Two Years Before the Mast*. Dana, a Harvard college student on a two-year hiatus from his studies, was hoping that a sea adventure would restore his poor eye sight. Published in 1840, Dana's book gave a first-hand account of his trip to California in the years 1834 to 1836 on the brig *Pilgrim*. The book described the hard life of the seamen onboard United States sailing ships involved with international trade in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. While some viewed the book as a call for reforms to the working conditions of these seamen, no specific reforms can be attributed to the book's publication.<sup>21</sup>

When the captain of the *Pilgrim* received orders to remain on the coast a year longer than planned, Dana managed to exchange positions with a seaman on another hide ship, the *Alert*. Stewart became his shipmate on the *Alert*, which returned to Boston by September, 1836. On their voyage home, Dana included this one passage about Stewart's sailing skills – "I went to the wheel

where a young fellow from Kennebec [Jack Stewart], who was a good helmsman, and for two hours we had our hands full.” In later years, Stewart recalled that Dana “wasn’t worth his soup as a sailor, but he was so popular that no one thought of it.” Two years later Stewart made a second voyage to California on the *Alert*, this time as the second mate. While on the west coast, Stewart decided to leave the ship and pursue his future in Mexican California.<sup>22</sup>

Stewart was a native of Hallowell, Maine, a fishing town on Kennebec River. The youngest son of Solomon Freeman Stewart and Margaret Drew, he was born in September, 1812. By the time he first sailed for California in 1834, he had grown into a man of medium build, dark hair, and light complexion. At some point prior to his marriage, Stewart converted to Catholicism and took the name “*Juan Bautista*” (John Baptist). He married Rosa Machado “in the Church of the Port of San Diego” (in the *Casa de Estudillo*) on 3 February 1845.

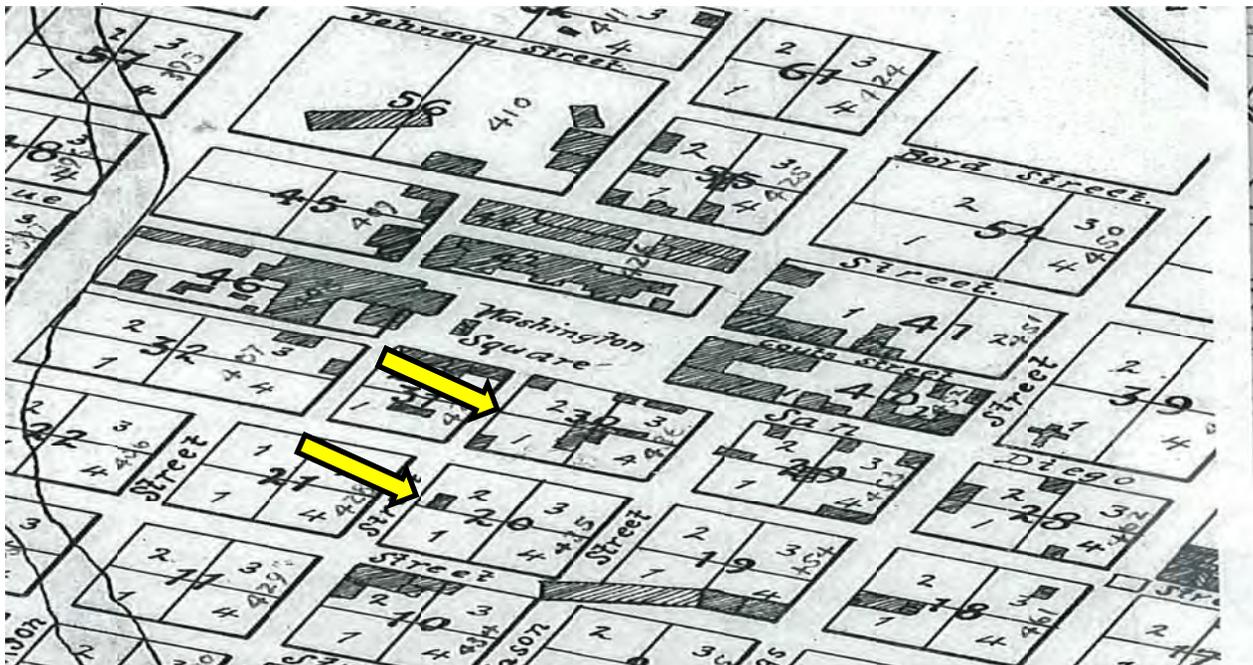
After their wedding, the young couple resided with her parents in the Machados’ Family home, where seventeen months later Rosa gave birth to their first child, a girl – Rosa María Elojia. In the coming years their other eight children were also born in their adobe home, as well several of their grandchildren. The births of the children were recorded in the Stewart Family Bible and usually included remarks to remember the circumstances of the occasions. Rosa María was born “in the morning.”<sup>23</sup>

John and Rosa's marriage would last more than forty years with the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* serving as their place of residence the entire time. John pursued a variety of "village industries" over the years, working as a hide house manager, trapper, miner, farmer, and rancher. The two most frequent occupations associated with him, however, were carpenter and harbor pilot. In census and voter registration records he consistently identified his occupation as "carpenter;" this appellation never changed. Later historical sketches of Stewart stated that he served as a harbor pilot guiding ships into the bay and was popularly known among "old timers" as *El Piloto* (the pilot).<sup>24</sup>

Throughout his life Stewart was a very private man – almost reclusive – and never sought the public limelight, even to the point where he would not consent to have his photograph taken. Although he lived in the community for more than fifty years and was well known, he never sought election to public office until he agreed to serve briefly on the Old Town School Board in 1884. There are a few references to Stewart in the archives of the local newspaper, *San Diego Union*, during this period. In 1870, the paper identified Stewart as a member of the Grand Jury; in 1874, the editor noted that he was doing carpentry work and making improvements to the Catholic Church in Old Town; a year later he was assisting Fr. Ubach laying out the new Catholic cemetery in the hills above Old Town.<sup>25</sup>

His penchant for privacy extended to his personal affairs. While many residents speculated in *pueblo* lots and owned multiple pieces of property in

town sites around San Diego Bay, John and Rosa Stewart never had complete legal title to any real property in San Diego during their lifetimes. Their names also cannot be found in any court records in the 19<sup>th</sup> century for civil suits involving bad debts, property disputes or other legal claims. The only public property records where his name appeared consistently was the city and county tax rolls which showed him paying taxes on (i.e., being in possession of) four pueblo lots - Block 435, Lots 2 & 3 and Block 436, Lots 1 & 4. This was the legal description of the property where *Casa de Machado y Stewart* and surrounding ranching operation were situated.<sup>26</sup>



Old Town Map, 1877-

Blocks 435 & 436

Stewart's inclination to avoid public attention has caused many historians to overlook his participation in significant events of the period. In

writing about Stewart, historians have emphasized his fame as a shipmate of Richard Henry Dana and his longtime residency in Old Town. His role in regional affairs occurring during these years of transition from Mexican to American rule has been passed over with little comment. His activities associated with the hide and tallow trade, fur trapping, the battle of San Pasqual, the gold rush of 1849, the Garra Rebellion, or the hanging of “Yankee Jim” have received little attention by historians.

It was during his second voyage to California that Stewart decided to leave his position as second mate on the *Alert* and become the manager of the *La Plata Hide House*, one of four houses built in San Diego by Boston trading companies. The hide houses were barn-like structures located at *La Playa* – a beach area extending north from Ballast Point near the entrance to the harbor. By the 1830s *La Playa* had become the collection point for the drying and curing cattle hides from California being shipped to New England markets. As Dana reported, “the harbor is small and land-locked; there is no surf; the vessels lie within a cable’s length of the beach; and the beach itself is smooth, hard sand, without rocks or stones. For these reasons, it is used by all the vessels in the trade, as a depot;”<sup>27</sup>

By the mid-1840s the hide trade began to decline and Stewart decided in the spring of 1846 to try his luck trapping for sea otters in Baja California. The over hunting of sea otters in California had caused a dramatic decline in their population, and many trappers were finding their way south to the lagoons

along the Baja California coastline in their quest for the valuable sea otter pelts. Stewart, in the company of several other Americans, including Frank Ames and Philip Crosthwaite, traveled down the coast in canoes. Their destination was *Mission El Rosario*, some two hundred miles south of San Diego where the surrounding waters had a thriving sea otter population. As Crosthwaite recalled years later:

Sea otter were plentiful in the kelp along the coast of Lower California and around the islands. There were two companies of otter hunters in San Diego. They were usually fitted out for their hunts by Captain Fitch. Each company had three canoes and during the Spring and Summer months hunted along the coast, landing through the surf every night at places known by them where there was wood and water for their camp. Prime otter skins were worth \$40 each and were sold to Captain Fitch, who sent them to China where they were disposed of for a good profit.<sup>28</sup>

Severe weather and stormy waters prolonged the men's trip down the coast and finally forced them ashore short of their destination. Once on shore the group started overland to the mission and as they made their way, encountered a second group of travelers. Among this latter group of travelers was Pío Pico the governor of Alta California. Pico had fled California to avoid capture by the invading U.S. forces; he wanted to get men and arms from Mexican authorities to resist the conquest currently underway. It was from Pico that Stewart and the others first learned that the United States had declared war on Mexico.<sup>29</sup>

Upon receiving the news of the war, the men returned home immediately to aid U.S. forces in their efforts to seize the territory. After ending the *Californios'* siege of San Diego, Stewart and others were mustered into the California Battalion as members of Captain Gibson's company of volunteers.

News arrived shortly thereafter that U.S. Army General Stephen Kearney in command of a force of about one hundred men had crossed the Colorado River and was marching west for San Diego. Kearney had orders from Washington to seize and occupy the Mexico's northern provinces of New Mexico and California.<sup>30</sup>

Commodore Robert F. Stockton, commander of U.S. naval forces in California, sent Captain Archibald Gillespie with a small force of men to meet Kearny and escort him into San Diego. Stewart and Crosthwaite were among those men that went out to meet Kearny, and were, subsequently, part of the U.S. forces that fought in the Battle of San Pasqual, the only engagement lost by U.S. armed forces during the United States' war with Mexico.

In later years one of the more popular stories frequently told by old-timers centered around Stewart's presence on the battle field and suggested it as one of the reasons the *Californios* broke off the conflict. Stewart's skill as a marksman with a rifle was widely known throughout the region; after they saw him among the U.S. forces, the *Californios* realized once the weather cleared and his powder dried, Stewart would become a deadly adversary.<sup>31</sup>

In 1876, the United States celebrated its 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary. In the wave of historical nostalgia that swept the country, the National Centennial Commission encouraged communities around the country to preserve their local histories. Douglas Gunn, editor of the *San Diego Union*, prepared a "centennial history of San Diego" and conducted interviews with long-time

residents about well-known events in the community's past in which they had first-hand knowledge.<sup>32</sup>

As part of his work Gunn interviewed Stewart and Crosthwaite about their exploits during the war with Mexico. Along with Fr. Ubach, the four men visited the San Pasqual Valley where the two veterans gave accounts of the battle that had occurred thirty years earlier, and pointed out significant landmarks of the engagement. Stewart never received any recognition from the government for the service he gave his country during the war, and the State of California determined that his service could not be verified and denied him pension benefits other veterans were receiving.<sup>33</sup>

By the time the war with Mexico ended, James Marshal had discovered gold on the American River in January, 1848. Once news of the discovery spread throughout the territory, most of the men in San Diego, including Stewart, went north hoping to strike it rich. Stewart probably spent the next two years as 49'ners prospecting for gold with little or no success. In the 1850 U.S. Census, Stewart's name was not listed as one of the residents living in the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, and does not appear on the census for California. Rosa's name appeared on the census schedule for San Diego along with her two young daughters, Rosa María and María Jesusa. They were residing with her parents in the Machado Family home.<sup>34</sup>

Two years later John was home from the gold fields and living with his family and in-laws in the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* when Native Americans,

led by Cupeño leader Antonio Garra, attempted to expel the North Americans from the San Diego region. John was conscripted into the local militia organized to put down the revolt against the newly established government, while other units of the state militia were sent from Los Angeles and San Francisco to aid in the fight. An expedition, sent out to put down the rebellion and capture its leaders, was composed mostly of the single men in town and U.S. soldiers stationed at Mission San Diego. Married men were left behind to protect the town in case it was attacked.<sup>35</sup>

Within a matter of weeks the rebellion by Native Americans was put down; its leaders captured, and after brief trials, several of them were executed including Garra. The militia unit from northern California, the San Francisco Rangers, arrived in port after the fighting had ended; many of these men were reluctant to return home until they had an opportunity to fight and kill some Indians. Rumors circulated that some of the men were wanted by the vigilante committee back in San Francisco. Most of the rangers remained in town drinking, gambling and generally disturbing the peace of local residents. After a gun fight between two of the men, Philip Crosthwaite, the deputy sheriff, attempted to arrest one of the culprits.<sup>36</sup>

In the ensuing gun fight both men were severely wounded, Crosthwaite receiving a bullet in his upper thigh. U.S. Army Lieutenant Thomas Sweeny, hearing the gun battle in the plaza, rushed to Crosthwaite's aid before other rangers could kill him. Sweeny was forced to keep troops stationed in town for

several days to ensure the peace of the community. After the plaza gun battle most of the rangers eventually returned to San Francisco, while local residents were increasingly frustrated by the lack of law and order and the general lawlessness that prevailed throughout the region.<sup>37</sup>

It was during this period of widespread unrest that one of the more infamous criminal trials in early San Diego History occurred. In later years news accounts portrayed the trial as an incident of “primitive” frontier justice involving Stewart and several other leading citizens of the community. Residents wanted to send a message to those involved in criminal activity that if they were caught committing a crime in their community, they would receive the maximum sentence allowed by law. In the summer of 1852, the clamor for law and order culminated in the public hanging of James “Yankee Jim” Robinson for the theft of a whale boat.<sup>38</sup>

Accounts of the affair offer different explanations as to where Robinson originally came from before migrating to California at the beginning of the gold rush. One account claimed he was a native of New Hampshire; another stated he was French Canadian. Father Holbein wrote in the Register of Burials for the local Catholic Church that he was thirty-one years of age and hailed from Nova Scotia. He was a big man standing over six feet tall and weighing more than two hundred pounds. By the time he arrived in San Diego he had a well-earned reputation in the northern mining camps as a criminal, reportedly

killing one or two of his victims he was robbing and fleeing before he could be apprehended.<sup>39</sup>

On the evening of August 13<sup>th</sup>, the town sheriff received a report that three men, one wearing a red shirt, attempted to steal the schooner *Plutus* and, upon being discovered, fled the scene in a small boat they stole at *La Playa*. The boat belonged to John Stewart and Enos Wall; Stewart used the *Plutus* to guide ships into the harbor in his work as the port's unofficial Harbor Pilot. Stewart's ship and his ability to do his job were important to the community in its efforts to promote the port as a commercial trading center on the Pacific coast. The consequences of the theft, therefore, could have been devastating to the economic prosperity of the town and its residents.<sup>40</sup>

The next day the sheriff with a posse went in pursuit of the thieves apprehending two of them near False Bay (Mission Bay). The sheriff continued on the trail of the third man as far as Louis Rose's ranch in *Cañada de las Lleguas* [mare canyon – what today is Rose Canyon]. He advised the Mexican caretaker to lookout for a man in a red shirt and to take him into custody if he came to the ranch.<sup>41</sup>

The following day the caretaker brought into town the man in the red shirt hogtied to a mule. That evening a committee of citizens convinced the men that they had better own up to their misdeeds, and eventually the three confessed to their crimes. They identified themselves as James "Yankee Jim" Robinson, ringleader, and his two accomplices Wm. Harris – alias Wm. Harney

– and James Grayson Loring. They indicated that they “had come down from Stockton together, stealing and selling horses, and committing rascalities generally.” If they hadn’t been discovered, they had planned to take the fast sailing pilot’s boat *Plutus* to Lower California. The Court of Sessions, after hearing the evidence, charged Robinson and Harris with grand larceny and Loring as an accessory.<sup>42</sup>

Two days later the court reconvened to empanel a jury, hold a trial and weigh the evidence against the three prisoners. Twelve men from the community served on the jury with Cave J. Cousts, a former army officer with the U.S./Mexican Boundary Commission, selected as its foreman. The panel included several prominent early San Diego pioneers including Stewart and Walls, the victims in the crime; when asked, the prisoners did not contest the participation of the two men in judging their guilt or innocence. After hearing the evidence and deliberating for a short time, the jury returned a verdict of guilty against all three men.<sup>43</sup>

At the time, California law permitted juries the discretion of giving someone convicted of grand larceny a sentence ranging from one year in the state penitentiary to death by hanging. Once a jury rendered a verdict and handed down its sentence, the trial judge did not have the authority to modify the decision that had been made. In the case against the three men, the jury sentenced Robinson to death by hanging and his two accomplices to one year each in the penitentiary.<sup>44</sup>

The County Judge, John Hayes, passed sentence on the prisoners setting September 28<sup>th</sup> as the date for the hanging to take place, approximately ten days from the date of sentencing – “the shortest time allowed by law between conviction and execution.” There was a public outcry over the delay in carrying out the sentence and many wanted to take Robinson out immediately and hang him from the nearest tree. As the *Herald* reported “when the people got together at the Court House, and talked the matter over coolly, wiser counsel prevailed. . .” The community decided to take turns guarding the prisoner until the “time expires for ‘swinging’ Yankee Jim.”<sup>45</sup>

County officials chose a tree growing about half way between the plaza and the local cemetery as the location to hold the hanging; a few years later Thomas Whaley would build a store and brick house on the site. When the day finally arrived, Crosthwaite, still serving as a deputy sheriff, transported the prisoner in a wagon to his execution where a large crowd had gathered to witness the event. With the prisoner standing in the back of the wagon, Crosthwaite placed the rope tightly around his neck and over the tree limb. Crosthwaite asked Robinson if he had anything to say before the sentence was carried out, and before he was finished speaking the wagon drove off. Since he was a big man, Robinson’s feet ended up only a few inches off the ground causing him to struggle for almost thirty minutes before dying.<sup>46</sup>

Issues of the *San Diego Herald* for September, 1852, do not exist, so there are no contemporary accounts of the hanging. Other prominent

newspapers in the state reported news of the execution but offered few details. Over the years stories about the hanging of Yankee Jim have appeared periodically in the *San Diego Union*, the first time was in October, 1873. Afterwards a follow-up story was published in which “an old settler” recalled his memories of the hanging having been an eye-witness to the affair. He explained that as Doctor Fred Painter, the local physician, was examining the body, Crosthwaite cut the rope causing the corpse to tumble down on top of the doctor. Since he was a much smaller man, Painter was unable to get out from beneath the dead body no matter how hard he tried. Crosthwaite and the crowd were overcome with laughter and took several minutes before helping the flustered doctor get free of his predicament.<sup>47</sup>

In 1935, Historian Winifred Davidson interviewed Old Town residents about the local gossip and stories surrounding the execution of James Robinson, the man “hanged for boat-stealing.” The one universal feeling conveyed by those she interviewed was one of relief on the part of Old Town residents at the time Yankee Jim was executed. They had heard “stories of revolting crimes which this man was said to have committed before he reached San Diego – atrocities which kept those San Diegans shuddering over the memory of Robinson.” Lillian Whaley, the daughter of Thomas Whaley, suggested that the community wasn’t rid of the villain yet, since many believed the ghost of Yankee Jim still lingers around her father’s house.<sup>48</sup>

The examination of events surrounding the hanging of Yankee Jim revealed Stewart's role in the affair but also uncovered evidence of boat ownership possibly related to his work as a pilot guiding ships in and out of the harbor. San Diego historian William E. Smythe noted that during these early American years Stewart was well known as "*El Piloto*" (the Pilot). As with many things associated with Stewart, no official port records or other extant documents have been found that tell us more about his service as a pilot for the port. Stewart's ownership of a boat, the stolen property in Yankee Jim's crime, was probably used for either whale hunting, trapping sea otters or traveling out to meet ships wishing assistance to enter the port safely. The first official appointment of a Harbor Pilot for the Port of San Diego occurred in the 1860's. Stewart probably served as the unofficial pilot for the port during the 1840s, 50s and into the 60s, while Old Town remained the center of the San Diego community.<sup>49</sup>

Evidence of Stewart's ownership of a boat (or boats) should be in the city and county tax rolls which failed to list any such property. In the years before the American Civil War, these rolls showed taxes levied on real estate, houses, livestock, crops, merchandise, and other personal property. Products produced from whale hunting, trapping sea otters or income earned from other boating activities did not show-up on the rolls, although we know these enterprises were underway.

During the 1850s tax rolls only credited Stewart with owning a few head of livestock and no other real or personal properties as he and Rosa continued to live with her parents. In 1852, Stewarts's father-in-law, José Manuel Machado, passed away and was buried in the local Catholic cemetery – *El Campo Santo* (the sacred ground). In the years between the war with Mexico and the U.S. Civil War, John and Rosa's family grew by four additional children – a third daughter and four sons. One of their sons died in infancy, living only about a month in 1849.<sup>50</sup>

Afterwards, the 1860 U.S. Census identified Stewart as the head of the household and having more livestock than local tax rolls had previously indicated - horses, milk cows and cattle valued at \$500. The census indicated that Rosa's mother continued to reside with them in the Machado Family home and owned real estate – the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* - valued at one thousand dollars. A year later María Serafina Machado died, and like her husband, was buried at *El Campo Santo*.<sup>51</sup>

In her last will and testament, María Serafina left her estate to her nine living children (see Appendix 1). John and Rosa inherited one of the bedrooms in the Machado Family home, and her mother's Old Town orchard. After leaving other individual items to various family members, María Serafina directed that the remaining part of the family home and the rancho at *El Rosario* in Baja California be divided equally among her nine children. She designated her son, Rafael, as the administrator of her estate, and admonished

her children to enjoy their home and not to fight. The courts accepted the will into probate and, thereafter, no further action was taken to settle the estate. By 1863 county tax rolls cited John Stewart as the taxpayer responsible for the Machado Family home and surrounding property.<sup>52</sup>

The Civil War ushered in several years of prolonged depression for the region and economic hard times for San Diego residents – those who stayed. The U.S. Army vacated its barracks in New Town as troops relocated to Los Angeles to better guard the region against activities of southern sympathizers, a significant loss of income for the community and its merchants. The torrential rains and widespread flooding during the winter of 1861-62 were followed by two years of severe drought; and smallpox revisited the community in 1863.<sup>53</sup>

As one merchant wrote “what we will all come to, down here, this year, I know not, for there is no grass, - & when I say no grass, I mean no grass. There is no place within 30 miles of town, (if you call it a town,) where 500 pounds of hay can be cut.” Six months later he found the silver lining in the calamitous state of affairs – “cattle are dying down here like thunder – good for Rancheros as they will now have hides with which to pay their debts.”<sup>54</sup>

For those residents for whom San Diego was home and not an economic investment they could abandon, these were years of struggle and trying to get by. The Stewarts worked the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, situated near the San Diego River, as a *ranchita* with a corral and out-buildings that included

some horses, milk cows and cattle. In addition to milk, they were also able to produce about a hundred pounds of cheese annually from their cows. Although the evidence remains fragmentary, there was a garden and orchard where they grew fruit and vegetables including pears, figs, pomegranates, corn, beans, and squash along with other produce.<sup>55</sup>

In 1869, John and Rosa entered into an agreement of understanding with Anita M. Wiley and her husband who had inherited the neighboring property from her grandmother – Feliciana de Reyes. The parties involved agreed that the “Stewart Garden” was on property that Wiley owned and acknowledged that the Stewarts had possession of the land for the last several years as “tenants by sufferance.” Mrs. Wiley agreed that she would give the Stewarts an opportunity to buy the property if at some point she decided to sell the land.(See Appendix Two)<sup>56</sup>

Like most frontier families during this era, the Stewarts experienced their share of joys and sorrows. The family welcomed several new additions as Rosa gave birth to four more children by the time the next census was taken – another son and three more daughters. Their second oldest daughter, María Jesusa Elojia, died in April, 1867, five months shy of her twentieth birthday. She was buried in *El Campo Santo* with her grandparents but later reburied along with her grandmother at Calvary Cemetery with other Stewart family members. A year later when Rosa gave birth to their eleventh and final child,

they named her in memory of the daughter they had lost, María Jesusa Elojia “Susa.”<sup>57</sup>

For some unexplained reason, the Stewart Family was not counted in the national census of 1870. Their names do not appear anywhere in the eleven townships enumerated in San Diego in the first national census taken after the U.S. civil war had ended. Assistant Marshal Benjamin C. Truman and a deputy conducted the 1870 census of the San Diego Township between June 11<sup>th</sup> and July 15<sup>th</sup>, visiting 932 dwellings and counting over 2,300 hundred residents. None of the Stewart family members were counted; so wherever they were, they were probably together – John, Rosa and their nine children.<sup>58</sup>

One plausible explanation is that they were spending time temporarily at the Machado Family *rancho* in Baja California and were out of the country. Another reason may be the rivalry between Old Town and Alonzo Horton’s New Town Addition, and Marshal Truman’s deliberate effort to under count Old Town residents. If this was the case, New Town promoters definitely would not want to identify John Stewart, one of San Diego’s more famous residents of Richard Henry Dana fame, as residing in a local community that was their main rival.

If the Stewarts were absent from the community, we know it was only for a brief period of time because of information uncovered in public records and news articles. Although he was not counted in the census, John did pay the annual taxes for 1870 on his Old Town property. In May and September he

served as a member of the county grand jury. John Baptist, the Stewarts' oldest son, turned eighteen in 1871 and, as required by state law, registered for duty in the local militia.<sup>59</sup>

At this time María Serafina Stewart sought her father's permission to marry Luis Antonio Serrano, but he steadfastly refused to give his consent for three years. Every time Luis came to the house to call on María, her parents would chase him off. As Luis explained years later, Stewart did not approve of his life-style as a *vaquero* (cowboy) and his fondness for bull fighting, horse racing or card playing.<sup>60</sup>

The young couple persisted in their efforts to marry. As was the custom of the day, Luis purchased María's wedding clothes in hopes of changing her father's mind. María finally told her father that she had made up her mind to marry Luis, and he relented. On 1 February 1870 they were married by Fr. Antonio Ubach in the small adobe church on Conde Street in Old Town. The following year John and Rosa's first grandchild arrived; Miguel J. Serrano was born 5 July 1871. Over the next twenty-one years María Serafina would give birth to nine more children, three girls and six boys.<sup>61</sup>

The Civil War period in United States history witnessed the growing use and popularity of photography in U.S. life, a trend that continued to expand in the post-war years. One of the first photographs of Old Town was taken in 1874, a panoramic view looking down from Presidio Hill towards the southwest in the direction of Point Loma. This Parker and Parker photo offers one of the

earliest views available of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, an enlarged print of the photo focusing on the house appears on the front cover of this report. The view of the southeast end of the house is partially obstructed by the new two-story Old Town school house, built in 1873. The photo provides only a limited view of the house's back side that was facing the plaza. The house is a rectangular, single-story structure with white-washed adobe walls and a single-pitch, tiled roof. Two windows and a doorway are visible in the image.<sup>62</sup>

This Parker and Parker 1874 photo does provide evidence of the property's use as a *ranchita* showing a split-rail fence around a large section of the land surrounding the house with an out-building (barn?) to the left across the yard and inside the corral. Outside the fence is a larger roofless adobe structure and in the distance the San Diego River, maybe a hundred yards at its closest point to the house, flowing across the mudflats out towards the harbor. Near the northwest end of the house there may be other structures or a partial view of a garden area - the image is unclear.

The Stewart's small ranch with its livestock, garden and orchard produced most of the family's needs; John and Rosa were able to provide for the children and get by with purchasing a modest amount of dry goods. Their granddaughter recalled "in those days, we only needed to buy sugar, flour, and of course, the New Orleans molasses." As a result, they had few expenses and were never sued in district court for unpaid debts during these years (1860s &

70s), which frequently occurred with other San Diego residents as the local economy continued to falter and banking institutions were nonexistent.<sup>63</sup>

Except for their one married daughter, all of the Stewart children were residing at home when national census takers took up their task again in 1880. There were ten adults and one child living in the Machado-Stewart House this time. John was sixty-seven years of age; Rosa was identified as fifty-five [she was actually fifty-eight]; all of their children were eighteen years or older except for their youngest daughter María de las Nieves, who was thirteen. The census cited “laborer” as the occupation for all of the men in the household, and the women were identified as living “at home”. Ralph Meza, a native of Mexico, was also a resident of the Stewart household, probably a boarder.<sup>64</sup>

The 1880s and 90s were years of transition for the Stewart Family and *La Casa de Machado y Stewart*. Two of the children moved north to San Bernardino: John Baptist found work as a teamster, married and started his own family; his sister Margaret worked as a housekeeper. The other three sons earned a living at several different occupations as San Diego approached the new millennium. Joseph worked as a laborer, and for several years, James and Frank worked as butchers before starting to farm on a homestead in Jamul. The two youngest daughters married and began their own families living within a few blocks of their parent’s home throughout most of their lives.<sup>65</sup>

At the beginning of the final decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, John and Rosa Stewart were in the final years of their lives. John was bed-ridden and unable to communicate or feed himself in the months before his death in February, 1892. Local newspapers published brief obituaries announcing his passing; while the *San Francisco Bulletin* had a reporter interview family members and published a lengthy biographical sketch recounting his life as the famed, but reclusive, shipmate of Richard Henry Dana. Stewart himself would never submit to such an interview, although reporters tried on numerous occasions. Rosa died six years later in 1898. Both were laid to rest in the Catholic cemetery above Old Town that John helped Fr. Ubach lay out years before, known today as Calvary Pioneer Cemetery of San Diego.<sup>66</sup>

The beginning of the new century was bringing changes to San Diego; urbanization made slow but steady progress as the city's population expanded with each passing decade. Subdivisions around the bay began to sell their lots to new residents planning to build homes for their families and not to speculators looking for quick profits. Old Town shared in this urban growth. The successful channeling of the San Diego River in 1877 ended the periodical flooding that occurred during heavy rainy seasons and opened up subdivided land for more permanent development.<sup>67</sup>

As land became more valuable, the Stewarts could no longer hold possession of or utilize vacant property they did not have clear title to. In the years following the southern California land boom of the 1880s, the *Casa de*

*Machado y Stewart* and its surrounding property underwent a transition from that of a small ranch to residential and commercial use. The Stewarts were the acknowledged owners of parts of four lots in two blocks – Block 435, Lots 2 & 3 and Block 436, Lots 1 & 4. The grading of Congress Street after 1909 resulted in the separation of their property into two sections divided by the new street.<sup>68</sup>

Upon the deaths of John and Rosa Stewart, their oldest daughter Rosita became the primary resident of the Machado-Stewart House, and her brother Frank assumed responsibility for paying the annual property taxes. Rosita lived in the house throughout her life, and never married. Old Town oral traditions tell the tale of a broken romance after Rosita had postponed her wedding on three different occasions. She wanted to hold the ceremony on a day when most of her relatives would be able to attend, which prompted her to keep rescheduling the date. After the third postponement, her fiancé broke off the engagement and found another girl to marry.<sup>69</sup>

As the 20<sup>th</sup> century began, three of the brothers continued to pursue their occupational interests: James operated the farm in Jamul until going to work for the city street department; John stayed in San Bernardino employed as a teamster; and Joseph became a fireman in the city water works. Frank, however, kept changing jobs. The 1900 U.S. national census listed Frank's occupation as a section hand for the railroad company. A year later, he was the assistant county jailer. Three years later he was clerking for his brother-in-law in the Connor's post office and grocery store in North [Old] San Diego.<sup>70</sup>

These early years of the new century also brought other changes to the Stewart Family. Margaret Stewart, the daughter living in San Bernardino, died in May, 1900, and seven years later José Manuel passed away. Both were buried in Calvary Cemetery near their parents. In 1910, Frank, now forty-seven years old, married Julia Alvarez on New Year's Day in the Old Town Catholic Church on Conde Street. His sister and her husband, María Serafina and Luis Serrano, served as their witnesses. Afterwards, according to the 1910 census, the newlyweds lived on Hancock Street in Old Town, and John's two youngest children, Frank and Theresa Stewart, were residing with them. A year later, brother John died and was buried with other family members at Calvary Cemetery.<sup>71</sup>

In 1911, Frank went into the grocery business for himself opening a store on the family property located on the corner northeast corner of Mason and Congress streets [3954 Mason Street]. A year after their marriage, he and Julia moved into the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* with Rosita as they started a family of their own. The 1920 national census reported nine people residing in the Machado-Stewart House on Congress Street: Frank, Julia and three of their four children; Rosita; and their brother James with his two boys. In 1914, James had gone through a bitter divorce and was in poor health and no longer able to work. Five years later he passed away and was buried with other family members at Calvary Cemetery.<sup>72</sup>

The financial hardships of the Stewart Family began with Frank's death in June, 1925; he was the last of the five sons of John and Rosa Stewart. Frank had married quite late in life and at the time of his passing, the four living children were all under fifteen years of age. Frank and Julia's oldest daughter, Rosa Margarita, died in 1918 during the world-wide influenza epidemic, and an infant son had passed away three years earlier from cerebral meningitis.<sup>73</sup>

Julia became the head of the family that now included seven people living in the Stewart household - three of her four children, two nephews (James' sons) and her eighty year-old sister-in-law Rosita. Julia did not believe that the unpaid accounts of Grocery store customers were rightfully hers to collect. Those obligations and debts had died with Frank. She destroyed Frank's account books and was subsequently forced to close the store when she lacked sufficient funds to pay the bills that came due. She found work temporarily as a cannery worker to support the children, her sister-in-law and herself. She also by 1933, the Stewarts were having problems paying the annual real estate taxes on their property.<sup>74</sup>

Julia and Frank's oldest daughter, Carmen, attended Point Loma High School and after graduating married Joseph "Joe" Meza in 1932. At first the young couple rented a house on Jefferson Street, but by 1940 they were residing in a house on the site of her father's old grocery store next to the family's historic adobe. Joe found employment with the city water department

as Carmen became pregnant with their first child. During these years of nation-wide depression, Carmen and Joe's family grew to include two daughters and two sons.

A year after the marriage of her niece, Rosita passed away at the age of eighty-eight and was buried at Calvary Cemetery along with other family members. At the time of her death, newspapers reported that Rosita was the last known native San Diegan born in California prior to the U.S. conquest of 1846.<sup>75</sup>

In 1932, the City of Los Angeles was hosting the Olympic Games; and thousands of visitors were expected to attend the game and travel throughout southern California. San Diego civic leaders sought to attract these tourists, in part, by promoting the community's history as the birth place of California. The local chamber of commerce, through its bureau of hospitality, tourism and recreation, led the effort to "appropriately mark" thirty-four historical landmarks "before the vanguard of the year's Olympic visitors arrive[d]."<sup>76</sup>

The San Diego Hotel Association and the Automobile Association of Southern California agreed to provide financial support. Hotel members were encouraged to adopt individual sites and pay the cost of producing and installing the signs – "distinctive and symbolic sign[s] that could be readily recognized by tourists and visitors."

Each of the 34 historical spots [was] marked with a Mission style redwood sign to which [was] attached a metal plate of distinctive design and color with a synopsis of the historic incident pertaining to the particular landmark.

In June, the U.S. Grant Hotel sponsored the sign for the Casa de Stewart, “the former home of John S. (sic) Stewart, shipmate of Richard Henry Dana.”<sup>77</sup>

The marking of historical sites in San Diego was part of a statewide campaign to promote tourism in California through the telling of its history. In December, 1932, the State Department of Natural Resources and the State Park Commission, in cooperation with the California State Chamber of Commerce, designated the Casa de Stewart State Historical Landmark Number seventy-three. The report to the commission offered this description of the house:

Built by Corporal Jose Manuel Machado of the San Diego Presidio Company, this was the home of his daughter Rosa after she became the wife of John S. (Jack) Stewart, a shipmate on the “Alert” of Richard Henry Dana, Jr., author of “Two Years Before the Mast” and in that narrative mentioned. Here lives (1932) Miss Rosa Stewart, eldest daughter of Jack Stewart; the house where she was born December 1, 1845. In 1859 Dana visited this house.<sup>78</sup>

The historical legacy of the Machado Family home and its Mexican heritage was of no interest and went largely ignored.

In the 1930s, as the United States’ economy lapsed into a severe depression, Stewarts repeatedly fell behind on the payment of their property taxes. The County Tax Assessor’s published delinquent tax lists for the years 1930-34 that showed taxes going unpaid for several years on property identified as belonging to the Mrs. F.J. Stewarts (Julia) and her two nephews - James’ sons John and James. Tax rolls listed Mrs. F.J. Stewart and her nephews as the taxpayers for portions of Lots 1 & 4 in Block #436 - the land

where the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* was located. The rolls identified Mrs. Stewart alone as the taxpayer for portions of Lots 2 & 3 in Block #435.<sup>79</sup>

The 1937 tax rolls indicated that the Stewarts had lost control of the property that had been held by their family for over a hundred years. California State law required the county tax assessor to sell land at public auction in which property taxes were delinquent for five years or more. In 1937-38 the Stewart property was transferred to the State of California prior to selling it at public auction to recover the taxes that were owed. By 1944 ownerships of the two lots in Block #435 were acquired by Antonio & Carmen Sotelo and Homer & Ruth Paulus.<sup>80</sup>

The two lots in Block #436 involving the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* went through a series of similar property transactions after being seized by the state. Again by 1944, owners who planned to retain the lots indefinitely had acquired the property; Mrs. Netta Semerad purchased Lot #1, and Nettie & D.W. Glasser Lot #4. Since the location of the house was almost equally divided between the two lots, Semerad and the Glassers each owned half of the historic adobe.<sup>81</sup>



California background of San Diego and present a colorful tourist attraction for visitors from all parts of the country.”<sup>83</sup>

The City of San Diego Planning Department prepared a report that provided a brief inventory of those buildings of historic value, one of which was the Casa de Stewart. It offered a one sentence statement about the house: “Casa de Stewart is still occupied by the Stewarts, descendants of Richard Henry Dana’s shipmate on the Alert, but is much in need of care and repairs.” The department’s report recommended a plan of action that included both public and private funding. It expressed the hope that the “San Diego Historical Society may find it possible to acquire, repair and maintain the Casa de Lopez, Casa de Stewart and the Whaley House. The City might well assist the Society in this effort.”<sup>84</sup>

Twenty years later efforts to “acquire, repair and maintain” the Casa de Stewart still awaited action. As the City of San Diego began to prepare for the celebration of its bicentennial anniversary in 1969, plans emerged through the State Park Commission for the establishment of the “Old San Diego Historical Park.” The 1967-68 California state budget included funds for the acquisition of the land and the restoration of the Stewart House. On 13 February 1969 a dedication ceremony was held to mark the completion of the restoration of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*. On that February day, the California Department of Parks and Recreation became only the fifth generation, throughout the house’s long history, to take possession and occupy this historic adobe.

Finally, on 3 September 1971 the Machado-Stewart House was listed as a contributing member of a National Register Historic District.<sup>85</sup>

One of the first actions taken by DPR staff was to restore the Machado name to their ancestral home, acknowledging the house's pioneering Mexican heritage. Over the years, efforts to present the history of the house have ignored its Mexican background and, instead, stressed Stewart's connection as a shipmate to Richard Henry Dana, Jr. It was a relationship that brought Stewart a considerable amount of fame throughout his lifetime, which he strongly disliked and steadfastly refused to accept. Although the two men had a cordial friendship, Stewart did not welcome the notoriety that came with it.

José Manuel Machado and John Collins "Jack" Stewart were pioneers on California's Mexican frontier, one a presidio soldier and the other a New England mariner. Along with their wives, they were some of San Diego earliest settlers who struggled against many hardships to carve out a life for themselves and their families. They were pioneers who stayed, and many of their descendants have stayed for over two hundred years. This is the historical legacy of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, and the history that is most significant. The brief historical overview that is presented in this report begins to tell that story and that of the Machado-Stewart family home.

PROPERTY HISTORY SUMMARIZED

Sometime after 1830, José Manuel Machado retired from the Mexican army after more than twenty-five years of service on the California frontier, most of which was spent at the Presidio of San Diego. As a reward for their years of service, retired soldiers and their family members were the primary grantees of large grants of land awarded by the government, a practice intended to promote economic development of the isolated province. José Manuel was evidently a recipient of such a grant and, by 1836, held possession of Rancho de Rosario (also known as *Las Barracas* [cabin for soldiers]). This grant was about 14,000 acres in size and situated on land that today includes the City of Rosarito Beach in northern Baja California.<sup>86</sup>

In addition to receiving land for farming and the raising of livestock, former presidio soldiers and their descendants were awarded pueblo lots for their *casa de pobladores* or townhouses. If this was the case for the Machados, no documents so far are presently available to verify it. The specific circumstances are not known about how or when the Machados acquired their property in Old Town, or when they first built their townhouse. The general consensus among historians has been that José Manuel and María Serafina Machado built their house, the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, southwest of the plaza about 1835. Early deed records have been cited in previous studies that made references to the Machados being in possession of the property, but these were not documents that granted title to or confirmed ownership of the

property. José Manuel's great-granddaughter, Lottie Mustain asserted in an interview that the family understood, based on oral traditions, their grandfather had traded cattle to acquire the property.<sup>87</sup>

In the 1840s, the Machados four oldest children resided in their own houses around the plaza: Juana lived in the *Casa de Wrightington*; María Antonia in the *Casa de Machado y Silvas*; María Guadalupe in the *Casa de Ybarra y Wilder*; and Juan (the oldest son) in the *Casa de Ruiz y Machado*. Some historical accounts have claimed that Juan Manuel Machado built houses for his daughters as wedding presents, but, again, no evidence has been found corroborating this assertion. What is more likely to have happened is that the daughters and/or their spouses received favorable considerations from officials in their acquisition of pueblo lots because of the status of José Manuel as a retired soldier. His military status most likely influenced Alcalde Juan María Marrón's decision to approve María Guadalupe's petition in 1845 for a plot of land near her sister's house, the *Casa de Wrightington*.

The American conquest of California in 1846 led to further settlement on San Diego pueblo lands that had long-term consequences for José Manuel and María's townhouse and property. Many of those residents who favored the American seizure of the province wanted to see San Diego, with its fine harbor, develop into a commercial trading center. As early as 1848 these residents made inquiries with the American military governor about the legal authority city officials had to sell city lands.<sup>88</sup> The following year, the *Ayuntamiento* (City

Council) hired a United States army officer, Lt. Cave J. Coutts, to survey the town of Presidio, today's Old Town San Diego, and the landing site at *La Playa*.

Lt. Coutts, a cavalry officer assigned to the United States Boundary Commission, completed his field work at both locations in July and August of 1849. He designed for Presidio a system of streets and blocks using a grid pattern that did not take into consideration geographical features, property holdings or the location of existing houses. The subdivision he designed consisted of sixty-three blocks which were each subdivided into four lots; the blocks measured 300 square feet and lots 150 square feet. He numbered the blocks one through sixty-four, omitting the number sixty-three. The plaza in the center of town, originally laid out in 1827, was named Washington Square and left unnumbered. In 1856 county officials renumbered the blocks to create a unified property numbering system for pueblo lands that incorporated the four subdivided communities around the harbor: Presidio/Old Town, *La Playa*, New Town and Middletown.<sup>89</sup>

As a result of Coutts' survey, the Machado property was spread across parts of two different blocks and portions of four lots with Congress Street running through the center of their land. The new land classification system divided the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* in half with sections of the house configured on two contiguous lots. The legal description of the Machado property based on the Coutts' Map numbering system was Block #30, Lots #2 & #3 – the northern half of the lots and Block #20, Lots #1 & #4 – the southern

half of the lots. The 1856 revised numbering system changed block numbers from #30 to #435 and #20 to #436.<sup>90</sup>

In 1850, the newly convened state legislature in California implemented a property tax system based on the assessed value of real and personal property to pay the cost of state and local governments. Property descriptions found in the San Diego tax rolls were neither accurate nor consistent for the lots occupied by the Machados and Stewarts during much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first city and county rolls listed only Block #30 (#435), Lot #4 as the location for the Machado-Stewart house; it was actually built on Block #20 (#436), Lots #2 & #3. By the end of the 1890s property descriptions in the tax rolls became more consistent and standardized.<sup>91</sup>

The first City of San Diego tax roll identified María Serafina Machado as the owner of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* and listed \$1,700 as the total assessed value of her property - \$400 for the land, \$1,000 for improvements, and \$300 for personal property. The County's tax roll showed an appraisal of \$2,000 for the same property without providing a breakdown of the assessment. These first assessments reflected the inflationary economy of the gold rush period and, within a few years, were adjusted downward to average between \$650 and \$1,100 in the years before the American Civil War. María remained identified as the taxpayer for the property during this period until her death in 1861.<sup>92</sup>

In her last will and testament, drafted three days before she died, María divided her estate among her nine children and designated her son Rafael as the administrator. Her favorite horse – *Sabino* (a white & chestnut colored animal) – she gave to her son Jesus. She left to her daughter Rosa the furnishings in her home, the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, plus the orchard which she owned. She stated that she was “owner and landlord of a house in San Diego and a parcel that has a frontage of fifty rods recorded in relevant title.” She declared that the house itself was “for the benefit and use of all my children shared in equal parts with the exception of one room that I expressly leave to my daughter Rosa.” She directed that her children “share in equal parts” the Rosarito Rancho, the storage facility for sheep that she owned, and the rest of her property.<sup>93</sup>

María’s will stated that the property had a frontage of fifty rods, a length of 825 feet, suggesting that the Machados’ property was considerably larger than deed or tax records have indicated. Photographs showing the property in the 1870s reveal a large corral associated with the house reflecting occupation of a large tract of land. In her will María said that ownership of the land had been “recorded in relevant title.” Deed records, however, have not been located verifying her ownership of any property. One explanation may be that the Machados received title to their property when California was under Mexican rule and did not confirm their ownership of the land when the United States implemented its new land tenure system. Fifteen years after the

American conquest, Rafael was unable to verify his mother's ownership of the property to transfer title to her heirs and conclude her affairs.

Rafael Machado never settled the affairs of his mother's estate. Less than a month following her death, he filed a petition with the court to have María's will admitted into probate and for his appointment as administrator of her estate. Two weeks later the County Judge, presiding over probate matters, issued an order acknowledging the validity of the will and appointing Rafael to oversee the resolution of María's worldly affairs. Thereafter, no further legal action was ever taken by Rafael regarding his mother's affairs.<sup>94</sup>

Efforts to unravel the property history of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* are further complicated by an 1869 agreement between the Stewarts and Anita M. Wiley and her husband. In this agreement the Wiley's acknowledged the Stewarts use of land known as the "Stewart's garden," and the Stewarts conceded the Wiley's ownership of the property in question. At this point, it is not clear if the "Stewart garden" is the same property that was the orchard María Machado willed to her daughter Rosa's when she died.<sup>95</sup>

There is insufficient evidence presently available to resolve the questions involving Machados' ownership of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* property or to explain the circumstance in which the Stewarts gained possession of the house and the land associated with it. The tax rolls for 1861 listed John Stewart as owning one ninth interest in Block #435 and its improvements, valued at \$5.00 for the land and \$60.00 for the house. The other part owners

of the land and house were not assessed; Rosa's brothers and sisters were, however, listed on the rolls as paying taxes on the other parcels of land which they held. Occasionally, over the next few years one of Rosa's brothers appeared along with John as the taxpayer for the property, but after 1873 the Machados were no longer identified as taxpayers for the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*. The Stewarts' granddaughter later reported that John and Rosa eventually "bought the shares of the heirs in the old family home", and thereafter, it became known as the "Stewart House."<sup>96</sup>

The question of property ownership was revisited again in 1886 when Rosa's sister's estate was being probated. María Guadalupe de Machado Smith died in May, 1884, and two years later the courts appointed her son Anglo to serve as the administrator of her estate. He filed an inventory of her real estate holdings and secured an order to sell the property at public auction. Although Guadalupe's one-ninth interest in the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* was not listed in the inventory, her interest in the house was sold at the auction. John Stewart purchased her one-ninth interests for \$2.00 and, the court approved the sale in its final decree of settlement and distribution for Guadalupe's estate.<sup>97</sup>

Upon the passing of John and Rosa Stewart in the 1890s, their daughter Rosa and son Frank received possession of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* and land. Tax rolls identified Frank as the owner of the property even though he never received legal title to the property; the Stewarts' estate never went

through probate. Rosa was the one constant occupant of the house while Frank found employment in occupations that kept him away from the family home.

It wasn't until after the turn-of-the-century that tax rolls provided a consistent description of the Stewart's property that was carried forward into the new millennium – Block #436, Lots 1 & 4 SW ½ and Block #435, Lots 2 & 3 NE ½. Tax rolls also began showing the City of San Diego as one of the property owners in Block #435, which was the right-of-way for Congress Street established by the Couets Map of 1849. Again, Couets not only placed the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* on two different lots but also divided the property in half by running a street through the center of the site.<sup>98</sup>

The new century brought changes to Old Town San Diego, or North San Diego as it became known, and the Machado-Stewart property. The City of San Diego was growing, spreading out from its original urban center around Alonzo Horton's New Town. Civic leaders were hoping to attract tourists to San Diego by promoting the history of its original town-site as the birthplace of California. The Spreckels Company wanted to extend trolley service to North San Diego and petitioned the city for street improvements including the opening of Congress Street. In 1907, the City Engineer submitted plans to the City Council for the grading of Congress Street, and following their approval, city crews completed the work over the next three years. San Diego City and County Directory's Street Guide listed Congress Street for the first time in its

1913 edition describing it as extending northwest from Witherby Street for sixteen blocks to Greenwood - six blocks beyond Mason Street.<sup>99</sup>

The opening of Congress Street divided the Machado-Stewart property in half and forced the end of all farming and ranching activity on the site. Although this type of activity probably stopped, except for some gardening and a few fruit trees, several years before as residential land use expanded in the area during the 1890s. In 1904, Frank Stewart was working for his brother-in-law as a clerk in his grocery store and post office located on San Diego Avenue a block south of the plaza. Three years later, he opened his own market on the northeast corner of Mason and Congress Street, a few yards south of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* on the family's property. The market remained in business for the next eighteen years until after Frank's death in 1925.<sup>100</sup>

After her husband died, Julia Stewart became the taxpayer for the Machado-Stewart house and property; the family never probated Frank's estate so there was no legal transfer of ownership to her. Julia was a single parent employed as a cannery worker with a family to support, and within a few years, she experienced problems paying her annual property taxes. In June, 1931, the County Tax Assessor started listing the property on the Delinquent Tax List published annually in the *San Diego Union*, and by 1938, title to the property had been transferred to the State of California as required by law.<sup>101</sup>

The state and county were required to hold a property for five years before selling it at public auction for non-payment of taxes. The county began

selling the Machado-Stewart property in 1941, eventually to four different buyers. Since the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* was located on two lots in Block #436, it now had two owners who each purchased half of the house. Edward F. Anholzer, treasurer of the Old Town Community Church bought Lot 4, SW ½, from the City of San Diego in March, 1941; two months later, he sold the property to the Church. Three years later, the church sold the property to D.W. & Netta B. Glasser on the 12 August 1944.<sup>102</sup>

In December, 1943, Netta Semerad acquired Lot 1, SW ½ at a State Sale for \$555 giving her the ownership of the other half of the house. The following year Semerad's attorney filed a suit in Superior Court to "Quiet Title" to her property listing Julia Stewart, and her daughter - Carmen Meza, and several other Stewart Family members as defendants. The Stewarts did not challenge the action in court. In June, 1947, the court issued a "decree quieting title" giving Semerad clear title to the property she had bought four years earlier.<sup>103</sup>

Julia's and Carmen's new landlords agreed that the two women with their family could live in the house as long as they wished. Julia died at home on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March, 1958 and was buried at Holy Cross Cemetery. Carmen Meza and her children lived in the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* until the winter of 1964-65 when water damage caused by heavy rains made the house uninhabitable. Two years later, the California State Parks Department purchased the house in the process of assembling historic properties for the Old Town San Diego State Historic Park.

## *Casa de Machado y Stewart*

Five generations of Machados and Stewarts lived in their family home, *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, for almost 130 years from the 1830s into the 1960s. It was originally built as a *casa de pobladore* [townhouse] by the Machados in conjunction with their rancho at Rosario in Baja California. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Stewarts lived in the house and used the surrounding land to raise livestock, cultivate their garden, grow fruit trees and support other farming activities.

As the 20<sup>th</sup> century began, expanding residential land use ended the Stewarts ranching and farming activities on the property. In 1907, Frank Stewart opened a small grocery store on the southwest corner of the property. After his death in 1925, the store closed and for the next forty years Frank's wife, daughter and grandchildren resided in one of Old Town San Diego's original adobe houses. Finally, for the last forty-five years the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* has been operated by the California Department of Parks and Recreation as a historic house museum and listed as a contributing member of a National Register Historic District since 1971.

## ARCHITECTURE

Two months after its acquisition of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, the DPR hired Clyde Francis Trudell, a San Francisco based architect specializing in the restoration of historic properties, to oversee the rehabilitation of the Machado-Stewart adobe and renovations to the *Casa de Estudillo*. A native

Californian and World War II veteran, Trudell brought to his assignment over thirty-five years of experience as a preservationist and historian. He started his career in the 1930s employed as an architect on restoration projects for Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia and had previously completed two assignments for DPR in Columbia and Sacramento state parks in northern California.<sup>104</sup>

Local historian Orion Zink assisted Trudell with the project's research tracking down local resources and interviewing long-time Old Town residents acquainted with the history of the house. Zink, a retired employee from the Department of Motor Vehicle, had more than twenty years of experience delving into San Diego history and had previously published a booklet about Old Town's historic buildings entitled *Places at Old Town San Diego*. As part of his work, he conducted oral history interviews with Lottie Mustain and Carmen Meza, John and Rosa Stewart's granddaughters who were born in the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*. As a result of his interviews with Mustain – the older of the two women, Zink produced a set of interior drawings showing the rooms in the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* as they existed in the 1890's (see Appendix 3).<sup>105</sup>

In September, 1967, Trudell produced a report summarizing his findings regarding the historical and architectural background of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*. In the report Trudell included a series of recommendations outlining steps for proceeding with the restoration of the house. He based

these recommendations on the assumption that DPR's objective was to restore the house as it existed during the Mexican era, when it was occupied by José Manuel Machado and his family. The *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, as it exists today, is due largely to the recommendations Trudell put forward forty-five years ago.<sup>106</sup>

Prior to beginning work on the house, DPR staff arranged for Dr. Paul Ezell and anthropology students from San Diego State University to conduct an archaeological excavation of the Machado-Stewart site. The goal of the project was to examine the foundation of the house to determine its original size and shape; secondarily staff asked the archaeologists to see if the locations of any other structures – out-buildings – could be found on the property. Time and resources allocated for the project were limited. Ezell and the students completed their work between September and December, 1967, with much of their time contributed on a volunteer basis.<sup>107</sup>

Trenches dug around the outside of the house's adobe walls disclosed that the Machados had built their family home on the open ground without the benefit of a foundation. Since they constructed their house near the San Diego River, the archaeologists concluded further that repeated flooding over the years had washed away any other evidence that remained about the size or shape of the original dwelling. In addition to the trenches, archaeologists used five test pits to briefly examine other locations on the site. Findings uncovered

from these pits were inconclusive but indicated that more thorough excavations may show the exact locations of other buildings.<sup>108</sup>

Trudell's examination of the house concluded that the original adobe structure, built circa 1830, was a single-story house in which the remaining section measured 20'-0" by 50'-0". The length of the house ran parallel to Congress Street on a southeasterly axis with the front of the structure facing the town's plaza and the lane (an original roadway pre-dating the 1849 Coutts survey) that ran between the two. The only original structural features Trudell found still existing with the house were the adobe walls, door and window openings, and the timber lintels and (possibly) wood framing for these openings.<sup>109</sup>

Trudell stated that the survey of the house prior to its rehabilitation indicated that there were two rooms enclosed within the original adobe walls, a general living area measuring 15'-0" by 27'-9" and on the east end a bedroom 15'-0" by 15'-0". He described the two adobe end walls and an intermediate one as extending "gable-fashion to the roof." The walls were built of sun dried adobe bricks held in place with adobe mortar which at some point were plastered over and periodically white washed on both the interior and exterior surfaces.<sup>110</sup>

The front (north) side of the house included two windows and a doorway near the west end of the wall. The window at the east end may originally have been another doorway before it was partially filled-in. On the west end of the

living room was a fireplace that had been built into the wall which Trudell believed was not an original part of the house since an exterior chimney was not present in any of the early photographs. There were two recessed built-in wall niches in the house, one in the bedroom at the east end of the house and the other in the south wall of the main room. He believed that one of these niches may have served as the family's alter which they had in the house. <sup>111</sup>

Although it is fragmentary, evidence available for the Machado years indicates the house included both dirt and tile flooring. Dana described the house as having earthen floors during his visit to San Diego to see his old shipmate in 1859. Mrs. Mustain recalled tile flooring in the room where the family had a small alter; while Mrs. Meza, nineteen years younger, had no recollection of these tiles. The archaeological excavations of the house found evidence of "clearly marked tile impressions" in the layer of "tannish-red clay" under a section of wood flooring when it was removed. Photographs (slides) taken during the reconstruction revealed that workers discovered tile flooring that came originally from the San Diego Presidio. Frank Stewart installed wood flooring - tongue and groove style - in the house when he moved back into the house after 1911.<sup>112</sup>

In his report Trudell stated "it is unlikely that the exact details of the doors, windows and roofing, etc. of the Machado adobe will ever be discovered." He recommended reconstructing a roof common to adobe dwellings of 19<sup>th</sup> century California using hand-molded, burned clay tiles set on a matting of

woven tule-cane, similar to the cane found along the banks of the San Diego River – known as “Carrizo Cane” (Genus *Arundinaceus*). This cane matting is tied to log pole rafters with raw-hide strips. These same types of strips were also used to connect rafters to beams and upright supports.<sup>113</sup>

Unique to the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* is the old ship’s spar used as a support beam in the main room – an octagonally-shaped timber which tapers from nine inches at either end to twelve inches in the center. Trudell speculated that “its original function was probably to act as a supporting beam for an upright at its mid-point which, in its turn, supported the original log roof ridge poles.” This spar probably dates from Stewart’s association with the house beginning circa 1845, given his background as a mariner, hide house manager, harbor pilot, and carpenter.<sup>114</sup>

On the south side of the house wing walls extended out approximately ten feet from the ends of the west and east walls. Although Trudell was uncertain if these walls were part of the original construction, they have been included in the restoration of the house implying that subsequent analysis proved that they were. In his review of the structure, Dr. Ezell was reasonably certain that they were and pointed out that these types of walls were an “architectural feature commonly seen in comparable structures in Mexico”. A roof connected to the two walls and provided some protection for an outside work area in the back of the house.<sup>115</sup>

It is uncertain when a “stud framed wall” was built enclosing the area between the two wing walls, increasing indoor living space by almost fifty percent. Trudell estimated that the enclosure could have been completed as late as 1911; he did not offer opinion as to how early this modification may have occurred. The wall’s exterior was covered with wood siding and fenestrated with five windows and a door at the southwest end. The roof consisted of 2” by 4” roof rafters and 1” roof sheathing boards, some of which were 16” inches in width suggesting that they may be quite old. The roofed in area added two to three rooms giving the house a total of three bedrooms, living room, kitchen and dining area. At the time of Trudell’s examination of the house, the space between the winged walls included only two rooms, but he observed markings on the ceiling of a former wall partition that would have divided the space for a third room.<sup>116</sup>

The addition of a kitchen to the house probably came towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century - sometime after 1885. Mustain recalled that most of the cooking was done out of doors under a *ramada* (an open-air structure with a pitched thatched roof) serving as their kitchen along with an *horno* (outdoor oven) used for baking. Each day while her grandmother attended morning mass, her grandfather’s chore was to start the fire in the *horno* to bake the day’s bread. Stewart did not like tortillas but instead preferred his bread baked fresh daily. Additionally, Mustain recalled the small kitchen furnished with a dish cabinet, coffee grinder attached to the wall and an iron stove with

an oven. The chimney that appeared in the 1930's photos of the house was part of the ventilation system for this stove.<sup>117</sup>

Over the years the lack of a foundation was causing the walls to gradually deteriorate as the moisture from the rains was absorb up into the adobe, and when dried, the remaining mineral deposits caused the clay soil to degrade. In 1911 Frank Stewart moved back into the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* and made improvements to protect the adobe structure from water damage. He placed 2" by 4" studs in front of the end walls and attached vertical boards and battens. In later years this boarding was replaced with horizontal V-joint, lap siding to sheath in the south and end walls. Thereafter, three exterior walls had wood siding while the north wall – the front of the house – remained whited washed adobe brick.<sup>118</sup>

In addition to the wood siding, Frank also built a *piazza* (covered porch) about 1915 that extended across the house's front façade and on the west end he enclosed an area for the children to use as a playroom. In 1930 the City's water and sewer lines were connected to the house, and this porch room was converted to a bathroom. Stella Pellitier, Carmen Meza's daughter, recalled growing up in the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* during the 1940s and having to heat water outside in an open fire pit to get hot water for a bath. Workers from the neighboring lumber yard – Dixieline Lumber Co. - would bring over scrap wood each week for the family to burn in their fire pit.<sup>119</sup>

Previously, Stewarts used a hand pump to get and distribute water on their property, which was located south of Congress Street towards the San Diego River near the family's orchard and garden. The children were expected to take turns pumping water to the garden vegetables. On the slope above the river the Stewarts cultivated an extensive orchard of fig, pomegranate, grape and olive trees. The grapes were used to make raisins. Olives were pressed for their oil and, when there was an abundant supply, the family made Castilian soap. Rosa told her granddaughter that John made her a wooden, zinc lined bathtub and put it in a clump of bamboo near the river. On warm days they would fill the tub with water and have a private spot for bathing.<sup>120</sup>

Finally in 2008, I.S. Architecture of La Jolla completed a Building Condition Assessment Report (BCA) for the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* which included a review of the house's restoration completed forty years earlier under Trudell's guidance. In its historical background section, the report analyzed maps produced of San Diego's pueblo lands and harbor in the 1850s and the various configurations presented in these historical documents representing the house. The report concluded "although some early maps show the building with various configurations, careful examination of documents, photographs, and archaeological investigations suggest the main dwelling was always a two-room habitation identical to the present building." Although those sources cited in the BCA Report may offer some support for this conclusion, the preponderance of historical evidence indicates that the *Casa de Machado y*

*Stewart* was seldom, if ever, “a two room habitation identical to the present building.”<sup>121</sup>

The Department of Parks and Recreation and Trudell took a conservative approach to the project, and for the most part, rebuilding the house to the time of its occupation by the Machado family based largely upon the physical evidence that remained in 1967-69. The drawback to this approach, as previous studies have shown, is that repeated flooding over the years caused by the San Diego River has washed the site clean of archaeological evidence. Trudell’s examination of the house revealed that the structure had undergone numerous modifications over the years, especially after 1898 and the passing of John and Rosa Stewart.

In a 1975 interview, Mrs. Mustain recalled that her Uncle Frank’s renovations in 1911 were extensive, giving the house’s appearance an almost complete change over. In addition to the tongue and groove flooring, wood siding and a new porch, he put on a new shingled roof, removed the *carrizo* under mating, and added wood board ceiling in the rooms. By 1967, the only architectural features remaining in the house from the 1840s and 50s, for the most part, were three adobe walls, some flooring remnants, and a ship’s spar.

The history that is known today about the Machado and Stewart families does not support the conclusion that their home was a dwelling of two rooms for any extended period of time. Census, oral history and genealogy records, most of which were not available to Trudell or Zink in 1967, show that various

combinations of family members lived in the house throughout most of its 130-year history. Over the years as transitions occurred in people's lives, the make-up of the house's residents changed.

Trudell pointed out that at the time of the original construction of the house the Machados had five minor children living at home; there were actually seven. After John and Rosa were married in 1845, they lived in the house with her parents and started raising their own family. The U.S. Census of 1850 identified eight occupants residing in the house – five Machados and three Stewarts. Ten years later Maria Serafina and Rosa were the only Machados residing in the house with John and seven children under fifteen years of age. U.S. census records, voter registration lists and city directories never showed less than eight people living in the house between 1850 and 1940. Oral history interviews by Mustain and her daughter give corroborating evidence about the house's occupants and living arrangements during the Stewarts' residency since the 1860s.

As the BCA Report indicated, the early maps of San Diego fail to agree on the size and shape of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* offering instead a variety of different configurations. The historical sources that do provide some consistent evidence about the house are the two paintings of San Diego produced in the 1850s. H.M.T. Powell completed a number of sketches of San Diego during his brief stay in the community in 1850. In one of the extant copies of his sketches, he depicted the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* as the

familiar rectangular structure but with an extension built on to the east end of the house.<sup>122</sup>

Six years later artist Henry Miller completed a second painting of the town which showed the house as a rectangular shaped building comparable to Powell's sketch, except it included a second attachment on the east end of the structure. Chronologically, the next graphic view available of the house is the 1874 Parker & Parker photograph of Old Town, a panorama view that shows the extensions on its east end are gone. Thereafter, photographic images of the house indicate that its basic physical configuration, a 20' by 50' rectangular dwelling, changed very little other than its outside appearance (see Appendix 4).<sup>123</sup>

This historical sequence for the changes associated with the house coincides with what is known about the two families and local affairs. The historical evidence that is currently available lends itself to the following scenario for the transitions that took place with the house during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Machados probably had three daughters and four sons living at home at the time the house was first built. If their home was originally a two room adobe, it probably remained as such for only a brief period of time. By 1845, two daughters had married and left the household, another had married and brought her husband home, and at least three of the four boys were still residing with their parents.

The use of the ship's spar in the house's roofing structure and a partition dividing the main room probably dates from John Stewart's initial contact with the house and reflects the contribution of his carpentry skills. The addition of two attachments on the east end of the house came about, in all likelihood, as John and Rosa's family grew – two daughters by 1850 and five more children over the next ten years. The attachments also suggest an explanation for the evidence that Trudell found of the window in the northeast bedroom once being a doorway.

The 1860s brought change to the Machados and Stewarts and their family home. The less than a year following the passing of María Serafina Machado in 1861, San Diego suffered extensive damages from torrential rains and earthquakes. Merchant Ensworth reported:

It was not only a flood of waters falling from the Heavens, but such a Southeaster I have never known, the tide backing up the waters of the bay which was running in from the river to a hight (sic) never before witnessed by Americans . . . all the old walls around town, which were not well protected, have gone down to rise no more.

Ensworth's account does not leave much doubt as to the fate of the two extensions built on the east end of the *Casa de Machado y Stewart*. Mrs. Mustain's in her oral interview about the house described its interior as it existed during her grandparents' time. The implications being that the enclosure of the two winged walls on the south side of the house was completed by her grandparents. The most logical time for this to have

happened was after the floods of January, 1862, and before the photograph of Old Town was taken in 1874.

There are a number of issues to keep in mind when considering this sequence of events. Almost all of the painting and photographic evidence we have for the *Casa de Machado y Stewart* provide views of the dwelling looking from the northeast to the southwest – from atop Presidio Hill looking towards the harbor. The southern façade of the house is not visible from this angle, and one does not find a view of the house showing its southern facade until well after the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In other words, graphic images do not help in trying to identify a more exact date for the enclosure of the wing walls.

Secondly, the Stewart children were coming of age, becoming young adults by the end of the American Civil War. John and Rosa needed to provide a separate bedroom for their daughters and another one for their sons. The needs of family members dictated that they make adjustments and re-align their living spaces. Additionally, they were no longer living in Rosa's parents' house, but instead had full control of the dwelling; it was their family home and they wanted to make it theirs.

Finally, and most significantly, after the house suffered major damages during the winter of 1861-62, the Stewarts could have taken the opportunity to build a new house using lumber rather than trying to renovate a thirty year old adobe structure. Much like Albert Seeley and the *Casa de*

*Bandini*/Cosmopolitan Hotel, they chose to make improvements and additions to the old structure using the building styles of the period that were common to the Mexico and the American Southwest. Stewart, a thirty year resident of the community, recognized the benefits adobe and wood construction practices and incorporated both into the remodeling of his house, a 19<sup>th</sup> century Mexican American solution to home construction. Their decisions, to some extent, may also have been dictated by economic considerations, the availability of limited personal resources due to a stagnated local economy.

The scenario presented here is basically conjecture based on currently available historical evidence and subject to differing interpretations. Although it is the result of intensive research completed over the past eight months, there is still additional work that is needed and long overdue. At the end of his report on the Casa de Machado y Stewart in 1967, Trudell made a series of recommendations. The first one stated:

Documentary research should be continued for possible discovery of additional early graphic-pictorial material; particularly photographs of the late 1850's and early 1860's that might show the physical condition of the building during that period. Potential sources of such materials that have as yet not been thoroughly explored include the Huntington Library; the University of the Pacific historical collections; the Southern California Historical Society files; the Southwest Museum files; the early church records at the Mission of Santa Barbara; the Library of Congress; the National Archives in Washington, D.C.; the official files of the Spanish and Mexican occupation of California in Mexico City; and the files of early newspapers including the San Diego Union and the San Francisco Chronicle and Bulletin, both of which latter papers have extensive files of early California history. The State Library also has complete files of early California newspapers containing data pertinent to the early development of the southern counties. Research is a continuing, never ending process.<sup>124</sup>

Forty years later in the introduction to this report, the need for performing research in institutions outside of the San Diego area was pointed out again. Although there are aspects of Trudell's recommendation that are dated, the majority of what he said still holds true today. This report should be viewed as a starting point for completing that work, hopefully before another forty years passes.

APPENDIX No. One

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT  
OF

MARÍA SERAFINA VALDEZ DE MACHADO

San Diego Probate Court Case File #217, María [Serafina Valdez de] Machado, filed 8 April 1861, Public Records Collection, SDHC; referenced on page 25 in the text.

I. Spanish Text, 4 pgs.

2. English Text - Translation by Michael Schertzer, 2 pgs

En el nombre de Dios Todopoderoso prin-  
-cipio y fin de todas las cosas y de Maria San-  
-tissima Sra y abogada nuestra declaro: que ha-  
-llandome postrada en una cama de una enfer-  
-medad que Dios por sus inescrutables desig-  
-nos se ha servido enviarme, y estando en mi  
-cabal juicio memoria entendimiento y volun-  
-tad hago como lo hago libremente mi ultima  
-disposicion testamentaria como sigue.

1.<sup>o</sup> Declaro que soy viuda del Sr D. Jose  
Manuel Machado con quien fui ca-  
-sada in facie ecclesie en cuyo matrimo-  
-nio tuve nueve hijos que son Juan  
Jose, Jesus, Rafael, Joaquin, Juanita,  
Maria Antonia, Guadalupe, Rosa,

2.<sup>o</sup> Declaro que soy dueña y propietaria del Ca-  
-rage llamado El Rosarito sito en el  
Territorio de la Baja California constan-  
-te de once sitios de ganado mayor se-  
-gun el titulo que lo acredita.

3.<sup>o</sup> Declaro que soy dueña y propietaria de una  
casa en San Diego y un solar que tiene  
cincuenta varas de frente segun consta  
en su correspondiente titulo.

4. Declaro - que soy dueña y propietaria de una huerta en San Diego - cuya huerta es mi última voluntad dejarla como la dejo á mi hija Rosa para ella sus herederos y sucesores á quien reconocieran todos mis herederos como única dueña de dicha huerta.
5. Declaro que soy dueña de una porción de Bonegas y chivas que quiero y es mi última voluntad se repartan por iguales partes entre todos mis hijos.
6. Declaro que soy dueña de un caballo Sabino que se lo dejo en propiedad á Teres machado mi hijo.
7. Declaro. Que dejo por albacea de todos mis bienes á mi hijo Rafael Machado para que cumpla y haga cumplir estas mis últimas disposiciones testamentarias libre y suelta de toda fianza, y de toda responsabilidad por ser de toda mi mayor confianza.
8. Declaro que del Paraje del Rosarito se repartiran todos mis herederos por iguales partes á escepcion de media legua en que me quedo á mi hijo Joaquin.
9. Declaro que mi Casa de San Diego queda á beneficio y uso de todos mis hijos á excep-

cion de un cuarto con que meoro á mi hija  
Rosa y el solar correspondiente repartiendose el  
solar despues por iguales partes

10. Declaro que todos los enseros que se encuentran en  
el interior de mi casa sean para el exclusivo  
uso y beneficio de mi hija Rosa—
11. Declaro que tengo nueve vacas que en vida se  
repartido cinco á mis hijos y las cuatro que  
me quedan las doy una para Juan otra para  
Jesus otra para Juli y otra para Maria Antonia
12. Declaro que mi hijo Jacquin tiene edificadas  
dos casas en el Solar de San Diego de la pro-  
piedad de el con mi consentimiento cuyos dos  
solares yo se los cedi por lo cual no sera mo-  
lestado por ninguno sin perjuicio de entrar en  
partes iguales en lo restante del Solar
13. Declaro que mis hijos son hijos de mis propios  
huesos y sangre de mi propia sangre para lo  
cual mando y ordeno que nunca formen un-  
tren en pleitos litis ni discordias y como catoli-  
cos apostolicos Romanos que son quieros que  
se sujeten al cuarto mandamiento y que si al-  
guno de ellos faltare no podra haberlo por  
que es mi ultima voluntad que se sujete  
á lo que disponga mi hijo Rafael como

mi unico Albacea para que cumpla y haga  
cumplir mis disposiciones testamentarias

E invocando nuevamente a Maria  
Santisima de los Angeles Señora y abogada  
nuestra en quien tengo en este momento enco-  
mendada todo mi espíritu alma vida y volun-  
-tad para que me ilumine y me aliente  
firmo el presente en San Diego de la alta Cali-  
fornia a los 9 dias del mes de marzo de 1861  
en presencia de dos testigos

por no saber firmar Maria machado  
lo hace a su ruego José M. de Nevehua

Testigos  
Moritov

Testigo  
Jose A. Argüelles  
Notary Public and  
Justice of the Peace  
Maria Machado  
Deceased

Filed April 8th 1861  
and Recorded April  
20th 1861 at  
San Diego of New  
Mexico  
No. 1346  
Geo. A. Matthews  
Recorder

## **Last Will and Testament of Maria Machado**

In the name of God All Powerful, the beginning and end of all things, and of our lawyer Mrs. Maria Santisima, I declare: That finding myself bed ridden from an illness that God in his inscrutable design has chosen to send me, and being of sound mind, memory, judgment and volition, I make, as I do at present, my final testamentary disposition as follows:

### First

I declare that I am the widow of Mr. Don Jose Manuel Machado with whom I was lawfully married and with whom I had nine children by the names of Juan, Jose, Jesus, Rafael, Joaquin, Juanita, Maria Antonio, Guadalupe and Rosa.

### Second

I declare that I am the owner and landlord of the stretch of land called the Rosarito located in the territory of Baja California consisting of eleven large livestock ranches according to recorded title.

### Third

I declare that I am the owner and landlord of a house in San Diego and a parcel that has a frontage of fifty rods recorded in relevant title.

### Fourth

I declare that I am owner and landlord of an orchard in San Diego, said orchard being my ultimate gift to my daughter Rosa for her and her descendents and successors as all my beneficiaries recognize [her] as the sole owner of said orchard.

### Fifth

I declare that I am the owner of a boarding and storage facility for sheep and blankets, of which I am very fond of, my special desire being that all my children share this in equal parts.

### Sixth

I declare that I am owner of a horse, Sabino, that I leave to my son Jesus Machado as his own.

### Seventh

I declare that I appoint, as executor of all my wealth, Rafael Machado, in order to carry out and finalize, these, my final testamentary dispositions, free of debt with all responsibility and my greatest confidence.

### Eighth

I declare that the Rosarito [ property] be shared by all my heirs in equal parts with the exception of a half league in which I make an additional bequest to my son Joaquin.

Ninth

I declare that my home in San Diego is for the benefit and use of all my children shared in equal parts with the exception of one room that I expressly leave to my daughter Rosa.

Tenth

I declare that all the household items found in the interior of my home are to be for the exclusive use and benefit of my daughter Rosa.

Eleventh

I declare that I have nine cows, of which five I have personally given to my children, and the other four remaining, I leave one for Juan, another for Jesus, another for Jose, and another for Maria Antonia.

Twelfth

I declare that my son Joaquin has two homes constructed on the family land in San Diego ceded to him and belonging to him with my consent and of which shall not be challenged by anyone without the loss of their [property] rights in the other shared parts of the remaining homestead.

Thirteenth

I declare that my children are my flesh and blood of my own blood for whom I direct and decree that they shall never enter into any conflict or legal proceedings, and as Roman Apostolic Catholics I want them to bind themselves [to this decree], and if any one of them disregard this mandate he shall be blocked, because it is my final desire that they bind themselves to whatever my son Rafael dictates as my only executor in order to carry out and conclude my testamentary dispositions.

And once again invoking my angelic attorney Mrs. Maria Santisima who has encouraged and guided me, and who in this moment I have entrusted my spirit, soul, life and desires, I presently sign in San Diego, Alta California on March 9, 1861 in the presence of two witnesses.

Since Maria Machado does not know how to sign her name, I do it at her request;

Jose M. [not decipherable]

Witness

Maribay

Witness

Jose A. Arguello

The last will and testament of Maria Machado,  
Deceased.

Filed April 8<sup>th</sup> 1861 and recorded April A.D. 1861 at \_\_\_\_\_ O'clock in Book of Wills

71  $\frac{11}{11}$  1 folio

George A. Pendleton  
Recorder

APPENDIX No. Two

AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

Anita M. & H.C. Wiley and Rosa & J.C. Stewart

Regarding Property Known as "Stewart Garden"

1 November 1869

Referenced on page 47 in the text

Agreement between Anita M. & H.C. Wiley with Rosa & J.C. Stewart regarding property known as "Stewart Garden," 1 November 1869, Miscellaneous Records, Volume 2, pgs. 102-05, SDCARC.

This Agreement made at the City of San Diego, State of California, this the first day of November A.D. 1869 by and between Anita M. Wiley and H.C. Wiley her husband of the City of Los Angeles, and Rosa Stewart and C. Stewart her husband of the City of San Diego, Witnesseth, that, whereas in the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of June A.D. 1847 and H.D. Fitch Alcalde of the Town of San Diego granted by good and sufficient Deed in writing, into Feliciana de Reyes the Grand Mother of the said Anita M. Wiley, the following described real Estate, situate and being in the Town and County of San Diego, State of California, to wit: That Tract of land situate between the property of our Wrightington, on the North East and our Stokes on the South West, being ninety varos deeper running parallel with the Wrightington Property, and about ninety varos in width , the said Wrightingtons line being about thirty nine varos in a North Easterly direction from the House and the line between said property and the Stokes property being near the Sycamore Tree now growing upon the said dividing line near the river bank.

And whereas the said Rosa Stewart, and J.C. Stewart her husband for several years last, past have been in possession of a part of the said lands , as tenants by sufferance, to wit that part known as the Stewart Garden located and being on the South Western part of said land, next to and near the Sycamore tree aforesaid.

And whereas it is the mutual desire of the said parties, to arrange any differences that may exist as to the ownership of the said land so occupied by the said Stewarts.

It is therefore hereby mutually agreed by and between the parties hereto that that strip of land being a part of the said lot, so granted by said Fitch as aforesaid and described as follows, to wit:

The South West part of the said lot being on the South Westside of Congress Street, as land drawn by Lient. Cave J. Coutts, in his survey of the City of San Diego( but which street is not here recognized by the parties hereto, except for sake of description) and being about 38 varos wide and 90 varos deep, taking in the said garden of the said

Stewart, shall be held and considered by the parties to this agreement as common property, Each having an equal interest in the same.

That when the same is sold, Either of the parties hereto shall have the first option to purchase the other interest. The other desire to purchase shall be made known in writing , proposing terms and conditions, That if neither wishes to buy as aforesaid and the property is disposed of to a third party the net proceeds of said sale shall be Equally divided between the parties to this agreement.

This agreement shall not be so construed as to prevent the one party hereto from selling their interest to a third party after giving to the other party their Option aforesaid, neither shall either party force the other to sell.

And it is further agreed, that the said Rosa Stewart and J.C. Stewart her husband shall have the exclusive use and possession of the property known as the "Stewart Garden" until a sale of the same is made as aforesaid, and the said Anita M. Wiley and H.C. Wiley her husband shall have the exclusive use and possession outside of the garden until the sale aforesaid.

The said parties hereby bind themselves, their heirs and legal representatives to Each and all of the conditions and terms of his Contract.

In Witness where of the said parties have here unto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Anita M. Wiley {seal}

H C Wiley {seal}

Rosa X [her mark] Stewart {seal}

J C Stewart {seal}

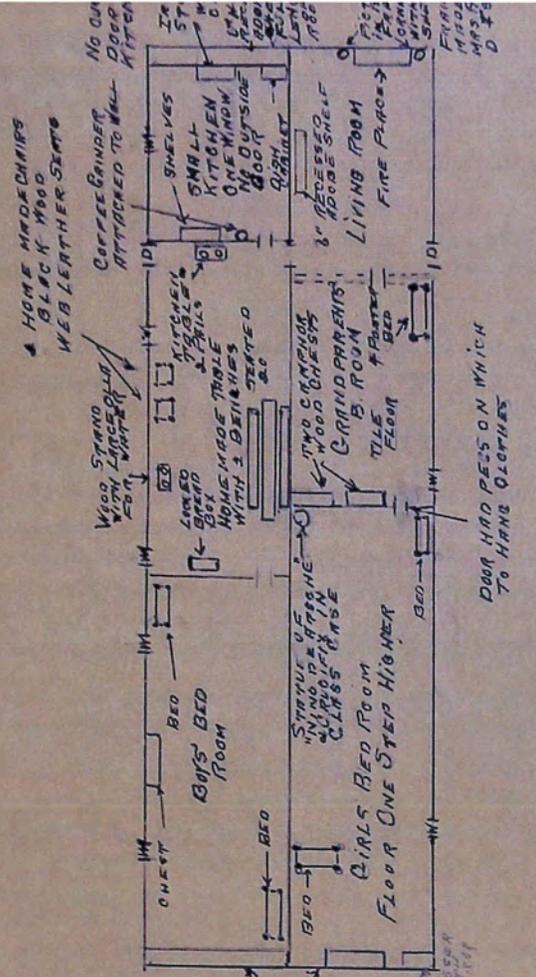
## APPENDIX No. Three

“Machado-Stewart House Data, [As It Looked About 1900 - Floor Plan and Furnishings Information by Mrs. Leo Mustain, John C. Stewart’s Granddaughter]” (San Diego: n.p., 1967), 2 Sheets of Plans, available at the California Room, SDPL; referenced on page 73 in the text.

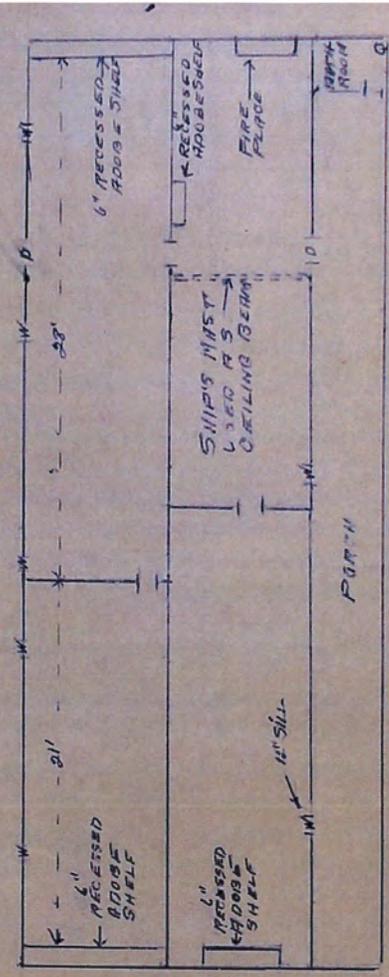
SHEET #1 – Floor Plan and Furnishings

SHEET #2 – Furniture Arrangement in 1890’s

FURNITURE ARRANGEMENT IN 1890'S  
 INF. BY MRS. LEO (LOTTIE) MUSTAIN, STEWART'S GRANDDAUGHTER

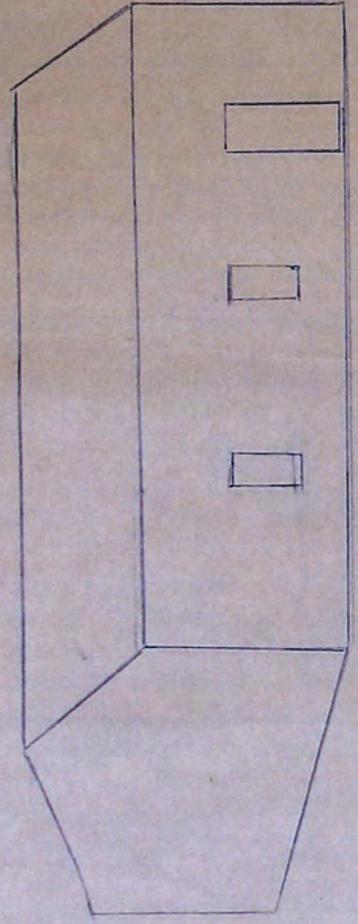


HOUSE HAD FOUR ROOMS BEFORE RESTORATION BEG. OUTLINE BELOW

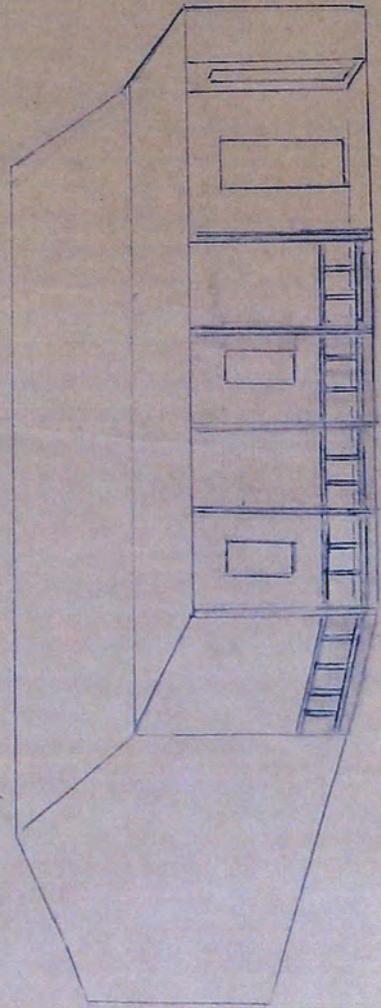


ROUGH SKETCH MADE IN 1967, AFTER PHYSICAL CHECK AND MEASUREMENTS WERE MADE BY ME.  
 Orion M. Zink

MACHADO-STEWART HOUSE  
 SKETCHED FROM EARLIEST PHOTO.  
 SEE SMYTHES HISTORY - P. 222



PORCH ADDED BY STEWART'S SON FRANCISCO STEWART, DATE UNCERTAIN. REMOVED AT TIME OF RESTORATION WORK



SKETCH BY ORION M. ZINK, HISTORIAN  
 S.D. LODGE NO. 35, F. & H. M.  
 AUG. 1967

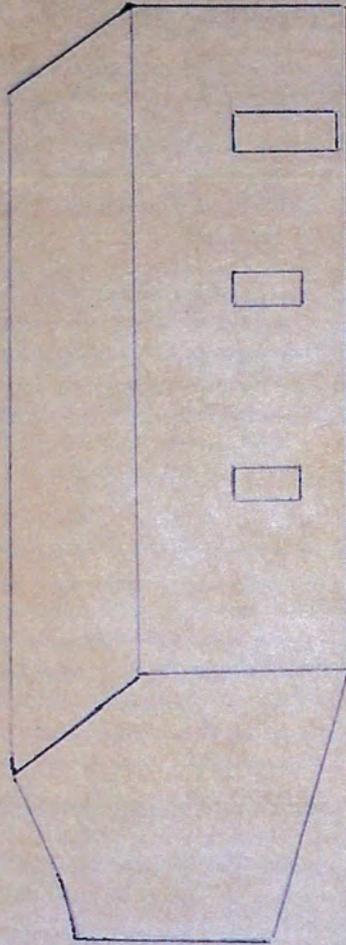
MACHADO - STEWART HOUSE

AS IT LOOKED ABOUT 1900

LEGAL DESCRIPTION

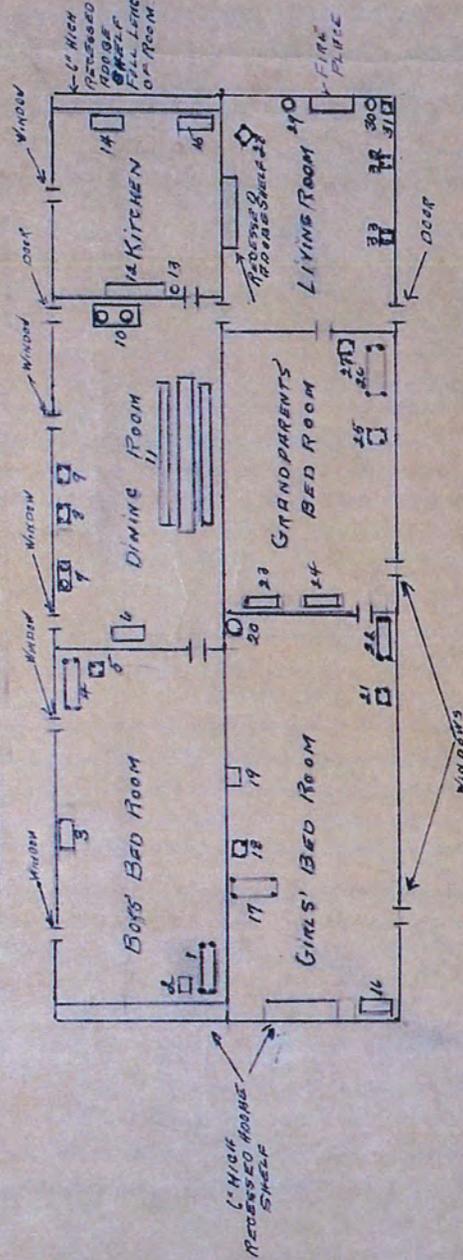
BLK 436 PARTS OF LOTS 1-4

PASCOE'S MAP OF 1870



FLOOR PLAN AND FURNISHINGS

INFORMATION BY  
MRS. LEO MUSTAIN  
JOHN C. STEWART'S GRANDDAUGHTER



FURNISHINGS

BOYS' BED ROOM

- 1 BED
- 2 CHAIR
- 3 CHEST
- 4 BED
- 5 CHAIR

DINING ROOM

- 6 BREAD BOX WITH LOCK MADE BY JOHN C. STEWART
- 7 WOOD STAND WITH LARGE OLLA
- 8) SMALL BLACK WOOD CHAIRS
- 9) WITH RAW HIDE WEB SEATS
- 10 KITCHEN TABLE ON WHICH RESTED 2 PAIRS OF WATER

- 11 HEAVY WOOD TABLE WITH 3 BENCHES SEATED 18 TO 20 PEOPLE

KITCHEN

- 12 SHELVING
- 13 SMALL COFFEE GRINDER ATTACHED TO WALL
- 14 IRON STOVE WITH OVEN
- 15 DISH CABINET

GIRLS' BED ROOM

- 16 DRESSER WITH MIRROR
- 17 BED
- 18 CHAIR
- 19 PICTURE "SACRED HEART OF JESUS" FRAME MADE BY STEWART
- 20 STATUE ABOUT 30" HIGH OF "MIND DE ATOCHE" IN GLASS CASE
- 21 CHAIR
- 22 "MIND DE ATOCHE" IN GLASS CASE

GRANDPARENTS' BED ROOM

- 23) TWO CANPHOR WOOD CHESTS
- 24)
- 25 CHAIR
- 26 BED (4 POSTER)
- 27 CHAIR

LIVING ROOM

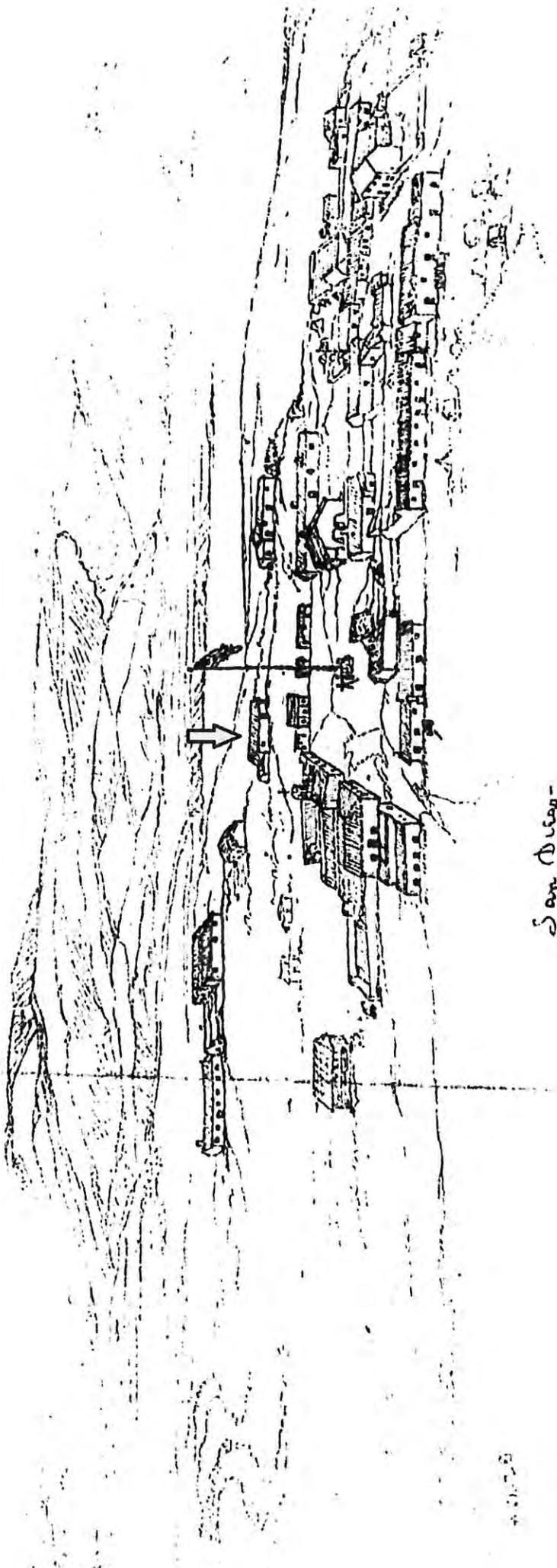
- 28 ROCKING CHAIR
- 29) 2 PICTURES WITH ROUND FRAMES, ABOUT 2 FT. IN DIAMETER, ORNAMENTED WITH SEA SHELLS. MADE BY MRS. ROBERT D ISRAEL
- 30) WIFE OF LIGHT HOUSE KEEPER
- 31 WOOD STAND
- 32) STRAIGHT BACK CHAIRS
- 33)

DETAILS MAPPED BY ORLEN M. ZINKS, HISTORIAN,  
S.D. LUDGE No. 35, F.A.M.  
AUG. 7 1967

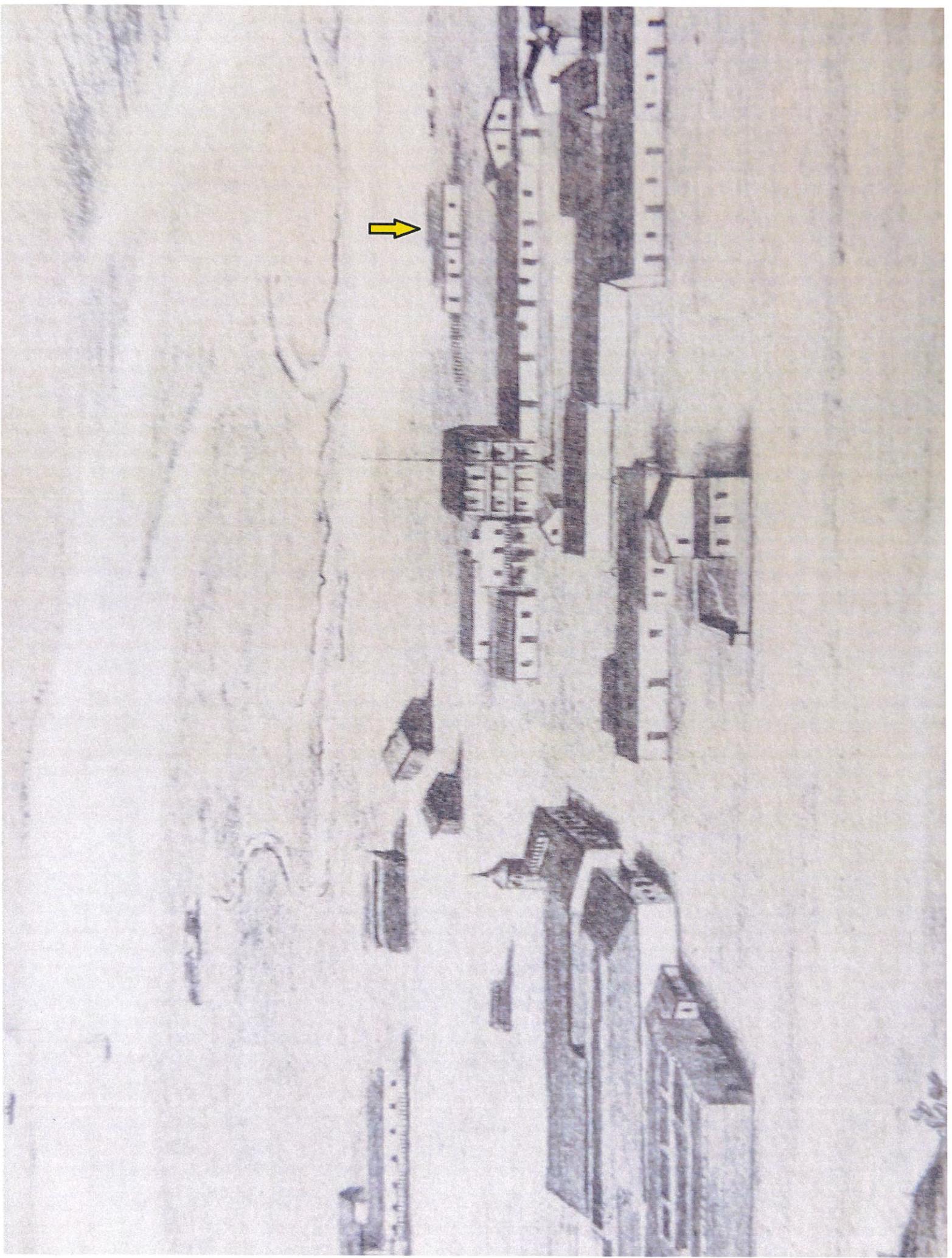
## APPENDIX No. Four

Views of San Diego in the 1850s depicting *Casa de Machado y Stewart* as more than a two room house; referenced on pages 82 and 83 in the text

1. Powell's Drawing of San Diego in 1850 – published in H.M.T. Powell, *The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852: The Journal and Drawings of H.M.T. Powell*, Douglas S. Watson, ed., (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1931), p. facing page 186.
2. Black & White Print of Miller's Painting of Old Town in 1856 – published in Henry Miller, *13 California Towns from the Original Drawings* (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1947), p. [66] (pages unnumbered).



San Diego-



ENDNOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Dana's statement is more indicative of 19<sup>th</sup> century racism towards Mexicans, rather than the economic status of the Machados in the community. For a different view of the Machados see "*Datos Historicos sobre la Alta California por D. José María Estudillo, 1831 – Vecino de San Diego*," pp. 2-5, Bancroft Library 1878, copy on file in the Library of DPR San Diego Coast District Office [hereinafter cited as Library, DPR-SD]. In 1932 the *Los Angeles Times* identified José Manuel Machado and his family as one of the first families of California – see "Adobes and other Homes of California's First Families," *Los Angeles Times*, 12 June 1932, F6.

<sup>2</sup> Antonio María Osio, *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California*, translated, edited, and annotated by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), pp. 18-19.

<sup>3</sup> Orion M. Zink, "Stewart House Data," submitted to [the City of San Diego] Historical Site Board, 7 July 1967 on file in the California Room, San Diego Public Library [hereinafter cited as SDPL]; Clyde F. Trudell, Architect, "Historical – Architectural Summary for the Casa de Jose Manuel Machado (Stewart House), 2724 Congress Street, Old Town State Historic Park, San Diego California," September, 1967 – copy on file at DPR/South Coast District office [hereinafter referred to as "Architectural Summary for the Casa de Machado y Stewart"]; James Reading, City of San Diego Historical Site Board Nomination Report for the Casa de Machado-Stewart, HRB # 14G, date designated 6 November 1970; and "The Machado-Stewart House, Old Town State Park, San Diego, California," historical research and archaeological investigations by Dr. Ray Brandes & Dr. James Moriarty, University of San Diego, 6 July 1976.

<sup>4</sup> Agreement for Services between the California Department of Parks and Recreation, San Diego Coast District and Charles W. Hughes, Contract No. A 1147151, 1 June 2012.

<sup>5</sup> This is the official name of the San Diego Family History Center operated by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

<sup>6</sup> Orin Zink, "The Machado-Stewart Family and their Home from 1756 through 1910," *The Journal of San Diego History* 15 (Winter, 1969): 35-40; and Marie E. Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families of Early California: 1769-1850*, Volume 1 (Burbank, CA: Southern California Genealogical Society, 1987).

<sup>7</sup> Mission San Diego de Alcalá Records, 1771-1904, PRM2.767, PRM2.768, PRM2.771 & PRM5.7, San Diego History Center [hereinafter cited as SDHC]; Catholic Church 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> Century Mission Records, Microfilm Reel #0,944,282, San Diego California Family Search Library; Registers of Matrimony & Burials, Mission San Diego de Alcalá, transcribed copies compiled by Ralph Griffith on file Oceanside Historical Society, [hereinafter referred to as Griffith Manuscript].

<sup>8</sup> <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~clement/Calvary/home.htm> website address for Calvary Cemetery and Stewart Family Bible, [hereinafter referred to as Calvary Cemetery Website]

<sup>9</sup> Certificate of Death, Rosa Marie[sic] Machado Stewart, 4 May 1898, Assessor/Recorder/County Clerk's Office, San Diego County [hereinafter cited as SDCARC]; and "An Old Resident Gone," *San Diego Union*, 6 May 1898, 2:4.

<sup>10</sup> Theodore E. Treutein, "Los Angeles, California: The Question of the City's Original Spanish Name," in *The Founding Documents of Los Angeles: a Bilingual Edition*, edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 2004), pp. 45-51.

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<sup>11</sup> Thomas Workman Temple II, "Soldiers and Settlers of the Expedition of 1781," in *The Founding Documents of Los Angeles*, p. 37.

<sup>12</sup> Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families of Early California*, pp. 219-20.

<sup>13</sup> Mary Sainte Thérèse Wittenburg, *The Machados & Rancho La Ballona: the Story of the Land and its Rancho, José Agustín Antonio Machado, with a Genealogy of the Machado Family* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1973)

<sup>14</sup> Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families of Early California*, pp. 219-20; & "Times Gone By in Alta California: Recollections of Señora Doña Juana Machado de Ridington," in *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848*, translated with introduction and commentary by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2006), pp. 124-25. Over the years, a number of Machado relatives (3<sup>rd</sup> & 4<sup>th</sup> generations) made the claim that José Manuel achieved a rank higher than corporal and by the end of his military career served as commandant of the San Diego Presidio – see Winifred Davidson, "Noted Old Town Character Gives Up Church Duty," *San Diego Union*, 29 November 1931, 6:1-3; "Patriarch of Gen. Machado Recalls Boyhood," *San Diego Union*, 8 October 1933, 3: 2-4; and "Oral Interview with Lottie Parsons Mustain," conducted by Edgar Hastings, 25 September 1957, p.1, SDHC [hereinafter referred to as Mustain Interview 1958]. The Bancroft Library may have the *hoja de servicio* [service record] for José Manuel Machado which, if available, would provide the official details of his military career.

<sup>15</sup> Department of Parks and Recreation, "Interpretive Program: Old Town San Diego State Historic Park, Volume II – Site Recommendations," 1991 – see General Development Plan Sites Nos. 1, 4, 20 & 29; report on file Library DPR-SD.

<sup>16</sup> John Davidson, "Valley Traded to Pioneer for a Horse," *San Diego Evening Tribune*, 7 September 1934, A2: 4-7; Robert G. Cowan, *Ranchos of California: a List of Spanish Concessions, 1775-1822 and Mexican Grants, 1822-1846* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1977), p. 69; and Vi Murphy, "Americans Plan Baja Lease Battle," *San Diego Union*, 6 February 1972, B1: 4-5 & B7: 1-2. In this article a Machado descendant stated that the family received the grant in 1719, which is probably an incorrect quote and a more plausible date would be 1819. Whatever the correct date is 1719, 1819 or 1835, the point is that José Manuel Machado was the recipient of one of the earliest land grants in the San Diego/Tijuana region.

<sup>17</sup> José Antonio Estudillo, Et. Al., "1833 The Citizens of San Diego Petition for Local Government," in *Land of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846*, edited by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2001), pp. 390-94; and Index to Spanish and Mexican Documents of San Diego County . . . , entries for 31 May 1836 & 1 & 2 September 1836, SDCARC.

<sup>18</sup> Index to Spanish and Mexican Documents, entry for 10 July 1839; and 7<sup>th</sup> Census of the United States, California (1850), San Diego County, Sheet 12 of 19, Lines 7 thru 14, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) , accessed 31 August 2012. Historian Hubert Howe Bancroft reported that Machado was in Los Angeles in 1846 – see his *History of California, 1841-1845, Vol. IV* (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1886), p. 727.

<sup>19</sup> "Josefa Carrillo," in *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women*, pp. 69-84.

<sup>20</sup> For the marriages of the Machado daughters see Mission San Diego de Alcalá, *Libros de Matrimonios*, transcribed and translated by Ralph Griffith, Book 1, Entries #1713, #1923, #2013, & #2041 and Book 2, Entry #6 [Consulted copy on file at Oceanside Historical Society]. Records for the marriage of María Antonia Machado, the only daughter who did not marry an American, to José Antonia Nicasio Silvas about 1837 have not been located.

<sup>21</sup> Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast*, edited with an introduction by Thomas Philbrick (New York: The Penguin American Library, 1986; reprinted Penguin Classics, 1986), pp. 7-29.

<sup>22</sup> Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, p. 421; and *California Pioneer Register and Index, 1542 -1848: Extracted from the History of California by Hubert Howe Bancroft* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1964), p. 342. One writer claimed that Stewart, on his return voyage to San Diego, had a falling out with the captain and left the ship – see “A Ramble in Old Town,” *The Golden Era* 39 (April-May, 1890):181. Stewart’s comments about Dana’s abilities as a sailor came from his obituary published – “Death of Jack Stewart,” *San Diego Union*, 4 February 1892, 5:3.

<sup>23</sup> SDHC’s Biographical Files, No. 209, has copies of the original birth records for John Collins Stewart from County of Kennebec, Maine. The Stewart family bible is available to view on-line at the Cavalry Cemetery web site hosted by [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com).

<sup>24</sup> “Sixty Years a Resident: Death of Jack Stewart at Old San Diego,” *San Francisco Examiner*, 4 February 1892 – copy on file at SDHC, Biographical Files, No. 209; and William E. Smythe, *History of San Diego, 1542-1907* (San Diego: The History Company, 1907), pp. 289-90. The physical description of Stewart comes from Orion Zink’s interview with Simon Manasse – see Zink, “Stewart House Data,” p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*; SDHC’s Biographical Files, No. 209; and the *San Diego Union*, [Grand Jury] 12 May 1870, 3:1 & 15 September 1870, 3:1, [Church Improvements] 25 January 1874, 3:3, [Cemetery] 19 August 1875, 3:1, & [School Board] 8 June 1884, 3:1 -

<sup>26</sup> In San Diego County, no property, probate, civil or criminal court records were located involving John and Rosa Stewart. In the extant account ledgers of San Diego merchants for the years 1850-1870, very few entries were found relating to the Stewarts. Indexes to probate records were reviewed for cases filed between 1850 and 1974 and no records were found for the Stewarts – see Indexes, Superior Court Cases-Probate, 1850-1974, Clerk to the Superior Court, San Diego County.

<sup>27</sup> Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, p. 177; and “Sixty Years a Resident: Death of Jack Stewart at Old San Diego.”

<sup>28</sup> “The Bloody Battle of San Pasqual: Most Sanguinary on California Soil During the Mexican War . . .,” *San Diego Union*, 5 December 1903, 10: 1-2.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*; in his memoirs Píco did not mention the encounter with the Americans at *El Rosario* – see *Don Pio Pico’s Historical Narrative*, translated by Arthur P. Botello, edited and introduction by Martin Cole and Henry Welcome (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1973), pp. 138-42.

<sup>30</sup> “Battle of San Pasqual: As Told by Philip Crosthwaite,” *San Diego Union*, 11 March 1900, 5: 1-2; Richard F. Pourade, *The History of San Diego: The Silver Dons* (San Diego: Union Tribune Publishing Company, 1963), pp. 95-116.

<sup>31</sup> “Sixty Years a Resident: Death of Jack Stewart at Old San Diego.”

<sup>32</sup> Douglas Gunn, *A Historical Sketch of San Diego, San Diego County, California* (NP: 1876) – copy on file at SDPL.

<sup>33</sup> In their collections, SDHC has copies of photograph taken of the men’s visit to the San Pasqual battlefield – see images #91:18463 & #91:18463-1. Given his strong dislike of photography, Stewart does not appear in these photos with Fr. Ubach, Gunn and Crosthwaite.

<sup>34</sup> "Sixty Years a Resident: Death of Jack Stewart at Old San Diego;" 7<sup>th</sup> Census of the United States, 1850, San Diego County; and *Index to the 1850 Census of the State of California*, compiled by Alan P. Bowman (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1972). Bowman stated that the census records for Santa Cruz, Contra Costa, and San Francisco counties were no longer extant having been destroyed in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. Stewart's name was not found in the indexes for any of the other counties.

<sup>35</sup> *1852 [California State] Census San Diego County, Indexed, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* (El Cajon, CA: San Diego Genealogical Society, 1995); George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 66-120; and Joel R. Hyer, *"We Are Not Savages:" Native Americans in Southern California and the Pala Reservation, 1840-1920* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001), pp. 61-67; Arthur Woodward, "The Garra Revolt of 1851," in *The Westerners Brand Book*, edited by Homer Britzman (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Corral of Westerners, 1947), pp. 111-17; and Leonard B. Waitman, "Chief Antonio Garra's Insurrection and The Confederation Myth of 1851," *Brand Book III*, edited by George M. Ellis (San Diego: San Diego Corral of Westerners, 1973), pp. 97-103.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*; Noel M. Loomis, "The Garra Uprising of 1851," *Brand Book II* (San Diego: San Diego Corral of Westerners, 1971), pp. 3-26.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>38</sup> "Hanging Yankee Jim," *Los Angeles Herald*, 7 October 1873, 4:1 & *San Diego Union*, 4 October 1873, 3: 2-3; "Primitive Justice: A Bad Man Hung at Old San Diego for Stealing a Whale Boat," *San Diego Union*, 25 February 1894, 5: 1-2; and Winifred Davidson, "Tales of the Old Southwest: Hanged for Boat-Stealing," *San Diego Union*, 6 October 1935.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*; Register of Burials, Mission San Diego de Alcalá, Book III, Entry #33, Griffith Manuscript.

<sup>40</sup> "Immense Excitement – Attempt to Steal the Pilot Boat Plutus - Capture of the Notorious 'Yankee Jim' and Two of His Associates . . ." *San Diego Herald*, 28 August 1852, 3: 1-2.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>46</sup> "Hanging Yankee Jim," *Los Angeles Herald*.

<sup>47</sup> "Held Down by a Dead Man," *San Diego Union*, 5 October 1873, 3:2.

<sup>48</sup> Davidson, "Hanged for Boat-Stealing."

<sup>49</sup> In his report, Trudell cited a document, entitled "1867-1876 U.S. Inspectors Certificates to Pilot Boats on San Diego Bay," that failed to include Stewart as someone who was licensed to pilot ships in an out of the harbor. Efforts to find and review this document proved unsuccessful since it is not currently available in the holdings of

SDHC, SDPL or the San Diego Maritime Museum. Another historian has noted Smythe's reference to Stewart's popular nickname as *El Piloto*, but concluded that it referred more to his experience as a shipmate of Dana's and not to any service as a harbor pilot. This conclusion, at present, does not seem fully justified and additional research is needed to resolve the matter – see Trudell, "Historical and Architectural Summary," p. 2; and Joe Stone, "Maine Sailor Left Ship to Help Mold San Diego History," *San Diego Union*, 13 December 1974, B3: 1-7. Customs Records for the Port of San Diego that are currently held at the federal repository at San Bruno, California may offer answers regarding Stewart's service as a harbor pilot during the 1850s.

<sup>50</sup> "Book of the Deceased in the Vicinity of San Diego," Mission San Diego de Alcalá, Book III, Entry #34, 18 October 1852[hereinafter cited as "Book of the Deceased"]; and "List of Property, Real and Personal, of J.C. Stewart Subject to Taxation within the County of San Diego, State of California, 29 April 1856" showed Stewart owning ten head of livestock valued at \$40, Tax Statements, 1853-1863, PR2.102, SDHC.

<sup>51</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> Census of the United States, California (1860), San Diego County, San Diego Township, p. 1, Lines 7 -16; and "Book of the Deceased," Book III, Entry #87, 12 March 1861.

<sup>52</sup> San Diego Probate Court Case File #217, María [Serafina de Valdez y] Machado, filed 8 April 1861, Public Records Collection, SDHC - see Appendix #1 for a copy and translation of María's Last Will and Testament; and Assessment Roll, 1863, San Diego County, Public Records Collections, SDPL.

<sup>53</sup> Richard F. Pourade, *The History of San Diego: the Silver Dons*, Volume Three (San Diego: Union-Tribune Publishing Co., Third Printing, 1966), pp. 243-56.

<sup>54</sup> Ltr. A[ugustus] S. Ensworth to Thomas Whaley, San Diego, CA, 25 April 1863, [www.whaleyhouse.org/ensworth](http://www.whaleyhouse.org/ensworth), accessed 14 July 2012.

<sup>55</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> Census of the United States, California (1860), San Diego County, Production of Agriculture Schedule, p. 1; and Zink, "Stewart House Data," p.

<sup>56</sup> Agreement between Anita M. & H.C. Wiley with Rosa & J.C. Stewart regarding property known as "Stewart Garden," 1 November 1869, Miscellaneous Records, Volume 2, pgs. 102-05, SDCARC

<sup>57</sup> "Mary Hersus Alolay [María Jesusa Elojiia] Stewart Died aprell the 20 year 1867 in the morning her Age is 19 ye and 7 mnth and 13 das when she died," Bible Record of the John Collins Stewart and Rosa María Machado Family, on the last existing page of the bible, available on Calvary Cemetery Website. The Burial Register for the Catholic Church does not include an entry recording the death of María Jesusa, see Burial Register, Mission of San Diego de Alcalá, Griffith Manuscript.

<sup>58</sup> The Stewart household was not included in the 1870 census of the San Diego – see 9<sup>th</sup> Census of the United States, California (1870), San Diego County, San Diego Township, 58 pgs.

<sup>59</sup> "County Lot Books, 1870," p. 28, SDCARC; "List of Real & Personal Property – J.C. Stewart" 12 June 1869, & 16 April 1873, PR2.102 – Assessment Lists, 1846-73, Docs. #69/120 & #73/89, SDHC; "County Court Proceedings, May Term, 1870," *San Diego Union (Weekly)*, 12 May 1870, 3:1; "County Court Proceedings, September Term, 1870," *San Diego Union (Weekly)*, 15 September 1870, 3:1; and "Assessor's Report of State Militia for those Liable to Military Duty for 1874," Register Nos. 1585 & 1586, PR2.82, Militia Rolls, SDHC. Male residents of the county between the ages of 18 and 45 were required to serve in the local militia, and by 1874 John and Manuel were members of the local militia.

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<sup>60</sup> Winifred Davidson, "Old Tales of the Southwest, A Bull-Runner's Romance," *San Diego Union*, 13 June 1937; and Marriage Register, Mission of San Diego, Book II, 1 February 1870, Griffith Manuscript.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*; for information about Luis & Serafina Serrano's family consult Biographical Files/Serranos, File #00, p. 37, SDHC.

<sup>62</sup> Parker & Parker 1874 Panorama View of Old Town, Negative No.3924-0-1, Photo Collections, SDHC.

<sup>63</sup> Mustain Oral Interview 1958, pp. 6, 8-9; and Interview with Mrs. Lottie Mustain, A Descendant of Corporal Jose Manuel Machado During October 1976 [67?], pp. 3-4, Vertical Subject Files: Casa de Machado y Stewart, SDHC [hereinafter referred to as Mustain Interview 1976].

<sup>64</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> Census of the United States, California (1880), San Diego County, San Diego Township, pg. 45 of 58, Lines 20-30.

<sup>65</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> Census of the United States, California (1900) San Bernardino County, San Bernardino City, pg. 10 of 19, John Baptist Stewart and his family are listed on lines 73 to 81; for John (the father) and his sons Manuel, James & Frank see Great Register, San Diego County, Cal., October, 1882, Nos. 1604, 1623, 1761 & 1762; Great Register of San Diego County for 1884, Nos. 2141 & 2142, Great Register of Voters, San Diego County, October, 1890, Nos. 10155, 10223, 10273, & 10385, PR 2.119, Great Registers of Voters, SDHC; and Biographical Files/Stewart, #209, SDHC.

<sup>66</sup> "Death of Jack Stewart," *San Diego Union*, 4 February 1892, 5:3; "Sixty Years A Resident, Death of Jack Stewart at Old San Diego," *San Francisco Examiner*, 4 February 1892, copy on file in Biographical Files/Stewart, #209, SDHC; and "An Old Resident Gone," *San Diego Union*, 6 May 1898, 2:4.

<sup>67</sup> Richard F. Pourade, *History of San Diego: The Glory Years*, Volume 5 (San Diego: The Union-Tribune Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 143-45.

<sup>68</sup> "Recollections of the Stewart[s]: Oral Interview with Shirley Mustain Walstad," ND, Machado/Stewart Files, Library, DPR-SD; San Diego County Lot Books, Index to Property, Old San Diego, 1899-1903 [hereinafter referred to as County Lot Books], pp. 133-134, SDCARC; "Franchise for Line Out State Street: San Diego Electric Railroad Company Files Application With City Council for Extension of System to Old Town," *The Evening Tribune*, 24 November 1904, 5: 4-5; Resolution No. 4793, "Of Intention to Grade Congress Street in the City of San Diego, 12 February 1909, City Clerk's Office, City of San Diego; and "Notice of Street Work: Grading Congress Street from the Southeasterly Line of Ampudia Street to the Southeasterly Line of Smith," *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*, 12 March 1909, 14:5.

<sup>69</sup> Winifred Davidson, "Noted Old Town Character Gives Up Church Duty," *San Diego Union*, 29 November 1931, 6: 1-3; and "Old Tales of the Southwest: Mary-of-the-Roses," *San Diego Union*, 9 August 1936, 3<sup>rd</sup> Sect., 6: 4-6.

<sup>70</sup> Great Register of San Diego County for 1894, p. 111, Nos. 6989, 6991, & 7002, PR 2.119, Great Registers of Voters, SDHC; 12<sup>th</sup> Census of the United States, California (1900), San Diego County, San Diego, Ward 1, Enumeration District 189, pg. 25 of 42, 95A, Lines 11 -15, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) [This census showed Frank as having a wife, Maud, and a daughter, Frances; this information is incorrect. Maud was James' first wife, and their daughter's name was Francis.]; *San Diego City and County Directory, 1901* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Co. 1901), p. 239; and *Dana Burk's San Diego City and County Directory, 1905* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Co., 1905), p. 414.

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<sup>71</sup> Obituary for Margaret Stewart – *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*, 18 May 1900, 8:3 & Death Certificate for Manuel Stewart, Date of Death - 10 December 1907, File No. 7-031225, Calvary Cemetery Website; Marriage License and Certificate, Frank J. Stewart and Julia Alvarez, 31 December 1909, Marriage Record, San Diego County Book 21, p. 474, SDHC; and 13<sup>th</sup> Census of the United States, California (1910), San Diego County, San Diego, Ward 1, Enumeration District 143, pg. 7 of 34, , Lines 20 -23, [www.Ancestry.com](http://www.Ancestry.com) .

<sup>72</sup> *San Diego City and County Directory, 1911* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Co., 1911), pp. 596-97; 14<sup>th</sup> Census of the United States, California (1920) San Diego County, San Diego City Enumeration District 254, pg. 4 of 22, Lines 90-98; [www.Ancestry.com](http://www.Ancestry.com); Laura Stewart v. James Stewart, Superior Court Case Files, No. 21571, Clerk of the Superior Court, County of San Diego, Final Decree 10 December 1915; and Death Certificate for James Stewart, Date of Death 12 April 1920, File No. 20-018037, Calvary Cemetery Website

<sup>73</sup> Death Certificate for Frank J. Stewart, Date of Death – 16 June 1925, File No. 25-029428, Calvary Cemetery Website; Obituary for Rosa Margarita Stewart, *San Diego Union*, 20 December 1918, 5; and Obituary for John Stewart, *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*, 23 January 1915, 5:5.

<sup>74</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> Census of the United States, California (1930) San Diego County, San Diego City, Enumeration District 37-57, Sheet 8, Lines 23-29; [www.Ancestry.com](http://www.Ancestry.com); Oral Interview with Mrs. Stella Meza Pelletier with Author at her former family home, *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, 23 August 2012 [hereinafter referred to as Meza-Pelletier Interview, 2012]; and San Diego County Delinquent Real Property Tax List, *The Evening Tribune*, 15 August 1933, 8:6.

<sup>75</sup> Marriage License and Certificate, Joe S. Meza and Carmen A. Stewart, 5 May 1932, Marriage Record, San Diego County, Book 99, p. 37, SDHC; and “Last San Diegan Born Before This State Was American Soil Passes: In Death of Rosita Stewart Here,” *San Diego Union*, 18 September 1933, 1: 4-5 & 2: 5-6.

<sup>76</sup> “San Diego to Mark Historic Spots: Symbolic Sign System Adopted by Committees,” *San Diego Union*, 10 April 1932, 2<sup>nd</sup> section, 1: 2 & 2: 3-4.

<sup>77</sup> “Ceremony Stirs Recollections of Pioneering days: Thirty-Second of Series of Historical Markers is Dedicated at Old Town Plaza,” *San Diego Union*, 11 June 1932, 10:1-4

<sup>78</sup> The State Department of Natural Resources and the State Park Commission in Cooperation with the California State Chamber of Commerce, “Reports of the State Dept. of Natural Resources Registering Historical Landmarks in accordance with Chapter 184, Statutes of 1931, Fifth Report, Landmark #73, Casa de Stewart, p. 13, PR1.16, Historic Building Miscellanea, 1934, SDHC.

<sup>79</sup> San Diego County Delinquent Real Property Tax Lists, *The San Diego Sun*, 8 June 1931, Nos. #6523 & 6530; *San Diego Union*, 14 June 1932, Nos. #8841, #8845 & #8851; *The Evening Tribune*, 8 August 1933, Nos. #9232, #9236, & #9242; *The San Diego Sun*, 7 June 1934, 7; and *San Diego Union*, 7 June 1935, 16:6.

<sup>80</sup> San Diego County, Tax Rolls, Index to Property, Old San Diego Addition, 1934-38, p. 201 & 1939-44, p. 375, SDCARC. San Diego County, Official Records – Tax Deeds, Conveyance of Real Estate, 1937, Deed Nos. 978-980, 1 July 1937, Volume 704, pp. 334-35, SDHC.

<sup>81</sup> San Diego County, Tax Rolls, Index to Property, Old San Diego Addition, 1945-49 p. 174, SDCARC; Deed – City of San Diego grants to Edward F. Anholzer, “the southerly half of Lot 4 in Block 436 of the Old San Diego” Addition, 15 October 1940, Official Records Book, Volume 1162, P. 319; COMPLAINT – Action to Quiet Title: Netta Semerad v. Ransom Beman, ET. AL., Case File No. 121677, Clerk of the Superior Court, San Diego County, 22 September 1944; Superior Court Decree Quietening Title, to “Lot 1, in Block 436, of Old San Diego” Addition, Case No. 121677, 27 June 1947, Official Records Book, Volume 2433, pp. 174-75, SDCARC.

<sup>82</sup> Oral Interview with Mrs. Stella Meza Pelletier with Author at her former family home, *Casa de Machado y Stewart*, 23 August 2012; *Insurance Maps of San Diego, California*, Volume 4 (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1940), p. 403; 16<sup>th</sup> Census of the United States, California (1940) San Diego County, Incorporated Place - San Diego, Enumeration District 62-19, Sheet 12, Lines 29-37; [www.Ancestry.com](http://www.Ancestry.com); and Obituary – “Requiem Mass Set for Julia Stewart, *San Diego Union*, 27 March 1958, 12:1.

<sup>83</sup> “Old San Diego Plan for Development: Report for the City Council by the Planning Commission,” Prepared by Glen A Rick, City Planning Director, and Charles W. Eliot, Planning Consultant, January, 1946, pp. 4-6 & 10-13.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>85</sup> “State Ok’s Purchase of Stewart House: Four Other Parcels Bought in Old Town,” *San Diego Union*, 27 June 1967; B-1: 7-8; “Funds Set for Old Town,” *San Diego Union*, 26 March 1968, B-3: 1-3; and Victor A. Walsh, “*Casa de Machado y Stewart*,” Unpublished Paper, 19 March 2004, 4 pgs., Machado/Stewart Files, Library, DPR-SD.

<sup>86</sup> See Endnote #16

<sup>87</sup> Zink, “Stewart House Data,” p.5; Trudell, “Architectural Summary for the Casa de Machado y Stewart,” p. 4; and DEEDS – Tomas Gutierrez to Juan Bandini, 18 January 1850, Deed Book C, 90-93 & Grant of Land to María Antonia Machado y Silvas, 10 August 1843, Deed Book 1, pp. 75-77, SDCARC.

<sup>88</sup> Ltr. W. H. Halleck to Juan Ma. Marron, Miguel de Pedrorena, Juan Ma. Bandini, Jose Ma. Estudillo & Santiago E. Arguello, 15 May 1849, Archives of the Prefecture of Los Angeles, Volume 1, Part II, pp. 746-48, Seaver Center of Western History, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History; a copy of this same letter was published in House Executive Document No. 17, pp. 764-65; & Andrew F. Rolle, *An American in California: The Biography of William Heath Davis, 1822-1909* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1956), pp. 90-104.

<sup>89</sup> Neal Harlow, *Maps of the Pueblo Lands of San Diego, 1602-1874*, (Los Angeles: 1987), pp. 87-94 & 127-31.

<sup>90</sup> See maps on pages 32 & 58.

<sup>91</sup> Tax Assessment Rolls for San Diego County, 1850-60, R2.20, SDHC; and 1850 Assessment Rolls for City of San Diego, California Room, SDPL.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>93</sup> “The Last Will and Testament of Maria Machado” filed 8 April 1860, Probate Court of San Diego County, Case #217, R3.52, SDHC - See Appendix 1

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>95</sup> See Endnote #56

<sup>96</sup> Tax Assessment Rolls for San Diego County, 1860-61 & 63, R2.20, SDHC; County Lot Books, 1868-73, SDCARC; Mustain’s Interview with Hastings, p. 9; and Trudell, “Architectural Summary for the Casa de Machado y Stewart,” p. 3.

<sup>97</sup> Estate of Guadalupe Machado Smith, Inventory and Appraisal of Property, Probate Case #125, filed 11 August 1884, Superior Court of San Diego County, R3.52, SDHC.

<sup>98</sup> Lot Books, San Diego County, Old San Diego Addition, 1894 – p.72, 1898 – p.110 & 1899 – p.120, R1.21, SDHC; and San Diego County, Tax Rolls, Index to Property, Old San Diego Addition, 1899-1903, p.134, SDCARC.

<sup>99</sup> See Endnote #68; and *San Diego City and County Directory, 1913* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Co., 1913), p. 57.

<sup>100</sup> *San Diego City and County Directory, 1904-07* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Co., 1904-07), 04 – pp. 460-61, 05 – p. 414, 06 – p. 500, & 07 – p. 491; Mustain Interview 1976, p. 3; and Oral Interview with Shirley Mustain Walstad (Stewart great-granddaughter), No Date, Machado/Stewart Files, Library, DPR-SD, p. 3 [hereinafter referred to as Mustain-Walstad Interview].

<sup>101</sup> See Endnotes #74 & #79; and Mustain Interview 1976, p. 4.

<sup>102</sup> *Statutes of California, 1933: General Laws, Amendments to Codes, Resolutions and Constitutional Amendments*, Passed at the Regular Session of the Fiftieth Legislature, 1933, Chapter 612, “An act to amend sections 3746, 3751, 3756, 3817 and 3817a of the Political Code, relating to property tax delinquencies, penalties, and redemptions, and to declare that this act shall take effect immediately,” pp. 1564-69; DEED - City of San Diego granted to Edward F. Anholzer, “the southerly half of Lot 4 in Block 436 of the Old San Diego” Addition, 15 October 1940, Official Records Book, Volume 1162, P. 319; DEED – Edward F. & Elsie Anholzer granted to Old Town Community Church School “the southerly half of Lot 4 in Block 436 of the Old San Diego” Addition, 3 May 1941, Official Records Book, Volume 1185, pp. 53-54; and DEED – Old Town Community Church School granted to D.W. & Netta B. Glasser “the southerly half of Lot 4 in Block 436 of the Old San Diego” Addition, 12 August 1943, Official Records Book, Volume 1655, p. 14.

<sup>103</sup> See Endnote #81; and *Netta Semerad v. Ransom Beman, ET. AL., LIS PENDENS - Action to Quiet Title*, Official Records Book, Volume 1751, p. 85.

<sup>104</sup> Obituary for Clyde F. Trudell, *Independent Journal (Marin County)*, 13 November 1978, accessed through <http://www.sfgenealogy.com>, 9 January 2013. The Special Collections Department at the University of California, Davis has in its holdings the Clyde Francis Trudell Collection, 1851-1970 (Collection #D-024), which includes some materials related to Trudell’s work for Old Town San Diego State Historic Park, which was not reviewed for this report. The collection consists of 2.2 linear feet of materials

<sup>105</sup> Orin M. Zink, “Places at Old Town San Diego,” (San Diego: n.p., 1955); \_\_\_\_\_, “Machado-Stewart House Data, [As It Looked About 1900 - Floor Plan and Furnishings Information by Mrs. Leo Mustain, John C. Stewart’s Granddaughter]” (San Diego: n.p., 1967), 2 Sheets of Plans, available at the California Room, SDPL; and “Orion Zink Dies; Safe Driving Advocate, Masonic Historian,” *San Diego Union*, (19 August 1983), 39.

<sup>106</sup> Trudell, “Architectural Summary for the Casa de Machado y Stewart,” pp. 10-12.

<sup>107</sup> Paul H. Ezell and Noel D. Broadbent, *Archaeological Investigations at the Casa de Jose[é] Manuel Manuel Machado (The Stewart House)*,” (San Diego State College, Department of Anthropology, 1968), pp. 6-15. Ezell and Broadbent published an article based on their report, see *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 8 (October, 1972): 1-35. See also Paul and Greta Ezell, “Cosoy, First Spanish Stop in Alta California,” in *Brand Book Number Eight*, , edited by Clifford M. Graves (San Diego: San Diego Corral of the Westerners, 1987), pp.126-27.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>109</sup> Trudell, "Architectural Summary for the Casa de Machado y Stewart," pp. 6-9.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*; Dana, *Two Years before the Mast*, p. 516; and Ezell & Broadbent, "Archaeological Investigations," pp. 19-20.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*; and Mustain Interview 1958, p. 9.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>115</sup> Ezell & Broadbent, "Archaeological Investigations," pp. 28-29.

<sup>116</sup> Trudell, "Architectural Summary for the Casa de Machado y Stewart," p. 6-9.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*; and Mustain Interview 1976, p. 1; Mustain Walstad Interview, p. 2; and "Photograph of the Casa de Stewart (sic) adobe in San Diego, California, 1937, Object I.D. #P17127, Braun Research Library Collection, Autry National Center, retrieved over the internet at <http://collections.theautry.org>, accessed 7/10/12.

<sup>118</sup> Trudell, "Architectural Summary for the Casa de Machado y Stewart," p. 7.

<sup>119</sup> Trudell, "Architectural Summary for the Casa de Machado y Stewart," p. 6; and Meza Pelletier Interview. Mrs. Mustain's daughter said it was about 1915 when Uncle Pancho [Frank Stewart]"added the wooden veranda to the east side of the adobe" – see Mustain Walstad Interview, p. 1.

<sup>120</sup> Mustain Walstad Interview, pp. 2-3.

<sup>121</sup> "Casa de Machado y Stewart Building Condition Assessment Report: Old Town State Park, San Diego, California," prepared by IS Architecture for the Department of Parks and Recreation, State of California, December, 2008, p. 18.

<sup>122</sup> H.M.T. Powell, *The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852: The Journal and Drawings of H.M.T. Powell*, Douglas S. Watson, ed., (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1931), p. facing page 186

<sup>123</sup> Henry Miller, *13 California Towns from the Original Drawings* (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1947), p. [66] (pages unnumbered).

<sup>124</sup> Trudell, "Architectural Summary for the Casa de Machado y Stewart," p. 10.