Father John Chrysostome Holbein:
A Forgotten Chapter in San Diego Mission History 1849 – 1854

William Jude Uberti

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the once prosperous and flourishing Mission San Diego de Alcalá lay in a state of deterioration due mainly to secularization.¹ The mission no longer provided a base for the nurturing of Christianity for the neighboring residents and Indian population,² but rather served as a garrison for the United States Army.³ Consequently, the spiritual needs of the local community had not been attended to on a regular basis since 1846.⁴ These dilemmas and other problems confronted Father John Holbein, a Picpus missionary priest, during his stay in San Diego as pastor from 1849 to 1854.⁵ The name “Picpus” is a nickname for the official title “Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary of the Perpetual Adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.” The title “The Sacred Hearts Fathers” (SS. CC) is commonly used today.

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Hamburg, Germany, marks the birthplace of John Chrysostome Holbein. Information concerning his early life remains scant with the exception of his birth date, March 21, 1800. Father Holbein’s mother or a close relative may have been of French origin since he professed into a French order—a relatively uncommon act for a German of that period. The Picpus priest left his homeland in July 1845 for missionary duty in Hawaii. He labored for three years in the islands before his transfer to California along with another Sacred Hearts clergyman and two lay brothers. The desperate situation of the missions warranted an appeal from the Vicar General of Upper and Lower California to the congregation in Hawaii for more priests. Father Holbein and his companions were chosen and they embarked from Honolulu on October 31, 1848.

The voyage to San Francisco took three weeks, and when the friars arrived they could not land immediately due to the crowded conditions of the bay. The discovery of gold in January 1848 lured both local residents and foreigners to this harbor which soon became a “forest of masts.” After some time they disembarked, and once ashore immediately formulated plans for transportation to Mission Santa Barbara, the headquarters of the California

The Pueblo of Los Angeles ca. 1869 showing the Plaza and Old Plaza Church. Olvera Street is shown in the background. Courtesy of the Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection.
Father John Chrysostome Holbein

dioce. Father Stanislas LeBret found a vessel going south. Unfortunately, shortly after starting, bad weather forced the ship to turn back. The padres were landed one hundred and twenty miles north of their goal. Holbein and LeBret walked the remaining distance to Santa Barbara, a journey that took them five weeks.12

The superior of the missions, Father José González Rubio, warmly received the two Sacred Hearts priests. The Franciscan friar even promised to pay their passage to their destination. Additionally, after a short time, he granted Fathers Holbein and LeBret permission to perform their priestly duties in the California diocese since they had studied Spanish after their arrival at Santa Barbara.

The first assignment for Father Holbein, in this new land, presented a twofold responsibility. He, along with a Dominican priest,13 undertook the task of journeying throughout the scattered cities, towns, and mining camps in order to raise funds for additional priests to serve the needs of the rapidly increasing population. In addition to fund gathering, the missionaries had the obligation of administering the sacraments to people in these remote regions.14 In June 1849, the Picpus priest visited the pueblo of Los Angeles. Holbein and two other priests convinced the ayuntamiento of the city to approve the allotment of some land north of the plaza for a school.15 This venture remains the only recorded deed of the friar before his transfer to a mission parish.

On January 10, 1850, Father González officially assigned Father John Chrysostome Holbein, SS. CC., to Mission San Diego de Alcalá and additionally entrusted him with the care of the San Luis Rey Mission.16 The Baptismal Record of California’s first mission, however, shows that Father Holbein practiced his clerical duties at his new assignment as early as October 14, 1849.17

Sketch of Mission San Diego by H.M.T. Powell as it appeared in 1850. ©SDHC #74C2A7.
The German missionary, after examining the dilapidated mission buildings, decided to stay in Old Town mainly because most of his parishioners lived there. The United States Army, also stationed in San Diego, not only occupied the mission church but the adjoining priests’ quarters as well. Don José Estudillo graciously offered the hospitality of his home to the newly arrived priest. Father Holbein held his first Catholic services in the private chapel of the Estudillo family and made his residence at his house.

The large Catholic population of Old Town coupled with the smallness of the Estudillo family chapel and the poor condition of the mission warranted the construction of a new Catholic church. Padre Juan, as he was called by the
Spanish speaking residents, successfully solicited funds from the eminent Catholic families and Protestant households of the town. The new building would house the services of both creeds.\textsuperscript{20}

The priest, accompanied by some of the leading citizens of Old Town,\textsuperscript{21} appeared before the Common Council in August 1850 to petition the city for land on which a spacious new church could be constructed.\textsuperscript{22} The local government approved the request on August 21 and granted Holbein the parcel of land designated as Block 88, Lot 1 on the Cave Johnson Couts’ Survey Map of San Diego, with the condition that the structure be completed within a reasonable amount of time.\textsuperscript{23}

The formal ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone of the new church took place on September 29, 1851, at four o’clock in the afternoon. Father Holbein, dressed in full ceremonial array, led a procession “composed of the most esteemed and cherished members of the Church Universal [Catholic Church]” and many Protestants, from the Casa Estudillo down the dusty San Diego Avenue to the site of the new church near the old Catholic cemetery. A service followed during which “many saints with the most poetic names, and in whose gentle influence over the holy edifice about to be erected . . . were involved to bless this effort, and those who contributed to its success.” Padre Juan consecrated the building foundations with holy water “after which, a scroll containing a memorandum of the date and place—the class of persons from whom the contributions were received [both Catholic and Protestant] . . . together with the names of several who formed the procession, was securely sealed in a vessel of indestructible nature, and placed
under the corner stone about to be laid.” The Masonic ceremony followed.  

At first the construction of the church progressed at a steady rate, but difficulties arose which checked the building’s development. The lumber to finish the church did not arrive from Santa Cruz until twenty-three months later in August 1853. The absence of the Padre from town during his visits to the churches of Mission San Luis Rey and Baja California also helped to impede the progress of the building. The real problem which led to the demise of the new church began in 1852 when Pastor Holbein forbade his congregation from observing or participating in any Masonic celebrations. The curate, intent on protecting his flock from heretical influences, followed the proscribed teachings of the Catholic Church at the time. The action resulted in a feud between the German missionary and John Judson Ames, Master Mason of the San Diego Lodge and editor of The San Diego Herald. “Boston” Ames wrote half a column in the June 28, 1852 issue of his newspaper denouncing the “bigoted priest.”

Ironically, a few months later, the Masonic leader criticized Padre Juan for marrying a Jewish man to a Catholic señorita in the following poem:
O ’twas a joyful sound to hear
That good old Padre say,
Come, Israel, “pungle down” the “tin”
And take the bride away!29

Thus Ames himself was not without prejudice. The next year the Master Mason published an article entitled “The Catholics and the Schools” indirectly attacking Father Holbein and condemning Catholics as “fixed upon this Republic as the most favorable region on earth to build the colossal fabric of papal supremacy, and once more govern the world.”30 In the September 17, 1853 issue of the Herald the editor expressed joy upon hearing that the “antipathy to the Masonic fraternity” will be leaving San Diego for good.31 Finally in the following month’s publication, Boston Ames left this description of the Mission father: “that old bigoted ’cuss’ Padre Juan, who prays daily that all Free Masons may be pitched into the hottest corner of Tophet.”32

The completion of the new church never materialized due to the hostilities between Protestant and Catholic factions. Masonic financial supporters of the project withdrew their pledges and with the help of the Reverend Doctor John Reynolds,33 the newly arrived United States Army Chaplain, initiated a building fund for a Protestant church.34 The Reverend Reynolds conducted his Sunday services in English, much to the joy of his congregation. Father Holbein continued to say Mass at the Catholic Chapel and preach his sermons in Spanish.35 Even with English sermons, however, Reverend Reynolds experienced difficulties in obtaining sufficient numbers to witness his ministering. The San Diego Herald printed this witty saying from John Phoenix’s Phoenixiana on October 8, 1853, describing the disappointment of the chaplain:

Where two or three are gathered together,
the Lord has promised to be with them,
but the Doctor says he finds it difficult
enough to ensure divine presence.36
The Herald on December 3, 1853 also mentioned that

the attendance at the Catholic Chapel is full always at the morning service while at the Court-house where is conducted the Episcopal form of worship, an audience of over a dozen is rarely seen; while the quiet due to Sunday is protruded upon by the rioting of the inebriated and the very words of holy writ are drowned by the click of billiard balls and the call for cocktails from the adjacent saloon.\(^{37}\)

The unprotected walls and foundations of the new Catholic church finally collapsed during a rain storm on December 31, 1854.\(^{38}\) Four more years would pass before a Catholic church could be successfully completed on the New Town Road.\(^{39}\) Despite severe criticism from Protestant and Free Mason factions, Padre Juan Holbein led, according to his faith, a vigorous and effective ministry in Old Town. He kept accurate records at the Mission, performing 286 baptisms, 175 confirmations, 29 marriages, and 59 funerals during his five year ministry,\(^{40}\) in addition to his missionary activity in Lower California and San Luis Rey.\(^{41}\) The pastor took his spiritual responsibilities seriously as seen by his signature on the Mission records as “mission apostle.”\(^{42}\)

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View of Mission Valley showing the six-mile distance needed to be traveled from Old Town to attend mass at Mission San Diego. ©SDHC #30 81:11580.
The military occupation of Mission San Diego greatly disturbed the Picpus father. On December 28, 1853, Padre Holbein, probably at the request of the military, removed the remains of three Franciscan missionaries whose names were unknown to him, from the presbytery of the Mission Church and buried them in the Mission Cemetery. He placed the bones of the priests in one chest and performed the task with full ecclesiastical blessings. This was done in order to protect the remains from desecration by the soldiers and animals quartered in the church. Father Holbein did not realize at the time that he had relocated the remains of Father Luís Jayme, California’s first martyr.

The missionary would have been amazed if he could have known what future problems this humble and pious act would cause. Through a misinterpretation of the early records relating to the burial of the San Diego Mission Padres, it was presumed until modern times that the body of Father Jayme was still buried in the church.

Although his missionary work kept him busy, Father Holbein missed the company of his fellow religious. In September 1853, the padre requested permission from the bishop to visit his Picpus superiors in Hawaii. The following year he departed San Diego never to return. It was reported in the September 17, 1853 publication of The San Diego Herald that Padre Juan was returning to Germany. Whether he went back to Hawaii or to his native Germany remains unknown, for the official records of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts list the priest as “departed.” This may indicate that Holbein left the order after his San Diego assignment and took up duties somewhere as a regular diocesan priest.
As a missionary in a foreign land, Father John Holbein directed his primary efforts toward the preservation of his flock and never lost sight of the imperative of all missionary fathers which is to “seek the salvation of souls.” Although confronted with intense criticism, Father Holbein never deviated from his goal. This caused him great personal sorrow and even led to the loss of his dream, the building of a new Catholic church for his flock. Father John was the first pastor in the little town of San Diego, and his short stay marks the transition between the Mexican and American periods. The brief history of his tenure in San Diego outlines the inevitable conflict between two cultures. He therefore constitutes one of the most significant elements in the study of San Diego’s past.
NOTES


2. When the United States government took over California in 1848 it lacked a coherent policy for dealing with the Native American populations. The Indians especially in Southern California suffered severe hardships caused by unfit or unscrupulous Indian agents, real estate tax requirements (even though they were not citizens), broken treaties, squatting on designated Indian land by white settlers, and outright neglect. For more information concerning the state of Indian affairs during this time period see Richard L. Carrico, “San Diego Indians and the Federal Government Years of Neglect, 1850-1865,” *The Journal of San Diego History*, Vol 26, No. 3, (Summer 1980), 1-8.

3. Mission San Diego de Alcalá, founded on July 16, 1769, reached the height of its prosperity shortly after the turn of the century. By 1847 when the Mormon Battalion first occupied the buildings, the mission had experienced much deterioration. The United States Army used the structures as barracks during Holbein's stay in San Diego thus accelerating the rapid decline of the mission. See Benjamin Hays, *Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes*, edited by Majorie Tilsdale Wolscott, (Los Angeles: privately published, 1929), 194-195.

4. Mission records indicate that Father Vicente Oliva left San Diego in 1846. This Franciscan priest began his work at this port city in 1822.

5. The name “Picpus” is a nickname for the official title “Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary of the Perpetual Adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.” The abbreviated title “The Sacred Hearts Fathers” is commonly used today. The order acquired the name “Picpus” when its founder, the newly ordained Father Pierre Marie Joseph Coudrin, established his congregation in the Rue de Picpus, a suburb of Paris, during the French Revolution. The society follows the Rule of St. Benedict and its members take simple vows. Father Damien de Veuster, the Apostle of the Lepers, is probably the most renowned member of the society for his missionary work in Hawaii. Pope Benedict XVI canonized Father Damien a saint in the Catholic Church on October 11, 2009.

6. The Picpus fathers began to establish a mission in the Hawaiian Islands in 1827. Opposition from the Protestant missionaries and the native authorities however, forced the order to leave in 1831. The priests came to California where the Franciscans jubilantly welcomed them. Two of the Sacred Hearts, Fathers Bachelot and Short, became pastors of the pueblo of Los Angeles and Mission San Carlos Borromeo, respectively. Although the Picpus order made some attempts to reestablish the Catholic Mission in Hawaii, they did not succeed until 1840. A few years later this project flourished. For a good account of Picpus missionary activity in Hawaii, see Leonce Jore, “The Fathers of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts (Called Picpus) in California,” *Southern California Quarterly*, XLVI, No. 4 (December 1964), 194-301, 312.

7. Father Holbein sailed with Father Stanislas LeBret and Brothers Elisee Provost and Ladislas Rualt. LeBret was assigned to Mission San José de Guadalupe but remained there only two years before his transfer to the mission at San Francisco in 1850. He departed California the following
year for work in Chile by order of the Superior General. The two lay brothers received no specific assignments. As a result, Brother Rualt journeyed to the gold fields and managed to mine a fair amount of the precious metal for the mission in Hawaii. Brother Provost opened a café near San Jose but later caught the gold fever and left the order. See Harold Augustine Whalen, SS. CC., “The Picpus Story: 1826 – 1856,” University of Southern California PhD Dissertation, (1972), 313.


9. At the time of the arrival of the Picpus fathers, the twenty-one California missions contained only seventeen priests, most of whom neared the age of retirement. See Whalen, “The Picpus Story,” 297.


13. Father Ignacio Ramírez de Arellano came from the missions in Baja California.


15. Ibid., 309.

16. Ibid., 310.

17. “Book of Baptism,” Mission San Diego de Alcalá, microfilm at the University of San Diego.

18. José Antonio Estudillo (1805 – 1852) served San Diego in many capacities ranging from Alcalde (1836 – 1838) and Treasurer (1840), to the first County Assessor in 1850, and shortly thereafter City Treasurer; see Donald H. Harrison, Louis Rose: San Diego’s First Jewish Settler and Entrepreneur, (Sunbelt Publications, Inc, 2005), 72-73. As a prominent rancher, Estudillo owned land at Otay, Temecula, and San Juan Capistrano. The local populace held him in high esteem.


21. José Aguirre, Juan Bandini, and Miguel de Pedrarena presented themselves with Holbein at the council meeting. As prosperous ranchers in San Diego, these men possessed considerable influence in local matters. The council granted the land in trust to Holbein and these men for church purposes.

22. “Minutes of the Common Council,” August 21, 1850, 58-59. Registration of the grant can be found in “County Records, Deed Book B,” 154-156, August 24, 1850 at the San Diego County Recorder’s Office.

23. Upon close examination of Lieutenant Cave Couts’ Map of San Diego one notices two blocks numbered Block 88. Many historians made the mistake of placing the site of the church on the northern location across the San Diego River near the present day Friars Road. This would not be a wise location for a church due to the distance from the town as well as its placement in the flood zone of the river. The southern block across from the old Campo Santo Cemetery seems a more suitable site for a church. A private residence on the northeast corner of Arista and Congress Streets occupies the vicinity of this area today. It is normal that a city indicate a time element for the development on tax free grant property. This is done to avoid use of the tax free land for private gain.
24. *San Diego Herald*, October 9, 1851, 2.
26. The initial meeting of San Diego Lodge No. 35 of Free and Accepted Masons was held on November 20, 1851. This was the first Masonic Lodge to be organized in Southern California. See Norton B. Stern and William M. Kramer, “The Rose of San Diego,” *The Journal of San Diego History*, Vol 19, #4, (Fall 1973), 6.
27. Before embarking on his newspaper career, John Judson Ames (1821 – 1861) spent time at sea as a merchant officer. He began his career in journalism in Baton Rouge where he supported Zachary Taylor for president in 1848. In 1849 he travelled to San Francisco in order to make his fortune in the gold fields. While in this city Ames became a member of the Masonic Order. Moving to San Diego for political purposes, Ames published the first issue of *The San Diego Herald* on May 29, 1851. The editor made several trips to San Francisco in order to obtain financial support for this paper. He often used his penname “Boston” in his newspaper articles or opinions. In 1860 Ames closed the *Herald* and moved to San Bernardino however, the publication did not prosper and he died the following year.
29. *San Diego Herald*, August 27, 1852, 2. John Judson Ames did not reveal the entire story in this short debasing article. The policy of the Catholic Church at this time would not allow a marriage between a Catholic and a Jew unless the non-Catholic converted. Therefore it can be assumed that the bridegroom underwent religious instruction and was at the time a member in good standing in the Catholic Church.
31. *San Diego Herald*, September 17, 1853, 2. Although the newspaper reported Holbein as leaving San Diego in 1853, he did not leave until the latter part of the following year.
33. The Reverend Doctor John Reynolds arrived in San Diego in early July 1853. He was stationed at the Mission with the United States Army. Before his arrival in San Diego, Reynolds served as pastor at the Episcopal Church in Stockton. See *San Diego Herald*, July 17, 1853, 2, for more information concerning his coming to Old Town and the October 8, 1853, 2, edition of the same paper for facts dealing with his background.
34. The estimated cost of the new Protestant church came to $3,000. In order to raise funds Reynolds not only encouraged the local populace to contribute, but made trips to San Francisco probably to visit John Judson Ames’ wealthy Masonic backers. The September 17, 1853 issue of the *Herald* on page two announced that the people of San Diego subscribed $1,200 to the cause while the chaplain collected $900 in San Francisco.
35. The Catholic Chapel referred to here is most likely located in the Estudillo house. The following evidence indicated this: When Bishop Kip visited San Diego in 1854, he stayed at the residence of Juan Bandini for a few days. The bishop reported that “Across from the Bandini House was a long, low Spanish dwelling which was the residence of the Roman Catholic padre and also the chapel for the town.” The Estudillo house is directly across from the front of the Casa Bandini and fits these qualifications. See Lionel Ridout, “A Bishop’s First Glimpse of a Frontier Town,” *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly*, (January 1957), 7. Many of the wealthy Mexican families in Old Town had private chapels in their homes.

39. *San Diego Herald*, July 31, 1858, 2. Don José Antonio Aguirre made a vow that if he won his court case against the wealthy merchant Abel Stearns, he would build San Diego a church. He won the suit and purchased the bowling alley of Captain John Brown then located on Conde Street between San Diego Avenue and Congress Street. The bowling alley was converted into the Church of the Immaculate Conception dedicated on November 21, 1858 by Father Antonio Ubach. Today it is a historical site known as the “Old Adobe Chapel.” Aguirre, the benefactor of the church lies buried there.

40. The following figures are taken from the records of Mission San Diego de Alcalá “Book of Baptism,” “Book of Confirmations,” “Book of Marriages,” and “Book of the Dead.”

41. Holbein often journeyed from San Diego to the far parts of the diocese. This may be the reason why he is not listed in the Seventh United States Census taken in 1850.

42. Padre Holbein signed his name on the various mission books as either: J. Cris. Holbein mis. ap. or J. Cry. Holbein mis. apost.


44. Father Luis Jayme met his death on November 4, 1775, at the hands of the Kumeyaay Indians. The Indians attacked the mission and burned the buildings. Father Jayme walked out the door of the mission during the assault with his arms outstretched saying, “Love God, my children” and was promptly martyred. For more information concerning the causes of the November 4-5, 1775 Indian insurrection see Richard L. Carrico, Sociopolitical Aspects of the 1775 Revolt at Mission San Diego de Alcalá: An Ethnohistorical Approach,” *The Journal of San Diego History*, Vol 43, #3, (Summer 1997), 1-5.

45. Engelhardt believed the remains buried in the cemetery to be those of Fathers Lazaro, Panto, and Martin. Nevertheless through archaeological excavation and dating, these bones proved to be those of Fathers Jayme, Figuer, and Mariner.

46. The remains of three missionary priests were unearthed from the Mission Cemetery in 1971 by the University of San Diego under the direction of James Moriarty. After a thorough examination Moriarty concluded that these were the remains of a young Franciscan priest and two older friars who had been dead for about two hundred years. Historical records indicated that they had discovered the remains of Fathers Jayme, Figuer, and Mariner since their bodies were not found buried in the Mission Church. Moriarty pieced together the skeletal bones of California’s first martyr and the other padres and returned them in a solemn church ceremony to the presbytery of the mission.

47. Monsignor Joseph S. Alemany became Bishop of California in late 1850. It seemed Holbein’s request to leave San Diego contained some uncertainty because Bishop Alemany informed the friar that if he changed his mind and remained in Hawaii, he must request permission to do so. See Whalen, “The Picpus Story,” 311-312.

48. This is an approximate date. Holbein performed his last baptism on September 27, 1854 and *The San Diego Herald* on November 4 and November 11, 1854 listed an unclaimed letter for the pastor.


50. Bishop Alemany did not go out of his way to encourage the Sacred Hearts Fathers to stay in his diocese. By 1856 all of the Picpus priests stationed in California transferred to their flourishing missionary post in Chile. See Jore, “The Fathers of the Sacred Hearts,” 308-310.