United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

___X____ New Submission _____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Native Americans and the California Mission System, 1769-1848

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Native Voices – Contributions from the Tribal Advisory Committee
I – A Changing Cultural and Socio-Political Landscape
II – Native Identity, Persistence, and Resistance

C. Form Prepared by:

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

_____ _____ _____
Signature of certifying official Title Date

California State Office of Historic Preservation
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

_____ _____
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

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INTRODUCTION

The history of the California mission system is a turbulent one, with a small number of Catholic (Franciscan) priests and soldiers trying to dominate the lives of tens of thousands of Indigenous people in a violent, changing time lasting almost eighty years. In recognition of the tremendous historical and ongoing significance of this period, properties associated with fifteen of the twenty-one California missions are listed on the National Register of Historic Places (National Register), with nine also listed as National Historic Landmarks. Other properties related to the mission system listed on the National Register are associated with all four presidios, two mission outstations, and twenty-two Mission Period adobes and ranchos (**Appendix A**). These designations are primarily from the 1960s and 1970s, with very sparse documentation, and do not adequately represent Native American experiences within and outside the mission spheres of influence. While Native and non-Native scholars have worked to provide more detailed accountings of Native American experiences with the California mission system (e.g., Byrd et al. 2018; Castillo 1989; Chavez 2017; Costo and Costo 1987; Farris 2018; Haas 2014; Johnson 1989; Panich and Schneider 2014, 2015; Peelo et al. 2018a, 2021b; Reddy and Douglass 2018; Schneider 2015a, 2015b), the wealth of information produced by these studies has not been transferred to the National Register listings. New and updated National Register significance evaluations need to incorporate Native American history and voices for all mission system-related properties, identified by Hanson et al. (2022:444) as "The Democratization of Significance." This document begins that task.

THE PLACE

The vast California mission system was directly inserted into a multitude of diverse Indigenous landscapes (**Figure 1**). The mission casco (the main quadrangle and immediate environs) typically included the church, padres' quarters, reception rooms, unmarried women's dormitory, storage facilities, workshops, soldiers' quarters, and other Native American residences (including adobes and traditional dwellings). This study takes a much broader view to consider the entire mission system, including associated and related kilns, aqueduct systems, cemeteries, vineyards, grazing fields, hide-producing sites, sub-mission outstations, ranchos, coastal ship landings, presidios, pueblos, and more. The geographic scale of this study extends even farther to include refuge locations and other outlying Native territories indirectly impacted by mission conscription.

THE TIME

In what can be considered a relatively brief but dramatic time in Indigenous history, the mission system upended Native Californian communities. The chronological period of significance for this historic context begins with Spain's establishment of the first Alta California (also referred to as California throughout this document) mission in San Diego in 1769. Mexico won independence from Spain in 1821, gaining governmental control of California, with emancipation of Native people from the missions beginning in 1826 and formal mission secularization beginning in 1833-1834. The missions did not simply shut their doors, and the emancipation and secularization processes moved relatively slowly and differentially across regions.

The year 1848 has been identified as the close of the period of significance. It marks the end of the Mexican-American War with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that ceded Alta California to the United States. This is just prior to the start of the Gold Rush in 1848, which resulted in a sudden influx of new populations, creating one of the most dramatic demographic shifts in North American history that clearly overwhelmed the prior socio-political landscape.

INDIGENOUS DEEP HISTORY

Indigenous Californians begin their histories with creation stories that describe the relationships between the people and the land, extending back to time immemorial (Akins and Bauer 2021:14). Archaeological evidence shows that Native Americans lived in what became California for at least 13,000 years, and perhaps significantly longer. Some of the oldest radiocarbon dates come from the Channel Islands. By 10,000 years ago it appears that people occupied much of the central and southern coastal regions (Rosenthal and Fitzgerald 2012). This deep history included major changes in human population density and socio-economic complexity and the arrival of new populations from outlying areas.

Language

One of the best ways to appreciate this dynamic past is through historical linguistics, as the distribution of different language families can provide insights into how various Tribal groups interacted with one another over millennia (**Figure 2**). While scholars can offer chronological estimates on the relatedness of languages, when and how different language families came to occupy different geographic regions of California must reflect complex historical processes that may never be fully known. Scholars have conservatively estimated an Indigenous population just prior to colonization of around 300,000 people speaking seventy-eight mutually unintelligible languages in the area that became the state of California (Cook 1976b:43; Golla 2011:1). Though these are the most widely accepted figures, others have used different data and methods to produce higher estimates of more than one hundred different languages spoken and up to one million Native residents (Akins and Bauer 2021:15-16). These diverse populations had some of the highest linguistic diversity anywhere in the world.

The Chumash language family is thought to be the earliest extant in southern California, showing no relationship with any other linguistic group. This is also the case for Yukian languages (which includes Wappo) farther north. Languages of the Hokan family include Pomo, Esselen, Salinan, and Kumeyaay (Ipai-Tipai). These various language families seem to be related, with linkages so faint they must have separated thousands of years ago. In the north, this separation may have been caused by movement of people speaking languages of the Penutian family, including Patwin, Miwok and Ohlone, dividing Pomo/Wappo speakers on the north from Esselen/Salinan speakers on the south. Most linguists think Miwok-Ohlone originated as one language, subsequently separating from one another, before arrival of Patwin-speaking people. It appears that the Patwin language came from the area that became Oregon because it had words for plants from that region and needed to borrow Miwok words for local California species, like gray pine, live oak, manzanita, buckeye, and redwood (Golla 2011; Whistler 1977).

Uto-Aztecan languages (Takic) along the southern California coast include Tataviam, Tongva, Acjachemen, and Payómkawichum, filling the gap between Chumash on the north and Kumeyaay on the

south. They show relatively high degrees of relatedness to one another, not unlike the Romance languages of Europe (e.g., French, Spanish, Italian). Using the known age of separation of the Romance languages as a rough model (they evolved out of Latin after the fall of the Roman empire), the Uto-Aztecan languages may have come into coastal California from the more arid interior about 2,000 years ago and differentiated from one another thereafter (Golla 2011).

Indigenous Culture and Traditions

Regionally specific traditions are a vital part of this historic context. California's extreme environmental diversity shaped Indigenous cultures and material traditions, providing food and other raw materials for daily and ceremonial life, forming the basis for regional economies (Lightfoot and Parrish 2009:50, 69; Schneider 2021a:30). In reciprocation, Native people nurtured and shaped their habitats through various cultural activities and environmental management practices (Lightfoot and Parrish 2009:8). Co-evolved ecosystems eventually supported dense and diverse populations of Native people.

Although there are many ways California Native groups can be classified (e.g., language, overall culture, kinship, political organization, religious or economic exchange areas), no one system completely captures their interrelationships (Forbes 1982:142). The primary socio-political units prior to colonization were independent landholding polities operating autonomously despite their relatively small territories. At least four configurations for socio-political groups have been described ethnographically: single-lineage villages connected through marriage with overlapping outreach areas (e.g., in the southern desert); loose regional communities with multiple family groups sharing numerous short-term villages in collective territories, but lacking central leadership (e.g., in northwest California); large, closely spaced, independent villages with shared hinterlands (e.g., in the Sacramento Valley); and, multi-village cooperative communities with central political leadership and distinct territories, perhaps the most common form (Kroeber 1932, 1955, 1962; Milliken et al. 2010). To identify these groups, the term "Tribe" will be used throughout this document as it is consistently used by contemporary Native groups across the state.

The size and complexity of socio-political groups varied, partially due to environmental diversity. Community populations ranged from fewer than one hundred up to several thousand, with territory size estimates ranging from 50 to 6,000 square miles. Tribal leadership could be achieved by individuals with particular skills and may also have been ascribed through heredity. Tribes were connected through networks of marriage and kinship, economics, and ceremonial cycles, and may have occasionally banded together in political alliances. Archaeological evidence also points to occasional violence between polities suggestive of raiding and warfare (Bean 1976; Kroeber 1955, 1966; Lightfoot and Parrish 2009).

Areas with a rich resource base, like San Francisco Bay and the Santa Barbara coast, supported large, sedentary villages with relatively high degrees of socio-economic differentiation. This was certainly the case among the Barbareño Chumash who had villages that housed hundreds of people, and an economic system that supported a hierarchical social system including an elite class that could control the allocation of labor, including craft specialists who manufactured commodities like shell bead money and oceangoing plank canoes (Gamble 2008). In less productive habitats, like those of the rugged central coast occupied by Esselen speakers, and the more arid lands of Payómkawichum and Kumeyaay

speakers to the south, populations were much lower and dispersed, with many villages occupied on a seasonal basis. These groups also had a more egalitarian form of social organization. These differences in land-use patterns and social organization strongly influenced how local Native groups interacted with and responded to the mission system (Lightfoot et al. 2013).

THE CALIFORNIA MISSION SYSTEM

The Doctrine of Discovery (international colonial law) can be traced back to the Crusades (1096-1271) and a series of fifteenth-century Papal Bulls sanctioning conquest and colonization of non-Christian lands (terra nullius) upon "discovery." These gave Christian European nations the authorization to enslave non-Christians, strip them of their sovereignty, and colonize their lands. Spain and Portugal applied this doctrine in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. England, Holland, and France followed, applying the same principles to claim land in North America and elsewhere. The United States of America, when formed, followed suit. These powers, and others, justified their colonial expansion by asserting superiority over the rest of the global population. This imperialistic expansion, including colonial efforts in California, went well beyond religious dimensions. There was also a fundamental economic goal of obtaining land and local resources for immediate use, export to other parts of the world, and consumption in the homeland. In many places, including the United States, the settler-colonial societies resulting from the Doctrine of Discovery continue to disenfranchise Indigenous Peoples from their homelands (Miller 2019).

The first stage of Spanish expansion into the Americas began with Columbus' 1492 voyage and was limited to the Caribbean and some coastal areas on the continental mainland. It was in the Caribbean that the Spanish first conceived of clustering dispersed Indigenous people into central settlements. In 1492, Spain was also celebrating their successful Reconquista (reconquest) of lands on the Iberian Peninsula from the Islamic Moors and these recent experiences affected their global colonial policies. The word "California" was first used to describe a fictional island in the Indies in a 1510 Spanish novel by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo titled *The Labors of the Very Brave Knight Esplandiá*, which was influenced by the author's own experience in the Reconquista and Spain's colonial efforts in the Caribbean. Spain's second phase of expansion in North America was directed into the Mexican mainland beginning in 1519, where the Spanish took advantage of the many Indigenous people already living in compact communities. Indigenous people in Alta California encountered Europeans for the first time in the 1540s. Although Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo claimed California for the King of Spain in 1542, for over two more centuries, direct encounters remained fleeting (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001).

Alta California was on the final frontier of Spanish expansion. Although there was not a unified or standardized mission system in the Americas, prior experience with colonization certainly influenced the development of the mission system in California. Jesuit missions had been established in Baja California beginning in the late seventeenth century. Spain was finally provoked to expand northward into Alta California in 1769 by threats of Russian and English expansion into the Pacific Northwest jeopardizing Spain's holdings in Northern Mexico. After centuries of colonial efforts, however, New Spain was short on funds and instead of attempting to relocate large numbers of civilians to this remote frontier, Franciscan missionaries provided an inexpensive way to claim California through occupancy (Schneider 2021a:8). Alta

California was colonized through a joint military and missionary effort, with the missionaries entrusted with religious conversion to Catholicism and the complete social transformation of local Indigenous Peoples to assimilate them into Spanish society and provide economic support for the colonial effort.

CONSEQUENCES FOR NATIVE COMMUNITIES

Realities of the Franciscan mission system of Alta California were devastating for Indigenous people. Affected community members lost their loved ones, lands, culture, and freedom (Jackson and Castillo 1995). These impacts did not end with secularization in the 1830s or the collapse of the mission system when private owners ended up with the majority of mission lands, rather than the former Native landowners as the Mexican government intended. Native people who experienced missionization continued to suffer from historical trauma, exacerbated by genocide perpetrated by American settlers in the mid-nineteenth century (Lindsay 2012; Madley 2016), discrimination and bigotry in the twentieth century, and ongoing structural violence continuing into the twenty-first century.

Native Californians survived the horrors of the missions and following centuries. They are still here, passing on traditional knowledge to their loved ones, honoring their culture, gaining back their lands, and exercising power with their freedom. They now comprise some 110 thriving, federally recognized Tribes, with dozens more fighting for federal acknowledgement or its restoration (Akins and Bauer 2021).

Several tribes were consulted as part of the process of compiling this document and their contributions add yet another layer of the histories compiled by scholars of colonial California. Their thoughts and remembrances are presented in the Native Voices context of this document, with several of their quotes repeated here for emphasis as they eloquently speak to the on-going consequences of Mission Period and post-mission American colonization.

Historical Trauma in Native Communities

More than 250 years after the first missions were established in Alta California, many Native communities report that they continue to live with the trauma of colonialism. Brave Heart et al. (2011:283) define historical trauma as the "cumulative emotional and psychological wounding across generations, including the lifespan, which emanates from massive group trauma" that is clinically measured in present-day Indigenous people (see also Fast and Collin-Vézina 2010 and Whitbeck et al. 2004). The antiquity of Spanish colonialism has little relevance for the severity of its trauma, which can be lived and experienced by each Native generation thereafter. During the Mission Period, tens of thousands of Native People in the missions died prematurely from forced relocation, harsh labor demands, cultural suppression, poor living conditions, physical violence, and introduced diseases. Resulting disease and violence outside the missions impacted thousands more who can never be identified.

Native Californians' loss of land and culture in the Mission Period added to the trauma that people endured at the time and that resonates across the centuries. At the missions, Spanish and later Mexican authorities enforced a new social order, ultimately treating Native people as unfree laborers who formed the basis of the colonial economy (Champagne and Goldberg 2021:66-68). In many cases, the missionaries prohibited Indigenous languages and cultural practices and meted out harsh punishments

to those who did not obey colonial regulations. For many Tribes, alienation from their land exacerbated the unraveling of cultural traditions, as in the case of the Payómkawichum who in mission times "could no longer see the sacred mountains that oriented their world view" (Akins and Bauer 2021:68). By the early nineteenth century, colonists had exerted control over huge swaths of ancestral lands, dispossessing Native people across California of their traditional villages and hunting and gathering areas and hindering access to places of spiritual importance—both later presented obstacles to establishing legal claims to Tribal territories (Hackel 2005; Lightfoot 2005).

The realities of the Mission Period often resulted in significant changes to aspects of Native identity as well as certain traditions, ceremonies, and extended family systems that Tribes had cultivated for centuries. It is not surprising that these impacts had painful and long-term consequences, succinctly explained by Trina Coates of the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band (AMTB) who shared that:

> With the loss of our identity and history through the years, it is very difficult to think back to any stories within the Mission Period from 1769-1848. I believe we as Tribal members each struggle with our identity through this historical trauma....

Another aspect of the continuing trauma of colonialism is the perception—shared by many politicians, academics, and the general public—that Native Californians associated with the missions had effectively vanished prior to the Gold Rush of the late 1840s. This idea was part of a national myth of the "vanishing Indian" (Dippie 1982) perpetuated by the federal government as well as in literature and artwork to support territorial expansion. Regionally, anthropologists including Alfred Kroeber (1925) declared several missionized Tribes culturally extinct (e.g., Ohlone [Costanoan], Esselen, and Salinan; Kroeber later recanted this statement and supported Native land claims in the 1950s). The lasting impacts of the missions—and misunderstandings of their impacts—can be seen in the distribution of federally recognized Tribes in California: most Native communities in the southern and central coasts whose ancestors suffered through the mission system lack federal acknowledgement today. This disparity stems in large part due to the legacies of the Mission Period, as government officials and early anthropologists inaccurately judged formerly missionized Native communities to be too acculturated and demographically reduced to constitute authentic American Indian tribes (Lightfoot 2005; Panich 2020).

In an echo of the original mission system, many California mission sites continue to erase the persistence of Native Californians, through public interpretive displays that either treat Indigenous people as relics of the past or fail to mention them altogether (Dartt-Newton 2011; Kryder-Reid 2016; Lorimer 2016; Panich 2022). Along with the missions themselves, the mission bells associated with El Camino Real, the 435-mile route from Missions San Diego to Sonoma, also serve as symbols of loss and constant reminders of the brutality of the colonial system (Ramirez and Lopez 2020). Julie Pineida of AMTB spoke about her visit to Mission San Juan Bautista for her fourth-grade mission project, which was emotionally distressing for her and "long-term emotions and feelings about loss of cultural identity centered around missions came together as she learned about her family history and historical trauma at the hands of the Spanish colonists." As stated by the Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians

(FTBMI), "the mission [San Fernando Rey de España] still perpetuates harm to the descended Tribal community and has lacked efforts to undo past trauma."

Resilience in Native Communities

Despite the challenges of the mission system, Native people all across the region found ways to maintain connections to their ancestral lands, a pattern that persists (Akins and Bauer 2021). As demonstrated by Coast Miwok scholar Tsim Schneider, the Mission Period landscape was dotted with places where people fled or avoided the missions, sustaining themselves and their communities. Some locales were perhaps visited clandestinely while others were openly autonomous villages that resisted colonial control (Schneider 2015a, 2021a, 2021b). These connections remain crucial. For the FTBMI, for example, their creation stories, languages, kinship practices, and ceremonies are all derived from the Tribe's continuing relationship with the land. Other Tribes, including those which lack federal recognition, are revitalizing their relationships with the land that were severed under Spanish, Mexican, and American colonialism. In the greater San Francisco Bay region, for instance, recent years have seen the founding of the Amah Mutsun Land Trust and the newly launched Muwekma Ohlone Preservation Foundation.

Even within the mission rancherías, aspects of Native cultural practice survived as Native communities created safe spaces where they could transmit their culture through oral traditions and where they could continue some cultural practices out of sight of the missionaries and colonial soldiers (Lightfoot 2005; Panich 2020). Mistreatment of Native people by the Spanish should not imply their passive submission to colonial control and domination. The spirit of independence and fight for cultural survival is evident in varied accounts of resistance, rebellion, and uprisings at several missions, ranging from the early Kumeyaay revolt at Mission San Diego in 1775 to the Estanislao Revolt against Missions San José and Santa Clara in the late 1820s.

Resistance and revitalization have gone hand in hand, and the struggle for Indigenous rights in California has stretched from the Mission Period to today (Akins and Bauer 2021; Baldy 2018; Harkin 2007; among others). Native knowledge-keepers and culture bearers have played vital roles in maintaining their knowledge, histories, and culture (e.g., Sarmento 2021). Their knowledge provides the foundation for reviving Native languages as a powerful means to reclaim cultural and ethnic identity. Tribes are also speaking out about how they perceive their past, empowering Native people to correct the dominant narratives that have downplayed the brutalities of Spanish colonialism. For example, generations of Native scholars are telling their own histories of the Mission Period and its aftermath (Akins and Bauer 2021; Baldy 2018; Bauer 2012, 2016; Cordero 2017; Costo and Costo 1987; Esquivido-Meza 2019; Galvan 2013; Galvan and Medina 2018; Miranda 2013; Schneider 2019, 2021a, 2021b; Schneider et al. 2020). Combined with Tribal efforts to remove Spanish colonial symbols like statues and bells from university campuses and other civic spaces—alongside the formation of various forms of partnerships between Tribes and government agencies—recent years have seen Tribal successes in combating the historical trauma created through the mission system while simultaneously celebrating the resilience of Native Californians.

NATIVE VOICES—CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE TRIBAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The voices, histories, and cultural memories of Indigenous Californians are integral to this Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF). They reflect the vital multivocal participation needed for accurately assessing National Register significance (Hanson et al. 2022). Their input touches on source selection, derogatory and inaccurate presentations, intergenerational trauma, appropriate presentations of their rich and complex history, language use, the horrors of the California mission system, and Indigenous resistance and persistence then and today. This section includes several interviews and documents contributed by Tribes, and much of the information contained therein has been incorporated into the following historic contexts. While some of the information shared by Tribes extends outside of the period of significance (1769-1848), they are included here in full to offer additional insight to how Native Californians have experienced colonization and to better contextualize the Mission Period within long-term Indigenous histories.

The Native voices are represented by a Tribal Advisory Committee of forty-eight representatives (Tribal citizens and employees) from nineteen California Tribes who participated in virtual outreach meetings hosted by the California State Office of Historic Preservation (OHP). Some also talked with one of the project's Principal Investigators, Dr. Seetha Reddy, with several submitting additional notes or offering complete documents. **Table 1** and **Figure 3** indicate the nineteen Tribes that directly participated in preparation of the MPDF. A full list of participants is included in Section H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods.

Table 1. Tribal Advisory Committee Contributions (in order presented)

Tribe	Participated in Monthly OHP Meetings	Met with Dr. Reddy	Additional Contribution(s)
Amah Mutsun Tribal Band	Yes	Yes	Interview notes with some integrated text provided directly by the Tribe; various supplemental documents
Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians	Yes	Yes	Interview notes integrated with text provided directly by the Tribe
Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation	Yes	Yes	Interview notes
Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians	Yes	Yes	Tribe's 2014 Research Design and 2011 Historic Preservation Management Plan; Lewis 2013 Master's thesis on the Desert Cahuilla
Jamul Indian Village	Yes	Yes	Carrico 1997 article on the 1775 Mission San Diego Revolt
Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area	Yes	No	Tribe's 2021 report on the ethnohistory of Santa Clara Valley and adjacent regions
Pala Band of Mission Indians	Yes	Yes	Discussion of the significance of Mission San Antonio de Pala Asistencia to the Tribe; Gaughen 2011 Doctoral dissertation on the Pala Indian Reservation
Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Indians	Yes	No	Spanne 2011 document on Chumash land use
Barbareño Band of Chumash Indians	Yes	Yes	-
Barbareño/Ventureño Band of Mission Indians	Yes	No	-
Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation	Yes	Yes	-
Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria	Yes	Yes	-
Middletown Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California	Yes	No	-
Morongo Band of Mission Indians	Yes	No	-
yak titᵛu titᵛu yak tiłhini – Northern Chumash Tribe	Yes	No	-
Pauma Band of Luiseño Indians	Yes	No	-
Quabajai Coastal Chumash Keepers of the Western Gate Tribal Clan of Santa Barbara	Yes	No	-
Rincon Band of Luiseño Indians	Yes	Yes	-
San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians	Yes	No	-

COLLABORATING WITH THE TRIBAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The Tribal Advisory Committee was a forum for Native American Tribes and Tribal members to partner directly in design, development, and review of this MPDF. The OHP reached out by mail on multiple occasions to more than sixty Tribes identified by the California Native American Heritage Commission (NAHC) as having an interest in one or more counties in which the California mission system is located. All Tribes for whom the NAHC provided email addresses were also contacted by email. Additionally, three in-person listening sessions about the MPDF effort were held in various parts of the state (hosted by the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria, the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Indians, and the Pala Band of Mission Indians [PBMI]). In all, twenty-three Tribes expressed interest in participating and were contacted via email and phone to address any questions and to coordinate the scheduling of Advisory Committee meetings. They continued to receive all emails and updates regarding the effort as it progressed, with the nineteen listed in Table 1 participating in later Advisory Committee meetings and preparation of the MPDF.

To facilitate a working partnership, the OHP hosted a series of group meetings over Zoom attended by representatives of Advisory Committee Tribes, OHP staff (State Historic Preservation Officer [SHPO]) Julianne Polanco, Deputy SHPO Jenan Saunders, and Program Assistant Jessie Ochoa-Diaz), and representatives of the Far Western consultant team preparing the MPDF (Principal Investigators Naomi Scher and Seetha Reddy). The Advisory Committee participated in designing the MPDF over four initial group meetings between February and June 2021. Discussion topics included: (1) project goals and objectives and the role of the Advisory Committee, including ways to participate and desired frequency of meetings; (2) scope of the MPDF—historic contexts, geographic area, and period of significance; (3) historic context themes and content; (4) language use; (5) reference sources; and (6) representation of Native voices and experiences.

Three additional virtual group meetings were held between August and October 2021 with discussions focused on Tribal contributions for this historic context. By request from the Advisory Committee, guidance was provided with examples of types of possible contributions, tips for conducting/participating in interviews, and suggestions for how the consultant team could provide support if requested. Types of contributions could be very open and were to relate to the main MPDF topic; suggestions included narrative stories or essays, written questionnaire responses, interview transcripts, photographs or other figures/graphics with annotated text, collections of quotes, and reference sources.

The OHP generally sent email updates monthly including schedule reminders and agendas in advance of group meetings and notes and video recordings afterwards. Several months when there was no formal group meeting, the OHP also held virtual “office hours.” To provide further opportunities for Advisory Committee engagement, in follow-up to group meetings Dr. Reddy conducted three rounds of individual outreach to participating Tribes focused on discussing the goals of the project and historic context content (April-May 2021), property types (June-September 2021), and Tribal historic context contributions (September 2021-April 2022). Outreach was conducted primarily by email, phone, and Zoom or other virtual meeting platforms.

In support of these ongoing conversations with the Advisory Committee, the consultant team coordinated with the OHP to prepare conversation guides including information on project objectives and scope, an outline, information on historic contexts and property types under the National Register, a preliminary bibliography, and guidance on potential contributions. The OHP provided these documents to the Advisory Committee by email prior to group meetings. The outline was the focus of several discussions and was revised multiple times in response to feedback received from the Advisory Committee between February and July 2021 before the outline was approved and the consultant team began researching and writing for the MPDF.

Advisory Committee members were also given the opportunity to review and comment on draft sections of the MPDF. Between August and December 2022 OHP hosted five virtual group meetings to discuss draft materials and Advisory Committee feedback. The opportunity for individual meetings was also offered.

Summary of Advisory Committee Input
The Advisory Committee clearly laid out their thoughts on what they wanted included and avoided, along with their concerns that a fair and balanced context be presented:

- Provide an opportunity for Indigenous people to tell their own story and present multiple Tribal voices
- Present Native experiences with the mission system missing from typical histories and interpretation at missions told from a western perspective
- Be thoughtful with source selection and use to avoid derogatory and inaccurate presentations of Native people and use sources by Native people
- Avoid presenting the history of all missions as “one size fits all” and make an effort not to limit examples to specific missions and Tribes
- Offer consequences and intangible aspects of these historical experiences, and intergenerational trauma
- Develop the framework for assessing National Register significance to center Native people
- Ensure that the product of this research can serve and will be accessible to Native people
- Make sure to emphasize that the Mission Period was a short period of time in the Indigenous history of California and present the richness and complexity of the California nations affected by the mission system as context
- Include context for the California mission system as part of a global conquest movement
- Be thoughtful with language use and making sure not to sugar coat the horrors of the California mission system
- Do not portray Indigenous people only as victims; balance Native devastation and persistence

Eight Tribes also provided direct contributions for this historic context. Advisory Committee feedback and historic context contributions were provided to consultant team authors for consideration and inclusion in preparation of the draft and final MPDF.

TRIBAL HISTORIC CONTEXT

Contributions from eight Advisory Committee Tribes included personal stories, memories, and experiences told through interviews and various other supporting documents. These contributions provide powerful insights into the impacts of the mission system as well as Native persistence and survivance. The authors of this document recognize that the absence of input from additional Tribes does not necessarily indicate a lack of information or interest as Tribes may not want to share private knowledge in a public forum, may lack staffing or resources, or have other reasons for not providing contributions.

Contributed Interviews

Three Tribes requested contributions through interviews with Dr. Reddy—AMTB, FTBMI, and Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation. Interviews between Dr. Reddy and Tribal members were free flowing, guided by open-ended questions about historic context/theme topics, insights into Native experiences with the California mission system, and whatever the Tribal members wished to mention. Dr. Reddy took notes of thoughts and responses to the different topics that were provided to each individual or Tribe who reviewed and approved them. Consent agreements for all interviews are on file with the OHP. Presented here is a record of those discussions, incorporating direct quotes and additional text submitted by some Tribes.

Amah Mutsun Tribal Band (AMTB)

Dr. Reddy met with AMTB Chairman, Mr. Valentin Lopez, and six Tribal members—Ms. Trina Coates, Ms. Denise Espinosa, Ms. Marion Martinez, Ms. Julie Pineida, Ms. Marcella Luna, and Ms. Catherine Rodriguez Luna—in a virtual meeting on October 14, 2021. The interview conversation was focused largely on historical trauma. Dr. Reddy also met separately with Mr. Ed Ketchum, Tribal Historian, by phone February 4, 2022, and in-person March 21, 2022 and April 20, 2022. Mr. Ketchum spoke about several historic context topics. Mr. Ketchum also provided additional text as presented below.

Chairman Valentin Lopez

Chairman Lopez discussed historical trauma associated with Spanish colonization and establishment of the missions and resulting destruction of Native American cultures. Following are his words from the interview:

> Native American spirituality and culture were severely disrespected and abused by the mission system. To truly convert the Indians to become citizens of Spain and the Church, the European missionaries had to destroy them spiritually and culturally. This domination continued even after the Mission Period in California.
>
> Historically our people were viewed upon as being less than human. The Pope said in the papal bull of 145[2], that our people were savages, pagans, and heathens, they said that

> Indigenous people had no soul. And so, it didn't matter what happened to us if we died, were murdered, if we were exterminated, because it didn't matter since we didn't have a soul (therefore we are not recognized as human beings); it wasn't really murder, and it really wasn't a sin the way they saw it. And also, they said we were the enemies of Christ and although they laid the groundwork to say that it was okay to dominate, destroy, conquer and steal our lands, and that was all right, and it was all right for a very long period of time. It [is] said that conquest of Indigenous people around the world resulted in [the deaths of] over 300 million Indigenous people, and in the United States it resulted in [the deaths of] over 30 million Indigenous people.
>
> We suffered through this stuff for generations, and there is this thing called historic trauma, we say imagine that Indians were taken to the missions and then separated the mothers from the fathers from the children. They did that to break our culture—how does that father, how does that mother teach their child to have love, to have hope, to have happiness, to be able to pass on all that Indigenous knowledge that our ancestors had for thousands of years, that is what makes them valuable. So, they look at that knowledge as not valuable, and so there is nothing but sadness in an effort to survive and accept the struggles, accept the whippings, and accept the rape, and accept the brutality and know that someday it will come to an end.

Edward Ketchum, Tribal Historian

Mr. Ketchum noted that the Spanish Catholic Church had been in the Americas for over 250 years before their decision to colonize Alta California. During this period, they had developed techniques to pacify and eventually defeat the Indigenous people they encountered. This was done under the shield of saving their immortal souls, as they were baptized in the Catholic Church and saved from eternal damnation. The following will just illustrate a few of the techniques used.

Proselytization/Recruiting

The priests at first used enticements and modified previous sacred sites to encourage the Indigenous people to peacefully join the Catholic Church. The following are some examples:

Sacred Cave South of San Juan Bautista. When Fray Pedro Font was reconnoitering the San Felipe Sink in 1776, he came across a two-chambered cave that was very important to the Native communities. This cave is near San Juan Bautista, and it included two-chambers with sacred petroglyphs (Valdez n.d.) and pool of water within the cave (**Figure 4**). The cave has been destroyed. Ascensión Solórsano [Amah Mutsun Tribal cultural bearer], told [early-twentieth-century ethnographer John Peabody] Harrington that once Mission San Juan Bautista was established, the priests took Catholic icons and put them in the cave to attract Native people and they played music on a "grinding organ" specifically because the Natives liked it and the music would attract them. Mr. Ketchum believes the Spanish added the icons as a way of introducing the people to the Catholic religion. The cave, with many sacred drawings, had been used by the Indigenous people possibly for several millennia before contact.

Sacred Peak. Near the cave, on top of a hill (likely Pagan Hill), Native people used to go for spiritual and ceremonial practices, and to receive messages from the Spirits. The priests did not want the Indians to converse with these "Spirits." Reportedly, in 1803, the mission priests first erected a cross on the peak of the hill; and after that no messages were received from the Spirits (**Figure 5**).

On 15 November 1795, under the direction of Ensign Hermingeldo Sol and spiritual stewardship of Father Antonio Danti, the Spanish set out to find a site of another mission. The Spaniards moved into the land of the Mutsun. They followed the San Benito River to its source then, returning north near San Felipe Lake, planted a cross on 17 November 1795. This was not the first time the Amah had seen the cross as the Spaniards had planted a cross near their shrine for the "Tree of Life" near present-day San Martin years earlier. The Amah had incorporated this powerful symbol into their shrine. Each time the Amah passed they paid homage to the spirits with offerings of food or possessions.

Two years later, in 1797, the Spaniards returned to the Indian Sacred site at the base of Tointak, which is known as the "Place of the Bumblebee (ground bees that eat meat)." Here, near the cave which had been inscribed with ceremonial glyphs, Father Lasuen sanctified the area for Mission San Juan Bautista.

Ms. Ascensión Solórsano shared the following (Harrington n.d.: reel 58):

> That cave was blest [sic] and was used for saying mass before the San Juan Church was finished. When the San Juan Church had not yet been completed, every Sunday the priest would form the Indians in a procession and would march them to the cave, which is in the hill across from the cement plant, and there were so many Indians there that the whole plain was full of them, the whole plain in front of the cave. There was a sycamore tree and two cottonwood trees a little to the south side of the cave. It has been only a few years since that sycamore was cut down.
>
> Petra Segundo[1], a woman who was among the people at those masses, was the one that told me about those first masses that were held before they had the church. Petra's mother used to take her when Petra was a little girl. She cried when she told me this, and she said: "Haane-haysa' nupkam, himah 'a-haysa aemmoste, himah 'aa-haysa minmuy piretka," where are they, they are all dead, they are all under the ground.

Baptisms of Children. The priest would convince the children to come join the mission and the parents would follow. Once a child was baptized, they were the "property" of the church. They could not be

[1] Note from Mr. Ketchum: Petra Segundo as best I can determine was born as Quithrathre (near Merced). Isenaye was brought to Mission San Juan Bautista at 3 years old where she was christened as Metrodora in 1821. After 1850 she appears to use the name Petra instead of Metrodora. She was reluctantly interviewed in 1899 by a reporter from the *San Jose Herald* who claimed she was 110 years old. Two of her grandchildren have posterity Jose Cervantes and Jovita Espinosa de Solorsano. The reporter also claimed Petra watched workmen building Mission San Juan Bautista. Probably Petra was watching the masons building "Neophyte" family housing in the 1820s. The mission was completed many years before Petra was born. It appears that they held mass at the cave after the Mission was completed as well.

allowed to be raised by their "gentile" parents. Throughout the mission's records children are found to be christened first. Following are a few examples extracted from mission records:

> The 10th baptism at Mission San Juan Bautista was a one-year-old christened Jose. Two of his siblings Maria Magdalena (four years) and Juana Bautista (two years) are the 33rd and 34th baptisms. Their father Echiquet christened Antonio Jose is not baptized until March 1799. While their mother Maria de los Remedios is christened in May 1798 and Ucunme christened Maria de los Dolores also in May 1798.
>
> The 13th baptism at Mission San Juan Bautista 30 May 1797 was a young girl of six years christened Maria Concepcion. Maria Concepcion was followed by her younger sisters Rosa de Vitervo and Maria del Carmen. All of these children were from the Mutsun village of Xisca. Their parents—Carlos Borromeo, age 50, Motssum, and Gervasia, age 41, Motsum from the Rancheria of Gexextac—are not christened until May 1800.
>
> Baptism 2724 was Canaquiniths from Quithrathre (present-day Atwater). He was 16 years old when he accompanied the Spanish soldiers to Mission San Juan Bautista in 1821. There he was christened on 11 April 1821 by Father Arroyo and given the name Pinito. Apparently, he returned to Quithrathre and brought three siblings to the mission in May 1821. Sipuacsa, [age] five, was christened Sopatra; Chachalamnaye, [age] four, was christened Tesalonica; and Sujuyulut, [age] 10, was christened Eunomia. When their children did not return the parents went to the mission in 1822. As we find their parents Jayáclu 44 christened Potamion and Lihuate 37 christened Potamiena baptized in March 1822.

Removal of Food Sources. Many have written how mission animals displaced the wild animals and vegetation that were once the Indians' food sources. There was also the indiscriminate slaughter of elk. One source of protein for the Indigenous Peoples was harvesting elk from the large herds found in California. The Spanish/Mexican Californians would kill many leaving the Indigenous people without a proven source of meat protein. T. Gilroy[2] provided the following to Ralph Milliken[3] (Milliken n.d.:371):

> There were elk horns by the millions scattered all over the plains. One time Gilroy found the rib of a whale in the Panoche. The rib was fifteen or sixteen feet long. The Pacheco Pass was a low pass over the mountains and the Californians used to come over to the West Side to make jerky out of elk meat. A big crowd would come over the Pass with ox carts. They would find where the elk were on the plains and then before daylight they would charge on horseback in among the elk and with long heavy knives, they would strike the elk and cut the tendon in the hind leg, thus hamstringing and crippling the elk. When they had string halted as many elk as they could jerky that day they would proceed to kill the helpless animals and spread out the meat in the sun to dry. The next morning

[2] Likely a descendent of John Gilroy, a Scotsman who emigrated to California in 1814.
[3] Ralph Leroy Milliken (1880-1970) was a historian who did oral histories in the Los Banos area in the early 1900s. He established the Los Banos Museum in 1954 that contains local documents, artifacts, and his oral histories.

> they would repeat the process and continue to do so until they had as big a supply of jerky as they wanted to take back with them over the mountains. They had to be careful and not get too close to the willow trees for there apt to be Indians lurking in them and they were armed with arrows and liked venison, too. The California Mexicans used to come over every year and make jerky from elk meat.

This quote has a lot of information. First the elk were once very plentiful as evidenced by the number of antlers found thereon. The Californians took only the meat, wasting the rest of the animal. The Indians tried to stop this illegal harvesting of their herd. It is interesting that the Californians thought this was acceptable, but when the Indians came over the mountain and took horses in retaliation to eat, the Californians labeled the Indians as "horse thieves."

Similarities of Belief. The Amah of the Pajaro Sink had beliefs that were similar to the Christian Catholic faith. Here are a few:

1. A Creator who made this world habitable.
2. Creation of this world—Christian through God as presented in the Book of Genesis; Indians by the Creator in the form of an Eagle.
3. Both believe in a soul of the individual and an after-life. The Christians believe generally in a heaven and hell.; the Indians believe in a land that the soul would travel to after death—across the Pacific Ocean (Calenda) named Semo Piretka.
4. Church services were similar, both led by a speaker the priest or Toiiweya. Services included sermon and songs.
5. Magic was possible, e.g., Moses turning the shaft into serpents; Shamans transforming into bears.
6. Places of power, worship, and majesty.

Thus, it was easy for the Amah to accept these new concepts into their beliefs. The following quote from Ascensión Solórsano (Harrington n.d.: reel 58) illustrates this:

> In the Amah legend a she-bear with her twin cubs and a doe with her twin fauns [sic] had come together. The children playing together while the bear was delousing the deer. The bear prick the deer's skin killing the doe. In retaliation the fauns killed the cubs. The bear chased the fauns into their grandfather's sweat lodge. The twin fauns' grandfather, the lizard, was a very powerful shaman. His sweat house was magically protected. The she bear was not able to penetrate its walls and could not enter its entrance. The lizard instructed the fauns in the ways of magic. The bear returned to avenge her children's deaths often. Finally she chased the fauns into the sweat lodge. Her head became lodged in the entrance passageway. The fauns escaped through the smoke hole of the sweat lodge transforming into Tura (thunder and lightning). With their new found power the fauns killed the bear.

Let us now see how this would be seen during the encounter with the Spanish Fages-led party in November 1770. Milliken et al. (1993:63) wrote the following:

> The Unijaima and Ausaima people first saw Spaniards in November of 1770. The Spaniards had established a presidio (fort) and mission at Monterey in the summer of that year. On November 22, Pedro Fages led an exploratory party north to find an inland route to San Francisco Bay from the new fort. The Fages party, seven military men and a single muleteer, crossed the plain from the San Juan Bautista vicinity northeastward toward the side valley of Pacheco Creek leading to Pacheco Pass on November 23. They met no Indian people that day.
>
> The following day, the Fages party retreated out of Pacheco Creek Valley and turned northwestward along the east side of the San Felipe Sink marsh, toward the Santa Clara Valley. People at a village somewhere near San Felipe Lake were startled by the approach of strangers on horseback:
>
> > There is a very large pool, and at the head of this a village of heathen, in which we saw about fifty souls. Two of these heathen went about with two little rafts, hunting ducks on the pool. We were not able, by the various efforts which we made, to quiet them. All [they did] was to shout, while two of them hastened off across the plain to inform two very large villages of our passing; these villages were in sight, midway of our march; consequently they turned out to see us pass at long range, and were very much surprised to see a soldier kill in passing nine geese at three shots (Fages [1770] 1911:149).
>
> The village "at the head of a very large pool" may have been at the present San Felipe Lake, the northern end of Tequisquita Slough. The other two villages were somewhere out on the plain in the middle of the San Felipe Sink between the present Hudner[4] vicinity on the south and the present Gilroy vicinity on the north.
>
> This brief encounter must have left a big impression on the Amah as the Spaniards, I believe, would have demonstrated they were most powerful Shamans as they possessed the power of "Tura," killing nine geese with three bolts of lightning. Still many Amah were not willing to come to the mission.

Military Force. Ascensión told Harrington in 1929 (Harrington n.d.: reel 58, frame 80) the following:

> When the first colony arrived at San Juan they seized the Rancherias of the Indian populations here. The Indians at San Juan resisted and did not want anyone to enter their Rancherias, San Juan was chosen because the land was higher and they began to build adobe houses, and the Indians that were in the Rancheria where they had there, but the

[4] An unincorporated community in San Benito County.

rest of the Rancherias retired to the hills, they moved thither, because they did not like the Christians, fighting with arrows and slings and whatever they could. Little by little they were brought in, the soldiers would go out and get a bunch of Indians and bring them back to the mission, there they gave them their houses to live in and made the men and women work all they could at doing anything. It was just for making them tame, and many were getting sick and some were running away.

Maria Antonia Sanchez de Solórsano told Milliken (n.d.: pg. 239):

> Tame Indians were used to capture the wild Indians in the San Joaquin Valley. The method of bringing the Indians to the Mission was as follows: The older women and the older girls who were able to keep up were tied together in a long line by their thumbs. A long rawhide rope was stretched along the backs of the women and each end of the rope given to a man on horseback. The two horses at each end of the line would trot right along and the long line of women made to keep up.
>
> The men would fight—and so they had to be more careful about them. They had to be handled differently. Their hands were tied behind their backs. There was also a strap around their waists. The long rope was stretched behind the line of prisoners. A man on horseback at each end holding on to this rope forced the Indians along.
>
> There was a big corral at the Mission where the prisoners were brought in and dumped. The corral was made of adobe and was in the Indian camp across the plaza in front of the Mission.
>
> The prisoners would be tied together in pairs and made to work until they got tamed down.
>
> There was a dancing place down at the far end of the Indian camp where the Indians were allowed to dance.

Ysidro Gonzales told Milliken (n.d.:221):

> The Indians all through the mountains and along the San Joaquin River were wild and Father Arroyo used to come over and visit them. He would ride horseback over the mountains accompanied by a few Indians from the Mission San Juan Bautista to act as interpreters with the wild Indians and as body guards. They would stop at the pools of water in the sandstone rocks above the Narrows in the Los Banos Creek and take a bath. Then they would proceed to the various rancherias among the creeks and as far as the rancherias along the San Joaquin River. Father Arroyo would talk to the Indians either himself or through the Indian interpreters from the Mission. He would talk to them nice and good and tell them to be good and to be honest. Any that were willing to be baptized he would baptize. Then on his journey back to the Mission San Juan Bautista he would

> stop at the pools of water at the Narrows and take a bath again. Thus he named the Creek "The River of the Two Baths" – "El Arroyo de dos Banos."
>
> There were four Indian trails across the mountains from Mission San Juan Bautista to the San Joaquin Valley. One was through the Pacheco Pass. Another was over the mountains and down through the Los Banos Creek. It is on this trail in back of the Twin Peaks on the Wright place that there is a large pile of stones placed there one by one by the Indians. Whenever the Indians were going over this trail and wished to communicate with another party of Indians coming behind them and wished to let those following know that they had gone on and were ahead of them they would place a stone on this pile. When those following came to this place and wanted to know if the rest of the Indians had gone on they would look for the newly placed rock and know where to look for those on ahead.

Reportedly, in 1808, when the Indigenous people of Orestimba Narrows refused to leave their territory, they were massacred. Ascensión also provided these stories to Harrington (Harrington n.d.:reel 58):

> She was named Maria Castro, she had been captured and the Castros kept her. She always cried when she related what she had experienced.
>
> When the soldiers from the Mission came over there in the Tular to where she had been raised, there was a fight at the sweathouse. This woman and her son eighteen years old, and her daughter, ran to the lake and put the babies, one belonging to the woman and the other to the daughter of the woman, in a big basket, and began to swim for the other side of the lake. The soldiers shot her son in the back of the head when he [was] swimming along in the water and right there he sank. Then Maria said to her daughter, "It is better that we give ourselves up, they have already killed your brother." And then Maria turned the basket upside down, and the breath of the little babies was bubbling in the water as they were drowning. And they kept on swimming ahead, and the soldiers went around to the other side of the lake on horseback, and the women hid themselves in the edge of the tules, but the soldiers hunted for them and found them. They did not have any clothes on. Some of the soldiers were tame Indians and one gave his shirt to Maria and to the other woman they gave a handkerchief. Indians were very wild too, the wanted to kill the tame and civilized Indians. The interpreter had said, "It is better that you give yourselves up," but they were not willing to… Oh what hardship those poor Indians passed through when they took them to the Missions.
>
> Her name was Felicidad. She was brought over from the Rancheria of the foot hills of the San Joaquin. At that time all the Indians would be tied by the thumbs (She had lost the end of one thumb.) to a rope, so they would not attempt to run away and in that manner driven to the San Juan Bautista Mission. Felicidad was one of the unfortunate young girls to undergo this cruel procedure. During the trip over to the mission she had a fall and dislocated her right hip. She recovered from this accident, but remained lame for the rest of her life.

Destruction/Replacement of Sacred Places: Erection of Crosses. [The following quotes are from the unpublished field notes of Ralph Milliken:]

> The Cross was upon the top of a hill about a mile distant from the Canada de la Cuesta. First knew of Cross being there in 1833. It was made of pine(?) timber and about ten feet high. It was erected by the Missionary Priests of San Juan Bautista as it was customary with them to erect crosses at many other places for the purpose of banishing idolatry among the Indians. Composed to two pieces of wood – one perpendicular and one horizontal. (Milliken n.d.:Land Grants, 47, 77).
>
> The Indians used to go up in San Juan Canyon and worship the devil. When the missionaries heard about it they erected a cross on the hill near the canyon and so scared the Indians that they gradually ceased to worship the devil anymore. The Indians always venerated this cross on the hill very much. (Milliken n.d.:Lupe Anzar 3, 528).
>
> This was the original Camino Real. There were two wooden crosses as land marks to mark the road. One was the cross that stood on the hill south of San Juan. The other was farther up the canyon on the side of Gavilan mountain. A person traveling over the road could see these crosses at a distance and thus know they were on the right trail. The brush was so high and so dense that a person would soon be lost if they got off the trail. (Milliken n.d.:Wilcox 2, 555).

Natural Resources
There were resources that Natives were familiar with and used; Spanish took over these resources and exploited and laid claim.

- La Brea – Natives knew about it, and they used the tar resource; the Spanish used it to tar the top of the Mission
- Idria (for mercury, quicksilver) – Idria Mines – southeast of Mission San Juan Bautista (San Benito County) cinnabar
- Almaden mine near Santa Clara area – also cinnabar
- Sandstone mines on east side of Diablo Mountains

Continued Native Subsistence Practices at Mission San Juan Bautista
Unijaima (Fish people) who lived in the San Felipe Sink were taken to the mission, and they built ponds near Mission Creek to fish. The priests allowed this, and the fish also provided extra food for the Native people in the Mission. One such artificial pond was on the east of the Alameda; the fish were brought form the rivers and provided food for up to six months (Milliken n.d.:668)

Native People Built Mission San Juan Bautista
[The following quote is from the unpublished field notes of Ralph Milliken:]

Mrs. Solarzano says that her grandmother and her husband helped to make the adobes and tiles used at the Mission. She says that they worked barefooted. She says they would carry the adobe bricks on their back and bring them up to the other Indians who were putting up the walls.

She says that the Mission San Juan was built entirely by the Indians and that there were no white people employed.

Mrs. Solarzano says that it took fifteen years just to put up the building without any finishing touches. It may have taken as much as five years longer to put on the finishing touches. She says that no nails (sin clavos) were used in the building. Only rawhide was used. She says that first the roof was covered with boards. This was then covered with tar. Then gravel and sand were scattered over it. Then the tiles were put on top.

She says that there used to be four bells. One was awful big. Then the smaller and smaller ones.

The music in the church sounded awful nice. There was a viol, a large harp and violins. There were good singers.

Mrs. Solarzano used to live on the Pacheco Ranch. Mrs. Solórzano's great grandfather and his wife and two boys were Indians captured over in the San Joaquin Valley and brought over to the Mission. Her grandfather was a young unmarried boy when he was brought to the Mission. He grew up there. His name was Aniseto. His brother's name was Foliciano. The father became a "tame" Indian. One night he got hold of a horse. He took his wife with him and together they escaped back to the San Joaquin Valley and were never seen or heard of after. She says that they would have been killed if they had been caught getting away. They left the two boys at the Mission. (Milliken n.d.:Maria Antonia Sanchez de Solórsano 3, 341)

Other Amah to this day are proud to report that their ancestors built the mission. Mr. Ketchum recalled "Personally as a child I saw my grandmother pruning bushes and cleaning areas in the courtyard. It was as though the mission was her personal property."

Person of Note

Ascensión spoke of a Native boy who became a Shepard and watched sheep about five miles northwest of Mission San Juan Bautista near the Rocks "Pedras" (Harrington n.d.: Reel 58). This place was also a place that was visited by shamans and known to have spiritual powers. He often translated for the Priests during interactions with the Native people, and was held in high regard by the Priests. He was known as the Saint of San Juan. When he died, they reportedly sent his remains to Mexico? This demonstrates how the Catholic Church officials used prominent neophytes to endear others to the Catholic faith.

Mission Life
Life in the mission was no better than slavery. The Indian was first incarcerated in a windowless structure until they were "tamed." This was noted by christening and baptism. After which the Indian neophyte was assigned tasks to complete. If one did not complete the task there were several forms of punishment given including stockade, imprisonment, and lashing. A bell was rung to notify the neophyte that it was time to arise, time to start work, time to stop for lunch, time for an afternoon siesta, time to complete assigned tasks. Many chose to runaway "huido." This could be very dangerous as the gentiles may kill them, soldiers could be sent to find and return them. Then there is well documented sexual harassment and murder.

Status and Prestige: Making the Best of a Bad Situation
Many present-day Amah can trace their ancestry to people of status and prestige [at Mission San Juan Bautista] Indian Captains and Spanish/Mexican Alcaldes. Mission records demonstrate families of power inter-married. Indian custom of a "Bride Price" continued to be practiced—even during Ascensión's times (1850s-1900). Men had to have to have enough money to marry. Thus, only a man of wealth would be able to afford to marry a woman from a prominent family.

When Ascensión married—her fiancé paid a "Bride Price" to her parents in 1870. Orphans raised by the community, and then they have responsibility to the community in exchange. The first child christened at Mission San Juan Bautista was a 10-year-old Ausaima baptized Juan Bautista on 11 July 1797 (Milliken n.d.:103).

Persistence In Belief and Practice
Native renewal ceremonies included appeals for rain. Ascensión described a renewal ceremony to Harrington. The medicine men used to have a little image made of (fired) earth wrapped in a cattail mats, "surely it was some saint." They would first perform a ceremony in a sweathouse with dances and offerings. At the proper moment the medicine men would remove it from its cattail mat wrapping and take the graven image to the creek. It would be put in the water. If the little image danced properly, then it would be a sign of rain in the near future. The Amah would then return to the round house to provide a bear skin as a final offering and continue the dancing and singing, it would be raining outside.

During the Mission Period this ceremony was performed, two saints San Ysidro and San Hisiomo would be taken down from the altar at the Mission church. The image of San Hisiomo, which holds a fish in its hands, was placed prominently outside of the mission. While the image of San Ysidro was carried from station to station. At each station the priest prayed for rain. The final station was San Ysidro where it would begin to rain. While back at Mission San Juan Bautista it was believed San Hisiomo asked God for rain for his little fish. When they returned to Mission San Juan Bautista, they would find the image bathed in water. This practice underpinned the Native practice skillfully mimic the Indigenous Indian Ceremony by replacing the "Indian" saint with the Catholic images of San Ysidro and San Hisiomo.

Another example is the use of plants. Ascensión told Harrington about Amah replacing traditional native "medicine" plants such as sage, tobacco and wormwood to smoke out evil monster One-Leg. Claudia (Ascensión's daughter) remembered that these native plants were replaced in the story of One-Leg by using the sacred Olive wood instead.

Injustice—Land Taken
Justirac/Huristac land was promised to Native people by the missions—all land within a league of the Pajaro River. Post-1850s during land claims, the German family claimed this land and when the Land Commission asked about Native people using the land, the Germans claimed that all Natives were dead.

The Catholic Church made no effort to help the Amah regain lands after secularization, even though that was the plan of the Spanish—to return lands to the Native people once they were made into Spanish citizens.

It appears that P. E. G. Anzar attempted to help the Amah around 1890 to get lands that had been taken. The lawsuit made its way through the legal system to the California State Supreme Court which said the claim was made too late. The Court failed to recognize that Indian people were unable to testify in the 1860s.

Amah Relationship to The Missions
The relationship between the Amah and the missions is very complicated, multilayered, and not uniform. Of course, the Amah did not want others to invade their territories. The Amah did not freely join this Spanish/mission-led land. They had few alternatives. Either join, be killed, or exiled from your homeland. When secularized after the mission had been in place nearly forty years, the Amah left the mission. Most Amah returned partially to the old ways. Amah created new villages. Shamans again practiced their ways. Big times were renewed. Although, they still continued to travel to the mission on Sunday for mass, baptism, confirmation, weddings, and death/burial rites they again recognized the old ways as well. Today many Amah still practice the Catholic faith. Others have joined alternative Christian denominations, while some have returned to the old ways.

Trina Coates, Tribal Member
Ms. Trina Coates is a descendant of Ascensión Solórsano and related to Ms. Marion Martinez. Conversations about historical trauma and loss of cultural heritage were difficult to hear for her, although she has heard these before. Ms. Coates shared that trauma has been passed down to her, and her family. She did not know that she was Native American till adulthood. Her father was raised to not talk about lineage and cultural heritage. The message within the extended family was that any discussion and sharing of cultural and family histories was for only family to see and hear. This was because there was fear of being a Native person and of being targeted for prosecution, bullying, and other social injustices.

Ms. Coates spoke of her grandfather who was raised Catholic. He had strong feelings against the religion and converted to the Baptist religion after he married; therefore, her father was not raised Catholic. Her grandfather shared information with her father and aunt about Tribal communities living

in the hills; that information was only for family, again to ensure that the information would not be used for discriminatory purposes by non-Native people.

Native people continue to be discriminated against even today, resulting in new emotional trauma. Towards this, Ms. Coates spoke about how she cannot walk into Mission San Juan to visit her great grandmother's grave freely (there is no easy public access). A recent incident at this Mission has added to the generational trauma. Along with her father, Ms. Coates was helping a Tribal member on research of Native people at Mission San Juan [Bautista]. They all met in the shade of a tree right outside the mission but on mission property. Within a short time, a mission docent or employee came out to ask them to move about ten feet to State Park property. The rude and non-sensitive mannerisms of this individual are reinforced by the lack of respect to Native people by representatives of the mission and how Native people are viewed even today. Education of the true history of Native Americans at the California missions is overdue. Ms. Coates shared that:

> With the loss of our identity and history through the years, it is very difficult to think back to any stories within the Mission Period from 1769-1848. I believe we as Tribal members each struggle with our identity through this historical trauma… it can be heartbreaking for us all to not be able to answer simple questions such as yours, so thank you for understanding.
>
> My great grandmother Carrie Corona Higuera was born in 1900, Carrie was my grandfather's mother. Carrie's mother was Claudia Garcia-Corona and Claudia's mother was Ascensión Solórsano de Cervantes (Medicine Woman and last Native to speak the Mutsun language). I was honored to know my great grandmother Carrie who lived to 102 years of age, passing in 2002. However, stories were never told to the grandchildren of where Carrie came from and who she and her people were.
>
> Carrie migrated along with her brothers, sisters, and grandmother Ascensión from the San Juan Bautista/Hollister area into Gilroy. My knowledge of Carrie is that she and her siblings loved living in the tight knit community as everyone took care of each other. I know that Carrie learned and had to speak English in grade school, but could not speak English in the household as Ascensión would only speak Mutsun or Spanish, English was forbidden. In many ways they maintained their Tribe by remaining close to each other, all family members and close family friends living within what they call the four corners of Gilroy which is on or near Rosanna St.
>
> Carrie married very young at 14 years of age and took care of many children in her community (Tribe) including her own. Her grandmother Ascensión continued to share her knowledge of medicines passing this down to each family member. As a family they grew and tended to many California native medicinal herbs and Ascensión would prescribe and provide these herbal remedies to the community. As well as the interactions with JP Harrington/The Harrington notes, prior to Ascensión's death... these notes that were saved by all family pitching in to identify plants, places we held ceremony, folklore

taken by the note taker, Marta Herrera. When Carrie passed in 2002, she had only been hospitalized once in her lifetime very near the time she passed, I believe this was because Carrie had always maintained a natural lifestyle, planting fruits, vegetables, and continuing to take medicinal herbs as remedies.

In addition to my lineage to Ascensión, my great grandfather Carrie's husband, Joseph Higuera was also Mutsun/Rumsen lineage from the Carmel Mission. I am still learning and searching my Rumsen family lineage.

I understand that with your help and our oral stories you and several other archeologists will push to try to improve the preservation of our culture and history as a people. And the primary goal is to preserve and bring awareness to the public and possibly along the way the Catholic Church... I am very optimistic and hold hope that one day this will be the case and our people will be acknowledged for the land that was taken from us, our contribution to the Catholic Church, our culture, and true historical value to the community of San Juan Bautista.

Denise Espinosa, Tribal Member

Ms. Denise Espinosa shared that she did not learn about being a Native American until much later in life. She experienced a deep loss of culture and had little historical knowledge about the missions despite her ancestors being taken there and living there. Over time, she learned about Spanish colonization, establishment of the missions, and proselytization of Native Tribes and communities, which all led to loss of culture.

Ms. Espinosa used to enjoy going to the missions, specifically Mission San Juan Bautista, when she did not have much historical knowledge of the exploits of the missions and how it led to the loss of her Tribal culture and ancestors. Now, having empowered herself with historical knowledge, she experiences deep hurt and sorrow when visiting any mission. Her and the Tribe's experience at Mission San Juan Bautista has reinforced the continued colonial attitudes and injustice toward Native Americans, based on the lack of interest or respect to engage and include Ohlone culture and acknowledge the important role and contributions of Native Americans at the mission.

Marion Martinez, Tribal Member

Ms. Marion Martinez is the great-granddaughter of Ascensión Solórsano, the AMTB Culture Bearer. Ms. Martinez's mother, Martha Herrera, was Ascensión Solórsano's granddaughter and assisted anthropologist John Peabody Harrington in his work with Solórsano and his research involving linguistic and historical information contained in the sacramental records at Mission San Juan Bautista.

Ms. Martinez provided her thoughts in written form, dated November 7, 2021, appended to the end of a binder with several different documents. Most of the documents relate to either Ascensión Solórsano or her mother's work with Harrington (**Figure 6**). A remarkable set of letters between Martha Herrera and Harrington show how important that work was—and also how "frustrating and lonely" it could be for

Ms. Martinez's mother. Similarly, a document on Harrington's work along the central California coast suggests to Ms. Martinez that he must have been a very difficult and paranoid man. Yet, the knowledge he helped California Tribes preserve is demonstrated by a collection of his fieldnotes describing Ascensión Solórsano's extensive botanical and medical know-how. Taken together, Ms. Martinez's comments and associated documents offer insight into the complex ways that Tribal communities, such as the AMTB, have worked for generations to safeguard and restore the crucial cultural and linguistic knowledge that was lost due to missionization.

Julie Pineida, Tribal Member
Ms. Julie Pineida spoke about historical trauma and how she has been robbed of her identity. As a young child in elementary school, she visited the missions, including San Juan Bautista, as part of the fourth-grade curriculum. At that time, she did not know that her family was connected to the missions or specifically to Mission San Juan Bautista. Her long-term emotions and feelings about loss of cultural identity centered around missions came together as she learned about her family history and historical trauma at the hands of the Spanish colonists.

Marcella Luna, Tribal Member
Ms. Marcella Luna had similar accounts of historical trauma and loss of cultural identity as those shared by Ms. Julie Pineida. Ms. Luna recounted building a mission model in fourth grade and not having the true history of the missions and Native Americans taught by the school and also not getting her own family history from her parents and grandparents.

She shared the immense pain of historical trauma and loss of identity. It has been devastating to not know her rich cultural heritage, and not know the history of family and ancestors. The cumulative loss is hard to process, but she still strives to move forward in the steps left behind by her ancestors. One way she does this is by being a steward of the land and relearning to care for Mother Earth. It is not an easy path because it is hard to learn with so much lost. Nevertheless, she believes that you have to fight for your rights despite the hardships inherited from generations of continued colonialism and cultural trauma.

Catherine Rodriquez Luna, Tribal Member
Ms. Catherine Rodriquez grew up knowing she was Native American, but always felt that there were important bits and pieces missing from her life. She was raised as a Catholic following all the religious traditions but noticed that her father was aloof from these practices. As a child, she tried to understand her father's indifference to religion including him questioning why and how people prayed and followed the Catholic practices. As an adult, she grew to understand his views and that he was drawing on his loss of cultural identity and religion, the generational trauma caused by Spanish and Catholic colonization.

Throughout childhood, Ms. Rodriquez was protected from family accounts of historical trauma, and although her father shared stories and his thoughts about loss of culture and identity, the meanings and messages behind those conversations were only fully comprehended when she was an adult.

Over the years, as Ms. Rodriquez has educated herself, and learned about her Tribal history and culture, she has realized the immense injustices of colonization. She shared that the breadth and knowledge of atrocities of what occurred within the Missions is so traumatic, and with that history, it is hard to accept what happened at Indian boarding schools in the United States. Ms. Rodriquez stated that now as the general public and governments are acknowledging the atrocities associated with Indian boarding schools, finally Native people can talk about it openly. Tribes, including Ms. Rodriquez's, feel empowered to share how historical trauma is very real, and proudly state that Native people are also survivors. She commented that many Native people walk with a lot of sorrow about these horrific pieces of history, knowing and understanding what their ancestors had to go through and endure. Accepting the irreplaceable loss of lineages, language, traditions, practices, language, and so much more is difficult but knowing that Native communities are still here today brings a certain level of comfort and hope.

When she visits Mission San Juan Bautista, she feels the enduring pain and suffering of past generations and ancestors, so she cannot stay there long. She has a heavy burden of historical trauma to carry through life. Ms. Rodriquez said that the trauma her female ancestors went through was carried through to the present generation through "successive ovaries." Recent research shows how the legacy of historical and cultural traumas affects survivors' children for generations to come. In brief, because all eggs that a woman will carry are already in the eggs of her predecessors, these eggs all shared the same biological environment and were exposed to the emotions and experiences of the predecessors. Therefore, the trauma has been transferred and will continue for generations (DeAngelis 2019; Dixon 2021; Yehuda and Lehrner 2018).

Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians (FTBMI)

Dr. Reddy conducted a virtual interview with Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians (FTBMI or Fernandeño Tataviam) Tribal President Rudy Ortega, Jr. on October 26, 2021, focused on pre-mission lifeways, life in the mission, and historical trauma. The Tribe integrated additional information with the interview notes as presented here.

Introduction

For decades preceding and following the establishment of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966, Tribal Nations and communities across the country have advocated for the inclusion of their knowledge in the determination process of what makes a property or place significant for protection by congress. Specifically, nominations for properties or places that relate to Native American US history must reflect historically accurate and culturally congruent messages especially as "California Indians have been subjected to ongoing attempts to assimilate, exterminate and displace them from their lands" (California Native Vote Project, California Consortium of Urban Indian Health, and Advancement Project California 2021). Part of these efforts ought to include the Indigenous Peoples who embrace narrative sovereignty by spreading more robust and culturally competent understandings of heritage sites to the public, such as the FTBMI and Mission San Fernando. Mission San Fernando was founded on September 8, 1797, on the village of Achoicominga (Engelhardt 1927a) and built by the ancestors of FTBMI. We, the FTBMI, urge the National Park Service to include the narratives of Indigenous Peoples who are associated with, and survivors of, the mission system properties in nominations to the National Register.

Historical accuracy is important for teaching. For decades, public education in California has included teachings about the mission system but from a dominant narrative that does not characterize the reality of settler colonial impacts such as Indian slavery (California Department of Education 2017). The FTBMI is concerned about the psychological impact on Indigenous children receiving inaccurate and incompetent information (Davis-Delano et al. 2020). Researchers have since uncovered records depicting the lives of Indigenous Peoples entrapped at the missions. More recently, scholars have reviewed archives and published articles that support a narrative about the lives of California Indians including patterns of domestication and submission (Sepulveda 2018). In fact, the University of California (UC) created Critical Mission Studies to reframe the teaching of California colonial missions to include Indigenous perspectives (Critical Mission Studies 2019).

The FTBMI is a contributor to the UC Critical Mission Studies initiative through sponsorship of a project that adds to the body of knowledge. In 2020, the FTBMI created a digital archive using an Indigenous-designed database that stores hundreds of documents associated with Mission San Fernando (Villaseñor 2021). When the FTBMI Digital Archive launches, it will host both private and public facing access points. In support of assisting Tribal Nations building their digital archives, the UC Los Angeles American Indian Studies Center launched the California Native Hub in late 2021. The archives will support Tribes in maintaining full access to files and materials that have historically been stored in external research institutions and repositories.

In 2019, California Governor Newsom acknowledged and apologized for the California Indian genocide that was funded by California and US federal appropriations. As a result of Executive Order N-15-19, the state established a council to gather testimony from California Tribal Nations regarding the historical relationship with the State of California (Newsom 2019). The Council is still in this community process. While Governor Newsom's apology and action is rooted in the US framework, California Tribal Nations were impacted by colonization in the prior century (Sanchez 2016). The first colonizers came to FTBMI homelands under the Spanish crown including the Catholic Church (Crespí 1769). Over time the mission system caused significant trauma amongst FTBMI ancestors.

If the National Parks Service is to acknowledge that California Tribal Nations are more than bodies as property, a pillar of settler colonization, it follows that any future additions of mission system properties added to the National Register would be required to include a narrative from the impacted California Indigenous Peoples, especially those Tribal communities whose homelands were/are occupied by the mission system property today.

Historical Context: Pre-Mission and Mission Period

Indigenous Peoples inhabiting villages in Simi, San Fernando, Santa Clarita, and Antelope Valleys were forcibly taken to Mission San Fernando by the Spanish beginning in 1797. Upon entering the mission system and gaining affiliation with Mission San Fernando, the people received the name Fernandeño.

Preceding the establishment of Mission San Fernando, each village was an autonomous ministate that held one lineage. Although the village was sovereign, it was also part of a regional network of villages

constituting a regional group in which the members held shared understandings of the afterworld. Laws and traditions were unique to each village and members received punishment if cultural practices and rules were disobeyed. Due to village exogamy, members of a village were multi-lingual and different dialects, religious beliefs, and traditional lifeways coexisted within the lineage. The Fernandeños possessed unique views about the world that supported their lifeways for thousands of years but contrasted sharply with the Christian or Western society into which they were coerced (Champagne and Goldberg 2021:26-28). Even local traditional village names that described the landscape or a feature that represented the place had their stories co-opted by missionaries to convert the villages. For example, the village of Tujunga was home to the Takic-speaking lineage of Tujubit. Located at present-day Hansen Dam at the mouth of Little Tujunga Canyon, Tujunga is named after tujú, an old woman who was represented in a geological feature of an old, seated woman who was tied to a traditional story. For thousands of years, this rock formation was a pilgrimage site for Native Americans. The Spanish reattributed the geological feature to the bible by claiming that the woman depicted the mother of Jesus.

Enslavement at Mission San Fernando by the Spanish drastically changed the daily lives of the Fernandeños. Families were separated, children were married off, sacred sites were demolished, culture was suppressed, traditional ways of life were destroyed, food sources were removed by environmental degradation from invasive species, and the Fernandeños were massacred through Spanish-brought disease, hunger, violence, and slavery, as was common amongst the missions (Miranda 2013). Even with the threat of violence, revolts were led by the Natives through several attacks at the missions. The life of a Fernandeño person was completely overseen and controlled by the mission padres. For example, the Fernandeños could not leave the mission grounds without the padres' permission and often received corporal punishment for violating the rules. Another example is through the relocation of the Fernandeños to the mission center where they would be disconnected from the influences of their unbaptized pagan relatives and forced to partake in daily tasks that were managed by missionaries. Mission control could not stop the Fernandeños from practicing their culture and religion, evidenced by the observations of friars (Engelhardt 1927a:28-33). The Fernandeños participated in Catholic religion as a form of survival and simultaneously maintained their own lineage beliefs and practices.

In 1813, the Fernandeños who lived at Mission San Fernando for a minimum of ten years were allowed to organize pueblos, farm private land, and take up religious practice with local priests under the Spanish Secularization Act, which was passed in response to the excessive amount of time the missions were taking in turning the baptized Indigenous Peoples into Spanish subjects. This meant that after ten years of service to the mission, a Fernandeño person would be surrendered from the mission to Spanish government authorities. The FTBMI ancestors showed little acceptance of this plan and of Spanish society altogether. Through Spanish policy, the missions viewed the Fernandeños as property or laborers in a colonial economy and by 1814, the number of Fernandeños dying due to Mission San Fernando conditions was greater than those being born there (Champagne and Goldberg 2021:61, 66-68). At its height, Mission San Fernando "housed about 1,200 Indians, producing wine from over thirty thousand grapevines and tending more than twenty thousand head of livestock" (Champagne and Goldberg 2021:3). Fewer than one hundred Fernandeño families survived the mission system.

As observed by Mission San Fernando friars and summarized in *A Coalition of Lineages: The Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians* (Champagne and Goldberg 2021) on the Fernandeños' retaining their practices:

> The [Fernandeños] did not perform personal service, meaning that they did not work for one another and did not want to perform personal service to Spaniards or others. The Indians were not willing to sell their individual labor, but they were willing to work in a collective economy and share in the common production. In essence, the [Fernandeños] continued to be organized politically, economically, and socially through kinship as they had before the mission (Champagne and Goldberg 2021:60).
>
> The [Fernandeños] are inclined to idolatry; for it is observed that in their race-courses they make a great circle, in the center of which they raise a pole covered with bundles of feathers from the crow and adorned with beads. As many as pass the pole pay homage to it, and returning round about blow to the four winds, thus asking relief of their necessities (Champagne and Goldberg 2021:60-61; Engelhardt 1927a:28-33).
>
> ...The [Fernandeños] continue to recognize their own gods, and they were this-worldly... [with] no idea of eternity, of reward or punishment, of heaven, purgatory, and hell (Champagne and Goldberg 2021:61; Engelhardt 1927a:30-33).

Though colonialism brought land dispossession, ancestral ties and communal memories of the land were passed on in the safety and privacy of the Fernandeños' homes. With colonizers' prohibition and restriction of Native languages, the language/dialects of the Fernandeño Tataviam were taken. President Ortega's great grandfather Antonio Maria Ortega was recorded by American linguist J. P. Harrington as one of the last speakers of Fernandeño. Antonio passed the trade language to his son, President Ortega's grandfather, who spoke a mixture of Fernandeño and Spanish. Both President Ortega and his father spoke English with limited Spanish interlaced with indigenous words; and in his adulthood President Ortega realized that many of the indigenous words mirror those used by other California Tribes. Today, the FTBMI is working with a Knowledge Keeper to recover a "Fernandeño Tataviam language" representing a conglomeration of the ancestral dialects spoken by the Fernandeños.

Missionaries in California sought to cleanse the Fernandeños from immoral non-Christian ways of life by neglecting the fact that Fernandeño worldviews, economy, trade, and practices were already highly sophisticated. Despite colonialism, FTBMI Traditional Ecological Knowledge has survived and transferred among the generations. During specific times of the years, the FTBMI practice cultural food gathering/preparation, ceremonies such as the Coming of Age, Eagle, Summer/Winter Solstices and Spring Equinox/Fall, Water, Cremation, Mourning, and Commemoration ceremonies, dances such as the Fire Dance, and Bear Dance, medicinal practices for ailments such as stomach, earache, and cramps to name a few. President Ortega recalls his uncle teaching him about a specific plant that is used during rainfall to ward off evil spirits. When people pray to the rain, this plant must be placed at the entrance of the home so that the

evil spirit, which exposed itself during heavy rains, would not enter. It is believed that a failure to conduct ceremony or continue certain practices will bring great misfortune to the Fernandeño Tataviam people.

Continued Impacts of the Mission: Mexican Period to American Period

In 1821, the Mexican Congress secured independence from Spain and later secularized the missions which distributed the ex-Mission San Fernando trust lands and properties to the Fernandeños "for farmland and for establishing self-governing pueblos or town governments" (Champagne and Goldberg 2021:4). Approximately 50 surviving Fernandeño leaders negotiated for and received several land grants amounting to over 18,000 acres (10% of the San Fernando Valley) that were held in trust by the Mexican government. These lands included the ex-Mission San Fernando Grant, Rancho Encino, Rancho Escorpion, Rancho Sikwanga, Rancho Cahuenga, Rancho Tujunga, and Rancho Patzkunga.

Throughout the 1800s, the United States was on a mission to eradicate Indigenous nations. In the era of California's state and federally funded genocide and campaign to exterminate California Native American people, Fernandeños lacked US citizenship and yet fought to defend their lands in local state courts for several decades to no avail. In the first years of its statehood, California also passed the 1851 Land Claims Act which would pass land into public domain that was not filed within a two-year period. Land in northern Los Angeles County, particularly areas with natural water sources such as the Indigenous-owned land grants, became extraordinarily valuable. The Fernandeños, who could not read or write English, lost their lands within this two-year period to encroaching settlers. Several Fernandeños had cases heard in the Los Angeles Superior Court (for example, see Porter et al. versus Cota et al.), but the local state courts were against the Fernandeños' claims to the land, which made it impossible for the San Fernando Mission Indian defendants to affirm rights to land that would have formed the foundation for a reservation.

By 1885, the FTBMI lost all its lands, and members were left as refugees in their own homelands. As a result of the land evictions, the Tribal leaders were defended by attorneys commissioned by the federal government. For example, official representatives of the United States, such as Assistant United States Attorney G. Wiley Wells and United States Special Indian Agent and Special Attorney for Mission Indians Frank D. Lewis, pursued land for the evicted Fernandeños and yet they were still not made a federally recognized Tribe.

Today, the FTBMI consists of three surviving lineages that descend from the Fernandeño historical Indian Tribe and are associated with more than 26 ethnohistoric villages (Appendix B: Figure 7). The lineages are traditionally known as Siutcabit, Tujubit, and Kawevit, but with colonization, the Native language(s) were lost when the Fernandeños were forced to speak in Spanish and/or English in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As a result of colonization, the lineages are now identified by the surnames of their progenitors: Ortega, Garcia, and Ortiz lineages.

The missions were built by the ancestors of California Tribal Nations. From 1769 to 1836, the mission system operated as the first mass incarceration system containing high death rates, with adults living for twelve years and children for six years once within the missions (Madley 2019). Beneath most of the California missions are large burial pits for the killed and dead California Indigenous Peoples associated with the mission sites. In

connection with the FTBMI, Mission San Fernando has a mass burial pit of more than 2,500 people (Los Angeles Times 1997) on the property in an area secluded from the public San Fernando Cemetery which is still in operation. In a post-2000 effort, the Los Angeles Archdiocese redesigned the mass burial pit area by landscaping over the FTBMI's dead relatives and discarding the individual grave markers. The Los Angeles Archdiocese failed and continues to neglect Tribal consultation with the FTBMI, the Indigenous Peoples affiliated with the Mission San Fernando, for activities that may potentially impact the historic property.

In 2018, the Los Angeles Archdiocese signed the "17 Native American Protocols" that recognize how "tribes hold a special relationship with these missions built by their ancestors" (Archdiocese of Los Angeles 2018:1). Yet, the Catholic leadership at Mission San Fernando continues to perpetuate harm in their treatment of the FTMBI people as both visitors and descendants. Such harm is promoted by the lack of recognition or historically accurate truth-telling within Mission San Fernando interpretive signage, displays, and exhibitions. Furthermore, against the FTBMI's pleas, the Mission San Fernando continues to use FTBMI cultural deposits for inappropriate uses such as door stops and bowls for loose change donations to the church. Thus, although a mission system property is historically significant to Tribes, in some cases such as that of the FTBMI, the mission still perpetuates harm to the descended Tribal community and has lacked efforts to undo past trauma.

Historical Trauma and Resilience

Historical trauma and resilience are critical parts of the FTBMI's narrative sovereignty in discussing Mission San Fernando. President Ortega shared that colonialism introduced significant harm to Indigenous Peoples, especially California Tribal Nations. Three examples of tension include: (1) the language barrier within the mission because the missionaries did not learn the many languages/dialects and the Indigenous converts did not comprehend Spanish until later years; (2) the transition from traditional harvesting of the natural landscape to farming; and (3) punishment for practicing Indigenous culture. Despite harmful practices and policies, Tribes like FTBMI were resilient and are still here today. Historical trauma is defined as the "collective emotional and psychological injury both over the life span and across generations" that is clinically measured in present-day Indigenous Peoples (Brave Heart et al. 2011). Beyond structural genocide, historical trauma is linked to the ongoing colonizing practice of removing Indigenous Peoples from their lands as Indigenous Peoples are inextricably tied to the land (California Social Work Education Center 2021). Often, Indigenous Peoples creation stories, languages, kinship practices and ceremonies are derived from their Tribe's relationship with the land and when tied to historical trauma, present-day Indigenous communities may exhibit a range of mental health experiences including depression, anxiety, nervousness, shame, isolation, and fears of intentions (Fast and Collin-Vezina 2019).

In the case of the FTBMI, Mission San Fernando prohibited much of the Indigenous Knowledges and used various methods to suppress the cultural practices of Indigenous Peoples from throughout the region (Champagne and Goldberg 2021). President Ortega discussed how historical trauma within the FTBMI manifests. For decades, there was a deep-rooted fear of being targeted for being Indigenous due to the external repercussions that came with the identity. The discouragement of publicly identifying as an Indigenous Fernandeño person due to rumors of prosecution, kidnapping, murder, rape, being sent to a boarding school, or relocated to a reservation far away from their homelands reinforced the historical

trauma. The Fernandeño Tataviam people kept their traditions alive within their households but refrained from sharing their Indigenous heritage and identity in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. Some FTBMI members share how their relatives had internalized trauma through self-hatred and embarrassment for aspects of their phenotypical features that were inherited, such as darker skin complexion. In contrast, other FTBMI members use what President Ortega characterizes as dark humor as a defense mechanism by making criticizing remarks about one's "Indianness" based upon how dark their skin was. Ortega noted that by poking fun at one another, FTBMI families develop proverbial calluses that prepared them for the bullying and abuse they would endure in the outside world.

For years, identifying as Mexican was deemed safer than Indigenous but also came with risks because Tribal members could not speak Spanish and thus were outcasts from Mexican society. Upon returning from World Wars I and II and with rising acceptance of Indigenous Peoples among the American public, FTBMI leaders began to re-identify as "Indian" in public spaces. However, as race-based stereotypes flooded mainstream media and reimagined what Indigenous Peoples were/are supposedly supposed to look like, the lenses through which Tribal members saw themselves were impacted. In this period, Tribal members suffered from imposter syndrome because they felt that they were not validated as Fernandeño Indigenous Peoples unless they fit stereotypical images that constituted "pan-Indian" garments as opposed to traditional California Fernandeño regalia.

Although FTBMI land dispossession began with the mission system, its major economic, political, social, and cultural consequences can still be felt today. Embedded in a society where the basis for wealth comes from land, Fernandeño Tataviam peoples' loss of land has produced massive economic setbacks on both community and individual levels. Historically, land evictions detrimentally hindered the FTBMI's ability to build wealth. Today, a substantial portion of the Fernandeño Tataviam community can barely afford the annual cost of living in their own homelands. According to the 2020 Tribal Census, one in every two Fernandeño Tataviam Citizens does not reach the income bracket to live within their own homelands; the Tribe's Citizenry makes less than the average median income of Los Angeles County, with seventy percent living below the California Poverty threshold. Although Fernandeño Tataviam people descend from the four valleys of Los Angeles County, thirty percent of the FTBMI have been pushed to neighboring counties or states to afford the cost of living. One in every fifteen Tribal Citizens has experienced homelessness within the last ten years or is currently homeless.

One of the most significant consequences of FTBMI land dispossession has been the impact on its recognition as an Indian Tribal nation by the US government. Like many Tribes whose territories overlap with current-day metropolitan areas, the FTBMI has not been recognized by the United States. Federal recognition is a necessary step for Fernandeño Tataviam to assert its ability to govern as the sovereign nation it has always been. Without federal recognition, FTBMI is unable to establish a federally protected land base, access funding and grants allocated specifically for US Tribal nations, intervene appropriately to uphold the welfare of its children, protect its sacred sites and cultural heritage throughout Los Angeles County, participate fully in federal repatriation rights for ancestors and cultural items, and enjoy other rights conferred by federal law on members of federally recognized Tribes.

Although the California NAHC maintains a list of local Tribes, the state of California does not maintain a process that recognizes Tribes outside of the federal recognition process. Given these circumstances, the FTBMI has been engaged in the federal acknowledgement process since 1995. Despite unambiguous evidence that Fernandeño Tataviam Peoples were represented by federal agents beginning in the 1880s in land dispute cases, and written support by dozens of elected officials and local governments for Fernandeño Tataviam federal acknowledgment, the FTBMI's status as a non-federally recognized Tribe has created many obstacles for supporting its citizens and operations on a day-to-day basis. More on the challenges of non-recognition as a consequence of the mission system is elaborated below:

1. Cultural Practices

Of the nearly 900 FTBMI members, sixteen percent are elders and yet one hundred percent of them cannot fully transmit their knowledge to future generations of culture bearers because of the external and financial hardships placed on non-federally recognized Tribes. For example, in Los Angeles County, Fernandeño Tataviam people do not have permission to harvest sage or other sacred medicines without a permit costing upwards of $500.00. Access to County public lands is also disrupted through entry and parking fees that Tribal Citizens simply cannot afford. Tribal Citizens do not have the legal right to practice their Native religion freely under the American Indian Religious Freedom Act as it applies to federally recognized Tribal members. Fernandeño Tataviam artists do not carry the legal right to produce art as a Fernandeño Tataviam Citizen and may be indicted under the Indian Arts and Crafts Act, which only recognizes federally recognized Tribal members. Tribal Citizens cannot legally attain sacred eagle feathers for regalia from the US Fish and Wildlife Service. A local ordinance preventing smoking at a park also inhibits a Fernandeño Tataviam citizen's opportunity to conduct ceremony through the sacred use of tobacco. A local policy protecting portions of the Los Angeles River from trespassers also inhibits the continuance of a Tribal culture that relies on access to the river for harvesting riparian plant species for regalia. Like all cultures, Fernandeño Tataviam culture is fluid and relies on its people to make and modify it to adapt to the ever-present hardships imposed by settler communities.

2. Protection Of Sacred Sites

Currently, there is no mechanism to procure or compensate non-federally recognized Tribes for the expertise or labor they provide to local and state agencies. Thus, the Fernandeño Tataviam are expected to be experts in a multitude of professional fields that impact their stolen lands through pure volunteerism. While Assembly Bill 52 recognizes Tribes—regardless of recognition status—to be experts for consultations at a government-to-government level with local and state agencies, the bill does not establish a compensation mechanism for the Tribe to sustain expert staff who can best protect and preserve Tribal Cultural Resources from ground-disturbing activities. The Tribe is expected to staff experts with knowledge about archaeological, biological, and environmental laws and terminology, as well as cultural practices to reduce a project's imprint on the land, and yet, is not compensated by the project for this work. Meanwhile, private Cultural Resources Management and Environmental Firms are compensated by local governments and private developers through contracts for similar, if not identical, services. Additionally, federally recognized Tribes may access grant funding specifically reserved for a salaried position to maintain this work, while non-federally recognized Tribes are expected to stay afloat without financial assistance. The lack of access to this funding source costs the Tribe between $100,000

and $470,000 per year. The Fernandeño Tataviam is put in a paradoxical, unjust position, where it is recognized as the sole cultural resource expert of the land, and yet, is expected to exist as the only group that provides its labor, expertise, and knowledge without compensation.

3. Protection Of Ancestors

Because it is non-federally recognized, the Tribe does not have legal standing to protect both the living and the deceased Fernandeño Tataviam kept with federal agencies and institutions that receive federal funding. Ancestral remains associated with the Fernandeño Tataviam that have been stored in museums for decades cannot be repatriated to the Tribe or earth without the approval and collaboration of a Federal Indian Tribe. This is the case even though there is no equivalent law requiring archaeologists to seek Tribal permission before removing these remains from their resting places *in situ*. Thus, archaeological researchers have more influence over the materials and remains than living descendants.

4. Protection Of Children

Non-federally recognized Tribes are also not afforded the rights to fully intervene in child welfare proceedings for their Tribal children, something that federally recognized Tribes are authorized to do under the Federal Indian Child Welfare Act. The Fernandeño Tataviam are disproportionally affected and are losing their Tribal children, or future citizenry, in child welfare cases. Complicating the issue, no state agency or non-governmental organization is collecting the data indicating the true number of children from unacknowledged Tribes who are adopted outside of their Tribal community. Finally, due to its status, the FTBMI cannot tap into funding resources for this work and thus cannot maintain the attorney-level representative to advocate for the best interest of the children, which costs the Tribe upwards of $100,000 annually.

The FTBMI is navigating conversations about historical trauma and paving a path towards healing when Indigenous communities have not had time to heal and restore their communities, cultures, and traditions from the historical trauma of Spanish, Mexican, and American eras colonialism. It was just forty years ago that Native Americans were granted the right to exercise their traditional religions (American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978) and seven years that Tribes were given the opportunity to protect their cultural sites from development projects (Assembly Bill 52 of 2014). One way the Tribe supports its membership is by grounding Tribal members to their ancestral ties to villages and lineages, regardless of their external religious affiliations. The FTBMI recognizes the difficulty of separating historical trauma from religion and therefore focuses on the need to not just adapt to the place, but also to the communities within which members live. As such, it is important to maintain cultural identity while also maintaining relationships with non-Native communities. Another pathway to healing is work with the settler communities occupying FTBMI homelands. The FTBMI Council of Elders has generated a Cultural Protocols document to provide guidelines for how non-FTBMI people may engage with the Tribe, lands, and water (Council of Elders Guidelines 2018). The FTBMI continues to work with state and local governments to uplift the need mechanisms that include an Indigenous perspective while supporting thriving Tribal communities. For example, for the first time since its establishment, the County of Los Angeles included the FTBMI as a stakeholder within the 20-year Los Angeles River Master Plan process to incorporate accurate historical analysis as well as contemporary needs of the FTBMI to the LA River

(County of Los Angeles 2021). Community enrichment, empowerment, and truth-telling is the path chosen by the FTBMI.

Now is the time for reframing issues such as the National Register requiring historically accurate and culturally competent information associated with heritage sites. The FTBMI seeks the National Park Service's support of Indigenous narrative sovereignty by mandating any mission system associated property to require the inclusion of context statements from the Tribal community historically/currently impacted by the property.

Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation

Dr. Reddy interviewed Mr. Laverne Bill, Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation Director of Cultural Resources, on October 14, 2021, and January 24, 2022, over virtual meetings. The interview conversations focused on loss of language, culture, and land and revitalization.

Loss of Language and Culture

Colonization has led to loss of culture, including language. When Native people were sent to the missions, they were forced to stop using their own language. It is only recently that Tribes have been able to bring some of the languages back and revitalize their cultures. Native people did not have the ability to continue with using their languages. Only recently, Patwin Tribes have been able to visit the University of California (UC), Berkeley archives and access field notes about Patwin language.

Loss of language is a big part of historic loss through colonization. The Tribe had elders who were committed to keeping the language alive. By using varying resources including elders and field notes from the UC Berkeley archives, the Tribe has been able to revive their language. Most importantly, the elders felt comfortable to work with the Tribal youth to teach them the language. The hesitation by elders about sharing the language was to make sure that they do not pass on any information that would result in more trauma to the Tribal youth. They felt a responsibility to protect both the Tribal citizens and their heritage.

In addition to loss of language, loss of culture also meant not being able to practice dances and ceremonies. Over generations, such prohibition of cultural practices translated into the loss of certain ceremonial dances like the condor, coyote, and bear dances. Loss of cultural practices also includes the making of cultural items for these specific dances. The Grindstone Reservation, where Mr. Bill's father grew up, had the oldest roundhouse in the late 1800s. It was reconstructed and still has a lot of culture associated with it, including today when ceremonial dances continue to occur throughout the year. Both sides of Mr. Bill's parents faced loss, but the loss was different. His father's side (Patwin and Nomlaki) lost language but were able to preserve their ceremonies. His mother's side (Patwin) have the language but lost cultural memory of ceremonies.

Loss of Traditional Lands

Loss of the Tribe's traditional lands also had a direct effect on how and where Native people were able to gather specific materials to make baskets, cradle boards, and various types of medicines. Tribal

gathering and processing areas (seasonal and year-long), specifically in and around wetland and foothill areas, were no longer accessible and/or the native species were replaced by invasive species. Natural native resources were used by the Tribe for subsistence and also for ceremonialism (to make regalia, etc.). Many native resources of cultural importance cannot be replaced by other resources—gathering areas belonged to lineages, specific resources were used for different ceremonies, and designated people went collecting at specific times. Therefore, loss of access to gathering areas resulted in loss of being connected to these areas which housed medicines and other resources of critical importance. In addition, certain traditional gathering areas had specific medical plants that had connection to the Creator and this did not have a good fit with the Catholicism as taught by the missions (which was that God would take care of everything).

In the higher elevations (e.g., Condor Ridge area – Molok-luyuk), the strength of the medicine from the plants was directly related to elevation (the higher the elevation, the stronger the medicinal effect). Furthermore, these higher elevations also had prayer places where power was directly related to the direction of the sunrise. These Tribal viewsheds (towards the east) were important parts of cultural landscapes. Not having access to these very critical spaces in the Native landscape impacted all aspects of the Tribe's world, especially ceremonial practices. Without being on traditional lands, prayers and connections to the Creator and ancestors are weakened.

Revitalization
Today, the Tribe is working with state and federal agencies to protect remaining cultural areas (including village sites, traditional gathering areas, cemeteries, and undeveloped natural areas), and working toward restoring them to their natural habitat. The Tribe is working with these agencies to develop a strategy to co-manage these areas through responsible and culturally competent avenues.

Forced removal from traditional lands and placement in new lands in some ways forced Tribes to work together. It also provided opportunities to share, for example Cachil Dehe shared songs with Maidu from Oroville. Tribes worked together to maintain the cultures. This partnership of shared colonial trauma continues today, with tribes coming together to strengthen their ties and empower each other. The cultures are different, but the Tribes bring spirituality to work and share resources, leading to new relationships.

Contributed Documents
The following are various reports and other documents submitted as contributions to this study by five Advisory Committee Tribes—Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, Jamul Indian Village, Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area (Muwekma Ohlone Tribe), PBMI, Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Indians. Shorter submissions not previously published elsewhere are included below. Longer documents, including a Historic Preservation Management Plan, Research Design, Master's thesis, published article, technical report, and Doctoral dissertation, are summarized here as they relate to the mission system focus of the historic context.

Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians submitted three documents for their historic context contributions. Their Historic Preservation Management Plan and Research Design provide context for

how the Tribe approaches cultural resources management and historic preservation, and a Master's thesis provides additional details of cultural history relevant to the MPDF historic context.

Historic Preservation Management Plan, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, 2011
The authors of this document include Patricia Garcia, Director of Historic Preservation, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians Tribal Historic Preservation Office, and Kim Maeyama and Rachael Nixon for URS Corporation. They provide Tribal direction for the management of archaeological sites, historic properties, and traditional and/or ceremonially significant lands on and off the current reservation. Along with regulatory guidance, the Historic Preservation Management Plan (Plan) provides a cultural context and information regarding cultural resources that are significant to the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians. For example, these include population centers occupied from the Late Precontact Period into the Ethnohistoric Period and which may therefore relate to the themes in this MPDF. The Plan also includes lists of potential archaeological and built environment property types (many of which could have been potentially used throughout the Mission Period) as well as a large-scale map that demarcates the Tribal Traditional Use Area.

Tribal Historic Preservation Office Research Design, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, 2014
By the same authors as the Management Plan—Patricia Garcia, Kim Maeyama, and Rachael Nixon—this document offers a research design to guide archaeological investigations of ancestral lands (reservation and Traditional Use Area) of the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians. For the purposes of the MPDF historic context, the research design includes historic background sections for the Protohistoric Period (through 1850) as well as the Spanish and Mexican Periods. Like the Tribe's Historic Preservation Management Plan (described above), the Research Design also includes information about anticipated properties, including archaeological sites, the built environment, and Traditional Use Areas/Traditional Cultural Properties significant to the Tribe. Research questions by theme are also provided, including brief mention of the Mission Period asistencia at the Bernardino Adobe.

The Desert Cahuilla: A Study of Cultural Landscapes and Historic Settlements, 2013
In her MA thesis for the University of Arizona, Larea Lewis, Chairwoman of the Agua Caliente Historic Preservation Advisory Board, uses information from published ethnographic sources and traditional knowledge to create a model and Geographic Information System mapping of historical Desert Cahuilla clan village and lineage settlement patterns and continued relationship to cultural landscapes and traditional use areas from just prior to European contact to 1880. Lewis notes a general trend of villages merging over this time span, moving at least twice toward the southeastern part of Coachella Valley in response to stresses such as land loss, food and water shortages, and disease epidemics, with final settlement locations being the basis for modern reservations. Despite this trend, village locations were strategically kept in proximity to important cultural resources and places fundamental to maintaining Cahuilla life and society.

During the Mission Period, the Cahuilla relied on a tradition of integrating new ideas from neighbors into their society and adopted new Spanish concepts related to a ranching or vaquero (cowboy) lifestyle, while strengthening individual lineage communities. Because of their distance from the missions, Cahuilla people were not as heavily impacted by the mission system as other southern California Tribes. Pass

Cahuilla in the San Gorgonio area were closest to the missions and Spanish and Mexican colonial centers and were more heavily impacted even than Mountain and Desert Cahuilla farther east in Coachella Valley. Yet, even in these more distant areas, Desert Cahuilla villages migrated and consolidated during the Mission Period.

Jamul Indian Village
The Jamul Indian Village submitted Richard Carrico's 1997 article on sociopolitical aspects of the 1775 Kumeyaay revolt at Mission San Diego. The Kumeyaay revolt is also discussed under II.C.1.

Sociopolitical Aspects of the 1775 Revolt at Mission San Diego de Alcalá, 1997
Historian, anthropologist, and university professor Richard Carrico provides an account of the 1775 revolt at Mission San Diego, underlying Indigenous motivations for the rebellion, and its aftermath. Using an ethnohistorical approach to contemporary Spanish documents, Carrico argues that the revolt was initiated in direct response to the ills of Spanish colonialization, including the rape of women by colonial soldiers, active undermining of Native spiritual leaders, the threat of forced labor, and the spread of introduced diseases. The events of 1775 also illuminate the importance of traditional Kumeyaay sociopolitical organization in the early Mission Period, as only certain Tipai leaders actively planned and executed the revolt (in contrast, for example, to large multiethnic uprisings which occurred later in time in nearby Baja California). The aftermath of the revolt is viewed from a historical and cultural perspective that acknowledges long-term Kumeyaay resistance. The mission was rebuilt and continued to function as a link between Baja and Alta California, but as Carrico writes, "The spirit that flared on that November night in 1775 was never extinguished" (Carrico 1997:11).

Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area (Muwekma Ohlone Tribe)
The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe submitted a re-edited version of an ethnohistory originally included as an independent chapter in a report prepared as part of mitigation of impacts from a recent construction project to the Native ranchería and cemetery at Mission Santa Clara.

An Ethnohistory of Santa Clara Valley and Adjacent Regions; Historic Ties of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area and Tribal Stewardship Over the Human Remains Recovered on the Prometheus Project located at 575 Benton Street and Affiliated with the 3rd Mission Santa Clara de Thámien Indian Neophyte Cemetery and Indian Rancheria: Clareño Muwékma Ya Túnnešte Nómmo [Where the Clareño Indians are Buried] Site CA-SCL-30/H, 2021
This document was originally prepared for a project associated with the third Mission Santa Clara and was updated for this submittal. It was prepared by Vice Chairwoman Monica V. Arellano, Sheila Guzman-Schmidt, Gloria E. Arellano Gomez, and Chairwoman Charlene Nijmeh, Muwekma Ohlone Tribal members of the San Francisco Bay Area, and Tribal Ethno-Historian Alan Leventhal. It presents a Tribally oriented view of Mission Santa Clara's (third location) history and connections to broader trends in the long-term Ohlone history of the southern San Francisco Bay Area, from precontact times through today. The historic overview presented in this report provides a window into the Ohlone landscapes into which Mission Santa Clara was inserted, including information regarding ancestral Tribal territories, Indigenous land use, and traditional villages and places. Using excerpts from primary sources, the

document also offers information about the impacts of missionization on Ohlone communities as well as Ohlone recipients of Mexican Period land grants. Importantly, the authors also detail how Muwekma ancestors managed to persist and regroup in the hills around Sunol and Pleasanton after the collapse of the missions, and how—despite being written off by the United States federal government and anthropologists like Alfred Kroeber—that community formed the nucleus of today's Muwekma Ohlone Tribe. The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe continues to steward ancestral heritage sites within their aboriginal territory and reclaim their history to honor their ancestors through acts such as renaming sites in the Tribe's Chochenyo/Thámien language, like at Clareño Muwékma Ya Túnnešte Nómmo.

Pala Band of Mission Indians (PBMI)
PBMI provided two documents—one about the significance of the Mission San Antonio de Pala Asistencia (quoted directly) and a 2011 Doctoral dissertation about the Pala Indian Reservation (summarized) by Tribal Historic Preservation Officer Shasta Gaughen.

The Significance of the Mission San Antonio de Pala Asistencia, PBMI 2022
'Atáaxum have dwelled within the present-day Reservation lands at Pala since time immemorial. Pala was one of the first rancherías in the middle San Luis Rey River valley visited by Spaniards (in today's San Diego County). At the time of the Grijalva expedition, the ranchería at Pala was located on the south side of the San Luis Rey River, which remained the primary settlement area some sixty years later. The availability of water was one of many advantages noted by Father Juan Mariner when he described the bounty of the "Palé" ranchería in 1795. In 1797, Father Fermín de Lasuén visited the area and determined that Palé was not suitable as a site for the mission. In 1810, however, Father Antonio Peyri ordered a granary built at Pala to serve the San Luis Rey Mission, and six years later commissioned the chapel dedicated as Mission San Antonio de Pala Asistencia. At its peak, the sub-mission complex supported a church, dwellings, granaries, and several agricultural fields. In 1820, a year in which Mission San Luis Rey suffered under drought conditions that killed many head of cattle and sheep, Father Jayme Escudé declared conditions were so much better at San Antonio de Pala that the asistencia was able to take in more Native converts than the actual mission. During the secularization of the missions in 1845, José Scott (aka Cot) and José Pico purchased twelve square leagues of land that included the Pala ranchería and the mission. That sale, however, was later nullified by the United States Government.

Following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, Luiseños at Pala and other interior villages continued to utilize traditional lands, albeit reduced, relatively undisturbed in the fifteen or so years following the signing of the (unratified) Treaty of Temecula in 1852. Other Luiseños were not so fortunate in the face of the new Anglo-American colonialism, suffering displacement from ancestral villages and fields, while some chose to abandon their lands voluntarily to avoid conflict and live in peace. In keeping with the refuge character of Pala and the other interior Luiseño villages, in 1856 Luiseños living at Las Flores relocated *en masse* to Pala at the invitation of Luiseño leader Manuelito Cota. In 1903, Kuupangaxwichem were forcibly displaced from their ancestral territory of Kupa, located approximately 40 miles east of the current Pala Reservation. Today, PBMI's enrolled membership is composed of approximately twenty percent 'Atáaxum (Luiseños) and eighty percent Kuupangaxwichem (Cupeños)—who, together, are the Pala people.

In spite of the dark history of successive Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American colonial-settler violence and the co-implicated mission system in California, the Pala Mission is now seen as a key part of Pala's daily life. In fact, the Pala Mission bell tower is featured as the main component of the PBMI's official logo. Many Pala Tribal members get married at the mission chapel, and funerals for Tribal members and their families often take place there as well. Adjacent to the chapel, the mission cemetery is still in use for those Pala Tribal members whose ancestry traces to the "Old Pala" Luiseños who lived there before the Cupeños came in 1903. A sign in the cemetery explains that hundreds of "neophytes"—new Indian converts to Catholicism—are buried there. Most of them have no markers, but non-invasive studies have indicated that the entire cemetery is thick with burials. A second cemetery, established in 1903 after the arrival of Cupeños, is also associated with activities at the Pala Mission and located less than a quarter of a mile east of the central asistencia site.

No historic properties at Pala associated with the colonial Mission Period are listed on the National Register. While the Pala Mission is recognized as a historic landmark on the California Register of Historical Resources (CRHR), this formal recognition of state significance relates almost exclusively to Euro-American defined histories, geographies, and values. The purpose and function of the National Register is to serve as an official list of the Nation's historic places worthy of preservation. The Pala Mission complex is worthy of preservation because of its vital importance for the ongoing identity and traditional religious and cultural beliefs and practices of the Pala people and the layered and dimensional stories it conveys of wider contact among Pala people and colonial settler governments and societies. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) and others have recently noted in "Commemorating 50 Years of The National Historic Preservation Act" that: "While the NHPA provides for formal participation of Indian Tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations, in practice they are often overlooked or excluded. The result is that the resources important to their identity and culture, and the intangible and tangible cultural heritage associated with them, are not properly recognized or valued by the larger society. They are often not fully considered in mandated preservation processes."

This absence is also noted in the OHP's project to develop a statewide context statement with themes and stories provided by affected Native Americans of the California mission system period. As OHP recognizes: "The story of the California Missions is one that is known to most Californians and Americans, and is known on a national and international level, for its effect on the history of the American West. Of the twenty-one missions within California's borders, seventeen are on the National Register with nine of those also designated National Historic Landmarks. Although these designations document the story of the Spanish intervention in California through the establishment of the mission system, the contributions and experiences of the Native Americans as part of this story are not well represented, if at all, in many of the early nomination forms." The ACHP has underscored that formal recognition of the historical, geographical, and cultural importance of historic properties to and for Native people such as the Pala Mission and its contributing elements can contribute to both the "telling [of] difficult or complex stories that illustrate both the positive and negative interactions of different people and institutions over the course of the nation's history" (ACHP 2016:2). It can also serve as greater inclusiveness and diversity for underrepresented communities and associated historical properties and

places listed on the National Register. In the context of mission era resources, there is also a need for official recognition of how these properties/places are significant to and for Native Americans, particularly on the federal level, as they are formally underrepresented on the National Register and their ongoing presence and importance for living Native communities—as defined by Native communities—generally lack proper consideration and recognition in national attention, consciousness, and consideration.

Against the Odds: Indian Gaming, Political Economy, and Identity on the Pala Indian Reservation, 2011

This doctoral dissertation by Shasta Gaughen, PBMI Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, for The University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, explores the intersectionality of Indian gaming and Tribal identity, culture, and political economy on the Pala Indian Reservation in San Diego County, California. Several important sections can be highlighted. These include the dissertation's introduction that provides ethnographic context of the Pala Reservation, which has a brief description of the Pala asistencia (an outstation of Mission San Luis Rey) and associated cemetery. More detailed information is in Chapter 3 which focuses on "History and Identity at Pala." Here, Gaughen provides insight into the complex origins of the PBMI, which include both Luiseños who lived at Pala earlier and Cupeños who arrived in 1903. This section explicitly discusses the impacts of the Spanish mission system, as well as post-mission developments such as the forced relocation of the Cupeños by the United States Government. Despite the overarching focus on Indian gaming, the document offers an important example of the complex relationships between sites of colonization, such as the Pala asistencia and thriving Native Californian communities.

Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Indians

The Tribe shared a brief 2011 document (inserted below) written by archaeologist Laurence W. Spanne demonstrating long term Chumash persistence and continued relationships with cultural landscapes and traditional use areas from over 10,000 years ago, through the Mission Period, to the present day.

A Brief History of Chumash Use of the Coastline Between Point Conception and the Santa Maria River, 2011

Cultural Resources Consultant Larry Spanne prepared this document, noting that the Chumash have a close and long-standing relationship with the coastal area between Point Conception and the mouth of the Santa Ynez River. They made use of the abundant resources, particularly in the intertidal zone, for their subsistence. This allowed them to live in the area for more than 10,000 years, according to recent dates from excavations at Vandenberg Air Force Base (Ryan and Lebow 2011).

When Spanish explorers first arrived in this area in 1542, the Chumash inhabited eight villages directly along the coastline and an additional four villages within easy walking distance. As many as 1,500 people from these communities were heavily reliant on the fish, shellfish, birds, mammals, plants, and other resources from the littoral zone, as evidenced by the dense accumulation of their remains in and around their villages. Prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, the ancestors of today's Chumash had occupied the coastal area for many millennia. Archaeologists, working with Chumash monitors, have

discovered the remains of dozens of other earlier villages and hundreds of fishing camps in this same coastal area. Several shrine sites, some of them possibly dedicated to ensuring a rich annual harvest of marine resources, have also been recorded along the coast.

While gathering of marine plants and certain shellfish was relatively easy during periods of low tides, fishing, hunting sea mammals, and the collect collection of other kinds of shellfish, such as abalone presented more of a challenge and required more sophisticated technology. Although plank canoes were manufactured and used by villagers around Point Conception to access offshore kelp beds and fishing grounds, as well as to transport resources to and from the Channel Islands, these vessels were apparently infrequently used in villages to the north, presumably because of dangerous surf and seas. Tule Balsam canoes, and possibly rafts, may have been used in this area to access offshore resources that were closer to the beaches (Hudson and Blackburn 1979). Pry bars fashioned of whalebone were used to pry abalone from the rocks, while hand fishing lines with grooved stone sinkers and hooks of abalone or mussel shell were used in fishing from the shore and watercraft. Harpoons with bone or stone points were used to obtain larger fish and sea mammals.

An exchange of resources took place between coastal and inland villages. Most Chumash marriages occurred between villages located in relatively close proximity to each other along the subject coastline. However, the villages of some couples that married were quite distant from each other. During the brief period that marriage records were kept by the Spanish Missions, there were a number of unions between individuals living in coastal villages and others from as far away as communities in the Santa Ynez Valley near Mission Santa Inés. Marriages also occurred over great distances along the coastline (King 1984). Kinship ties established between different villages also facilitated the exchange of resources throughout the larger area and established some degree of reciprocal use rights for related individuals and families in their respective village territories. For an early treatise on this subject see King (1971). For example, a family from the interior would have ready access to the coastal area if they had relatives in coastal villages. A quote in the Harrington notes from Chumash informant Fernando Librado illustrates the importance of the coastal areas in facilitating ties between the different groups: “The coast of the mainland was where inland Indians, coast Indians, and island Indians mixed. That is why the [ceremonial enclosure used at fiestas] was used on the coast.” (Harrington n.d.)

When the Missions La Purísima and Santa Inés were established in 1787 and 1804, Chumash access to the subject coastline was more limited, but not completely curtailed. The padres are known to have allowed the neophytes time off from their labors to continue their traditional hunting, fishing and gathering activities (reference). Archaeological deposits associated with their dwellings at the missions display evidence of same in the form of plentiful remains of fish, shellfish, and other coastal resources. The Chumash assigned to work at outposts and in pastures nearer the shore must also have taken advantage of their situation to harvest marine resources. By the end of 1804, the first year of operation of Mission Santa Inés, only 112 Chumash had been baptized and it had become apparent that this was not sufficient recruitment to support a large mission establishment. As a result, 132 converts were sent to the new mission from Mission Santa Bárbara and 145 from Lompoc (Grant 1978). This would have created even closer ties between the

Chumash in the Lompoc (coastal) area and the Santa Ynez Valley. It is likely that the descendants of some of these coastal people are now members of the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Indians.

Once the missions were secularized in 1834, many Chumash families continued to live in their vicinities and made trips to the coast, especially during periods of low tides when resources were most accessible. Other Chumash families became employed on the large, land grant ranchos in the area that had previously been part of the mission lands. Some of the Chumash from the Lompoc area resettled in Santa Ynez on or near the location that later became the Santa Ynez Chumash Reservation. There was much movement among the Chumash during this period as the survivors of terrible epidemics intermarried and often relocated to be closer to their relatives. The late Santiago Olivera of Lompoc, a Spanish vaquero who was born in an adobe on the Jesus Maria/Todos Santos Rancho in the San Antonio Valley, recalled as a young man in the late 1800s seeing Chumash women washing clothes in a stream on the rancho and also recalled Chumash groups visiting the nearby beaches (Olivera, personal communication 1950s[5]). Dora Salzman Billings (see relationship to author in citation) of Santa Barbara recalled as a young girl seeing Chumash men walking down San Pasqual Canyon where she lived on a ranch west of Lompoc in the late 1800s (Billings, personal communication 1970s).[6] She recalled that they were probably returning home from a trip into the hills and possibly as far as the coast.

This practice by the Chumash of returning to their traditional hunting, gathering, and fishing locations on the coast continued well into the early 1900s. Some Chumash families who descended from Santa Ynez Band and lived in the Guadalupe area frequently visited the area around Point Sal to fish and collect mussels (Earle and Johnson 1999). The late Juanita Centeno, also of the Santa Ynez Band, recalled trips to the coast west of Lompoc with her grandfather, who herded sheep on the coastal plain between Honda Canyon and Point Conception. Other relatives accompanied them and at times there were religious observances in addition to the fishing and gathering. Other Chumash were employed and residing on coastal ranches during this period and continued to make use of the intertidal resources. Fernando Librado, the well-known Chumash informant who worked with Anthropologist, John P. Harrington and lived on the San Julian Ranch for many years, was known to walk the coast from his "sitting cave" near Gaviota, around Point Conception, through Honda Canyon, into Lompoc, and then back to his home in the cave (Begg, personal communication 1970s;[7] Spanne, personal communication 1970s[8]). He also herded sheep in the coastal pastures. Presumably he took time to visit the shoreline during these trips, gathering resources for food, shelter, and tool making.

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[5] The late Santiago Olivera was a Spanish Vaquero and friend of my father who was born and raised on the Jesus Maria/Todos Santos Ranches on the coast of what is now Vandenberg Air Force Base. I often accompanied my father during his frequent visits with Mr. Olivera.

[6] Mrs. Billings of Santa Barbara, my Great Aunt, was raised on a family ranch in San Pasqual Canyon west of Lompoc, California.

[7] The late Mr. Begg was a local cowboy who personally knew Fernando Librado and worked with him in the early 1900s on the nearby Julian Ranch.

[8] My father, the late Walter Spanne, was a friend and companion of numerous Spanish and Chumash Vaqueros throughout Santa Barbara County in the early to middle twentieth century. He frequently visited with them and often brought gifts of venison and local seafood that he had harvested in the Lompoc area.

Between the time of the establishment of the Lompoc Land Colony and City of Lompoc in 1874 and the early 1940s, local residents, including Chumash descendants, enjoyed relatively unrestricted access to the subject coastal area. The beaches were a favorite destination for food procurement in the form of fishing and shellfish gathering, picnics, beachcombing and general recreation. Beach areas were readily accessible by public roads connecting communities to local wharves, beach parks, lighthouses, and ranches. By the 1940s, access to the beaches had become more limited due to the establishment of Camp Cooke as a US Army training facility during World War II. However, it was still possible for local residents to visit the beach areas when they were not closed because of live fire exercises and other military maneuvers.

This brief history of Chumash use of the coastline in the subject area has drawn upon both my professional expertise as well as my personal observation. My personal recollection of the coastal area between Point Conception and the Santa Maria River begins in the 1940s and 1950s. I grew up on a farm west of Lompoc along the Santa Ynez River and attended local schools with many Chumash children who also lived in the area. My grandparents lived on a ranch in San Pasqual Canyon that is still owned in a family partnership. After completing my education and military service, I returned to the Lompoc area, first conducting archaeological research as a graduate student and contract employee along the coastline, teaching anthropology at the local community college, and beginning in 1983, managing cultural resources and American Indian affairs at Vandenberg Air Force Base until my retirement in 2006.

Our family frequently visited the beaches to fish, gather shellfish, and collect driftwood lumber, practices that I continue to this day. There were Chumash families from the Santa Ynez and Lompoc areas still visiting the coast to obtain resources during this period. I was privileged in later years, from the 1960s to 2006, to be able to accompany many of the Chumash on hikes, fishing trips, picnics, and other visits to the area that has remained so important to their way of life.

The information presented above demonstrates continuity in Chumash use of the Point Conception to Santa Maria River coastal area from over 10,000 years ago until the present day. Chumash from both the Lompoc and Santa Ynez Valleys regularly visited the area over thousands of years in order to obtain marine resources to support and maintain their way of life. In recent decades members of the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Indians have shown renewed and increased interest in this coastline as they revitalize their traditional culture. Access to the coastal resources, ancestral sites, and vistas along shoreline are critical to their efforts. Who would argue that there is any group today with a more legitimate claim to this coastline than the Chumash?

I – A CHANGING CULTURAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Events of the year 1769 set in motion a decades-long period of upheaval that had disastrous consequences for the hundreds of independent Tribes that had lived since time immemorial in relationship with the lands that today are called California. Though Native Californians had met Europeans during fleeting coastal encounters dating back more than two centuries, the arrival of Spanish missionaries, soldiers, and colonists in the late eighteenth century was of a fundamentally different nature (Lightfoot and Simmons 1998). By that time, the Spanish had centuries of experience colonizing various corners of the Americas and had time-tested strategies for bringing Indigenous Peoples into the colonial fold. In California, the Spanish turned to the mission system, which was by then an antiquated approach but one which suited the remote geographic setting and the vast and diverse Indigenous population (Thomas 2014). The Jesuits had already established similar missions in Baja California, and after a brief stay on the peninsula the Franciscans opened the new missionary field of Alta California with the founding of Mission San Diego in July 1769 (Bendimez et al. 2016). Over the next fifty-plus years, the Franciscans established twenty additional missions as far north as Sonoma.

There is broad agreement among Native Californians and scholars that the missions took a terrible toll on the region's Indigenous communities (e.g., Lightfoot 2005; Jones et al. 2021; Madley 2019; Panich 2020; Ramirez and Lopez 2020). As detailed in the following pages, those impacts were multifaceted and compounding. At the broadest level, the missions were based on the policies of reducción (reduction) and congregación (congregation) in which Native people were relocated to the missions where they congregated with others from different Tribal origins. While at the missions, Native people were forced to labor for the Spanish in conditions similar to the chattel slavery experienced by people of African descent in the American South and the Caribbean (Madley 2019). The Franciscans, moreover, suppressed Indigenous languages and cultural traditions, even going so far as separating children from their families to sever the intergenerational transmission of knowledge (Voss 2000). Exacerbated by crowded living conditions, stringent labor demands, and harsh punishment, introduced diseases swept through mission communities and outward to autonomous villages (Jones et al. 2021). Meanwhile, foreign plants and animals were unleashed on the landscape and colonial officials prohibited cultural burning and other traditional stewardship practices (Lightfoot and Parrish 2009). Taken together, the missions supported by the Spanish, and later Mexican, governments radically altered the existing cultural, socio-political, and even physical landscapes of California (Hackel 2005; Lightfoot 2005).

Nevertheless, Native Californians maintained their connections to a wide range of meaningful places and the human and more-than-human relationships they supported (Panich and Schneider 2015). This counter-narrative is not simply one of resistance to colonization (considered explicitly in II – Native Identity, Persistence, and Resistance) but also of long-term Indigenous persistence that has sustained Tribal communities in California over the course of millennia (Schneider 2021a; Schneider et al. 2020). There is growing recognition that use of the Indigenous landscape during the Mission Period was more complex than previously thought (Panich and Schneider 2014). For example, some Native people opted to avoid the missions altogether while others regularly left the mission compounds—either as fugitives or on approved leaves of absence—to visit important places and people (Schneider 2015a). Archaeological and archival evidence also demonstrates how California Indians managed to maintain aspects of their

traditional cultures while in residence at particular mission compounds. Despite immense pressure to give up their lifeways, commitments to tradition and community essentially turned colonial spaces into Native places all across the region (Brown et al. 2023; Panich et al. 2018a; Peelo et al. 2018a). These vital connections outlived the missions in various ways. With secularization, some Native people fought for their rights to mission land and property, while others explicitly sought their freedom to return to their ancestral homelands (Haas 2014; Panich 2019). While it is critical to understand the specific harms of the mission system, Native California scholars like Tsim Schneider and Khal Schneider emphasize that histories of Indigenous persistence and endurance are equally important in understanding the long-term presence of Native Californian communities today (Schneider et al. 2020).

The following sections offer both perspectives, placing them within a general historical framework that outlines the most salient aspects of the Spanish colonial regime alongside the ways that Native Californians managed to maintain their communities and traditions in the face of monumental challenges. Section I.A opens with an overview of the establishment of the mission system in Indigenous homelands, a consideration of the far-reaching economic implications of colonization, as well as a brief consideration of how Native Californians navigated the collapse of the mission system from the 1820s through 1848. Section I.B presents a detailed account of the major impacts of missionization on Tribal communities. This includes an examination of mission conscription (i.e., "recruitment"), violence, and disease, all devastating for Indigenous Tribes, families, and individuals. The final section, I.C, explores Indigenous landscapes of missionization in Alta California. This includes a brief introduction to the broader connections that Native Californians maintained to people and places beyond the mission walls (also treated throughout in II – Native Identity, Persistence, and Resistance), as well as a look into how baptized Native people created their own spaces at particular mission establishments. Cutting across both scales were the various landscapes of labor that formed the basis of the mission experience. Taken together, this historic context section offers different perspectives on the changing landscapes of the Mission Period, with an eye toward both the impacts of colonization and the opportunities—limited as they were—for Native Californians to persevere.

I.A – SPANISH AND MEXICAN COLONIALISM IN THE INDIGENOUS LANDSCAPE

Some eight decades ago, Sherburne Cook (1943:73) wrote: "The initial act of contact between the mission organization and the Indian was one involving spatial relationships." His main observation was that the Franciscans sought to remove Native people from their ancestral homelands and resettle them at missions, to which they were bound, and that this policy reverberated in various ways across the entirety of the Mission Period. As described in the following pages, historical and archaeological research in the intervening decades has underscored this important dimension of the Spanish missionary program and the far-reaching consequences it had for Native people and colonists alike. While archaeologists and others have stressed the importance of acknowledging the Indigenous landscapes into which the mission system was implanted (Lightfoot et al. 2009; Panich and Schneider 2014, 2015), it is also crucial to understand the intended processes of missionization, the overarching goals of Spanish (and later Mexican) colonialism in the region, and the broader economic and ecological impacts set in motion by the Spanish to Alta California in 1769. The sections below examine these changes from a variety of angles.

The first section (I.A.1) provides an overview of the Franciscan mission system of Alta California, from its establishment in 1769 until Mexican Independence in the early 1820s. It lays out the general spatial footprint of the Spanish colony, along with details regarding the various type of settlements established by the Franciscans and other colonial authorities. Given the complexity of precontact Native California, combined with the decades-long process of establishing the Alta California mission system, there is no one narrative that fits all times and places. The mission system touched dozens of independent Tribal communities—often in different ways—which complicates the story of missionization in Alta California (e.g., Haas 2014; Lightfoot 2005; Panich 2020; Schneider 2021a). No longer is it sufficient to simply relate the founding of the missions as if they existed in a vacuum. Any history of the California missions must also be framed with respect to existing Indigenous territories and relationships and to the individual missions.

The second section (I.A.2) considers the broad economic and ecological changes wrought by the mission system. At one level, colonization connected California to global economic networks. Though at first officially limited to New Spain, colonists and Native people alike participated in the illicit trade of goods, including furs, that expanded widely with the opening of trade following Mexican independence (Archibald 1978; Duggan 2016). Over time, cattle hides and tallow became increasingly vital export commodities and there has been intense scholarly focus on the ecological impacts of cattle—as well as other introduced plants and animals—during the Spanish Period (Allen 2010a; Fischer 2015; Peelo 2009; Preston 1997). While there is no doubt about the cumulative effects to California's environment, there is continuing debate about the timing of ecological changes and the challenges they posed for different Native Californian Tribes. For instance, archaeological evidence from throughout the state demonstrates that Native people had access to at least partially intact habitats in proximity to particular missions into the early nineteenth century (Popper 2016; Reddy 2015). In this way, it is possible to see how Native people simultaneously maintained existing economic practices while entering into increasingly global networks.

The final section (I.A.3) considers the final decades of the mission system, from the early 1820s until the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. As others have demonstrated, the missions were greatly affected by Mexican independence, both in their economic orientation and in their ability to enculturate Native people (Duggan 2016; Farnsworth 1989). Such changes were soon overshadowed by secularization when missions were to be converted to parish churches and mission land and property returned to Indigenous Tribes. While the latter goal was ultimately stymied by colonial elites, the discussion provides many examples of how Native people throughout the region sought to exercise their rights as the mission system crumbled around them (Haas 2014; Rizzo-Martinez 2022). As with the previous sections, here it is important to balance the institutional history of secularization with the varied experiences of Native people who maintained close ties to their ancestral homelands despite the impacts of seven decades of missionary colonialism.

I.A.1 – Establishment of the Mission System in Indigenous Homelands

When Spanish priests and soldiers began establishing the mission system in Alta California, they encountered a mosaic of independent Indigenous Peoples (Appendix B: Figures 1 and 8). The Spanish occupied one Tribal territory after another with religious, military, and civilian settlements, the mission being the primary institution for colonization. The mission system was founded within existing

Indigenous homelands and cultural landscapes that are still central to Native people's physical, spiritual, and mental wellbeing. Each mission area has its own unique history (Costello 1994; Kimbro and Costello 2009). In many ways these histories were structured by existing Indigenous political economies (Jackson and Castillo 1995; Lightfoot et al. 2013; Panich 2020).

Over a span of fifty-four years (1769-1823), under Spanish and then Mexican rule, twenty-one missions were founded by Franciscans in what became western California relatively near the coast between San Diego and Sonoma (**Table 2**). Because of the complex political, social, and linguistic geographies of Native California, each of the twenty-one missions was founded in the homelands of people with distinct governments and languages or dialects, despite generally being less than fifty miles apart (**Table 3**). The founding of each mission required negotiations with new Native Tribes who were often resistant in various, creative ways (Lorimer 2016:115). As succinctly stated by Schneider and Panich (2014:10): "…Native people actively negotiated Spanish colonialism on their own terms" and chose whether or not, and how, to incorporate the mission system "into their own systems of power, belief, exchange, subsistence, and residence."

Missions were strategically placed based on the locations of Native communities and access to converts and labor, accessibility to colonial travel routes, and availability of natural resources such as land for cultivation and water. Following centuries of prior Spanish colonial efforts (including in Florida, Texas, and New Mexico), the Alta California missions instated policies of reducción and congregación requiring Native people to relocate to the missions after baptism. Legally, baptism signaled a "condition of unfreedom" that bound Native people to the missions (Haas 2014:5). Implementation of these policies and Native people's experiences with the missions varied based on multiple factors, including the Native population of a region and mission, individual administrators and Franciscan Fathers, local environment, and historical moment (Kimbro and Costello 2009:1). The missions first impacted Native villages (called rancherías by the Spanish) in the immediate vicinity of the casco, and eventually each mission congregated a unique combination of Native Peoples from both nearby and distant homelands (**Table 3**).

Franciscans at the missions, working for the Spanish colonial program, would convert Native people not only to Catholicism but also into productive Spanish citizens (Lightfoot 2005:52-53). To achieve these goals of assimilation, the Franciscans also intended to strip Native people of their own "cultural traditions, languages, and connections to former homes" (Schneider 2021a:8). The missions were expected to be temporary institutions while these transformations occurred. During this time the missions would support themselves and subsidize the Spanish colonial effort by supplying food and other goods to support the local military and for trade. After ten or so years, Native lands held in trust by the missions were to be redistributed to baptized Native people for homesteads and pueblos (towns), which would be run by Indigenous elected officials (Haas 2014:8; Schneider 2021a:60). Yet secularization did not occur until sixty-five years after the establishment of the first missions and only in rare instances was Native land ever returned.

Native populations overwhelmed foreigners both inside and outside the missions. Typically, the missions had one to four Franciscans and a small escolta (mission guard) with a few soldiers (most of whom were

of mixed European, Mesoamerican, and African ancestry), while at their peak they had over 1,000 Native Californian residents. Native people also provided most of the labor that built and sustained the missions (Schneider 2021a:60-61). Considering these demographic realities and the lived experiences of tens of thousands of Native people, in addition to being colonial outposts, the missions were also Native places and "should be understood within the context of Indigenous cultures and histories, not simply as sites of colonial settlement and venues of colonial domination" (Schneider and Panich 2014:7).

Narrative resumes after Table 2. Timeline – The Mission Period in the History of Indigenous California and Table 3. Missions in and as Indigenous Places.

Table 2. Timeline – The Mission Period in the History of Indigenous California

Historic Period 1	Historic Period 2	Year	Event
Creation and First Peoples	-	Time immemorial	Native Peoples' connections to ancestral lands extend beyond memory
Precontact/ Indigenous Deep History	-	13,000 years ago	Earliest accepted archaeological evidence of people in California, Arlington Springs Person, Santa Rosa Island (recently repatriated to the Santa Ynez Chumash)
European Exploration	-	1540-1769	Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo explores the California coast and claims California for the King of Spain in 1542.; other explorers follow as the Spanish build their colonial empire
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1769	Indigenous population estimated at 310,000 people living in numerous autonomous Tribes in varying environments throughout California; Mission San Diego de Alcalá founded; El Presidio Real de San Diego founded
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1770	Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Río Carmelo founded; El Presidio Real de San Carlos de Monterey founded
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1771	Mission San Antonio de Padua founded; Mission San Gabriel, Arcángel founded
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1772	Mission San Luis Obispo de Tolosa founded
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1775	Kumeyaay revolt at Mission San Diego
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1776	El Presidio Real de San Francisco founded; Mission San Juan Capistrano founded; Mission San Francisco de Asís founded
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1777	Mission Santa Clara de Asís founded; El Pueblo de San Jose founded
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1778	Acjachemen Chief Siquinlo from Amaugen leads sedition at Mission San Juan Capistrano
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1781	Quechan in the Colorado River area revolt and successfully close land route between Sonora, Mexico and Alta California; El Pueblo de Los Angeles founded
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1782	Mission San Buenaventura founded; El Presidio Real de Santa Bárbara founded
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1785	Tongva leaders of Japchivit and a female religious leader, Toypurina, plan a rebellion at Mission San Gabriel
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1786	Mission Santa Bárbara, Virgen y Mártir founded
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1787	Mission La Purísima Concepción de María Santísima founded
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1791	Mission La Exaltación de la Santa Cruz founded; Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad founded
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1797	Mission del Gloriosísimo Patriarca San José founded; Mission San Juan Bautista founded; Mission San Miguel, Arcángel founded; Mission San Fernando Rey de España founded; Villa de Branciforte (Santa Cruz) founded
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1798	Mission San Luis Rey de Francia founded

Table 2. Timeline – The Mission Period in the History of Indigenous California *continued*

Historic Period 1	Historic Period 2	Year	Event
Spanish Period 1769-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1804	Mission Santa Inés, Virgen y Mártir founded
Mexican War of Independence 1810-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1810	Mexican War of Independence begins
Mexican War of Independence 1810-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1812	At Mission Santa Cruz a group of mostly Native Awaswas Ohlone speakers, including Lacah, Yaquenonsat, Yachacxi, Ules, and Lino, assassinate Father Quintana in retaliation for abusive beatings
Mexican War of Independence 1810-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1816	San Antonio de Pala Asistencia founded, associated with Mission San Luis Rey
Mexican War of Independence 1810-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1817	San Rafael, Arcángel founded as an asistencia to Mission San Francisco de Asís, granted mission status 1823
Mexican War of Independence 1810-1821	Mission Period 1769-1848	1821	End of the Mexican War of Independence – Mexico wins independence from Spain
Mexican Period 1821-1848	Mission Period 1769-1848	1823	Mission San Francisco Solano founded
Mexican Period 1821-1848	Mission Period 1769-1848	1824	Chumash Revolt at Missions Santa Inés, La Purísima, and Santa Bárbara
Mexican Period 1821-1848	Mission Period 1769-1848	1826	Emancipation Decree of 1826
Mexican Period 1821-1848	Mission Period 1769-1848	1828-1829	Yokuts and mission leaders Estanislao and Cipriano lead rebellion at Missions San José and Santa Clara
Mexican Period 1821-1848	Mission Period 1769-1848	1833	Decree of the Congress of Mexico secularizing the missions
Mexican Period 1821-1848	Mission Period 1769-1848	1834	Provisional Ordinance for the Secularization of the missions of Upper California; initiates dispersal of mission land into private ranchos
Mexican Period 1821-1848	Mission Period 1769-1848	1835	Pueblo of Sonoma founded; Pueblo of Yerba Buena (San Francisco) founded
Mexican Period 1821-1848	Mission Period 1769-1848	1839	Yozcolo leads a rebellion at Mission Santa Clara
Mexican Period 1821-1848	Mission Period 1769-1848	1845	Final Secularization Act of 1845
Mexican-American War 1846-1848	Mission Period 1769-1848	1846	The United States declares war on Mexico; Bear Flag Revolt
Mexican-American War 1846-1848	Mission Period 1769-1848	1848	James W. Marshall finds gold at Sutter's Mill in Coloma, California; California Gold Rush causes largest mass migration in western history
American Period 1848-present	-	1848	Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ends Mexican American War; California annexed to the United States
American Period 1848-present	-	1850	California becomes the thirty-first state
American Period 1848-present	-	2022	California has the second-largest Indigenous population in the US; diverse Native Peoples continue the traditions of their ancestors while adapting to a modern world.

Note: [a] As defined in this study.

Table 3. Missions in and as Indigenous Places

Homeland Language Group – Local Village Community or Tribe [a]	Mission (abbreviation)	Founding Date	Major Native American Language Groups Recorded at the Missions [b]
Kumeyaay/Ipai-Tipai - Nipawaii	San Diego de Alcalá (San Diego)	1769	Kumeyaay, Payómkawichum, Pai Pai, Kiliwa
Payómkawichum/Luiseño – Quechinga, Ojauminga	San Luis Rey de Francia (San Luis Rey)	1798	Payómkawichum, Kumeyaay, Cupeño, Cahuilla
Acjachemen/Juaneño – Sajabit	San Juan Capistrano	1776	Acjachemen, Payómkawichum, Tongva
Tongva/Gabrielino – Sibapet	San Gabriel, Arcángel (San Gabriel)	1771	Tongva, Serrano, Cahuilla
Tataviam/Fernandeño – Tujunga, Achoicominga	San Fernando Rey de España (San Fernando Rey)	1797	Tataviam, Central Chumash/Ventureño, Vanyumé, Kitanemuk
Central Chumash/Ventureño – Shisholop, Sisxulkuy	San Buenaventura	1782	Central Chumash/Ventureño, Island Chumash
Central Chumash/Barbareño – Syuxtun, Shalawa	Santa Bárbara, Virgen y Mártir (Santa Bárbara)	1786	Central Chumash/Barbareño and Ineseño, Island Chumash
Central Chumash/Ineseño – Naxuwi	Santa Inés, Virgen y Mártir (Santa Inés)	1804	Central Chumash/Ineseño, Kumeyaay, Cupeño, Cahuilla
Central Chumash/Purisemeño – Shipuk	La Purísima Concepción de María Santísima (La Purísima)	1787	Central Chumash/Purisemeño and Ineseño, Island Chumash, Yokuts
Northern Chumash – Chotcagua, Chano	San Luis Obispo de Tolosa (San Luis Obispo)	1772	Northern Chumash, Yokuts
Salinan – Cholam	San Miguel, Arcángel (San Miguel)	1797	Salinan, Yokuts
Salinan – Lima	San Antonio de Padua (San Antonio)	1771	Salinan, Esselen, Yokuts
Esselen – Eslenajan	Nuestra Señora de la Soledad (Soledad)	1791	Esselen, Ohlone, Yokuts, Sierra Miwok
Ohlone/Rumsen – Rumsen	San Carlos Borromeo del Río Carmelo (San Carlos Borromeo)	1770	Ohlone, Esselen
Ohlone/Mutsun – Motssum	San Juan Bautista	1797	Ohlone, Yokuts, Sierra Miwok
Ohlone/Awaswas – Uypi	La Exaltación de la Santa Cruz (Santa Cruz)	1791	Ohlone, Yokuts, Sierra Miwok
Ohlone/Tamien – Tamien	Santa Clara de Asís (Santa Clara)	1777	Ohlone, Yokuts, Sierra Miwok
Ohlone/Chochenyo – Oroysom	Mission del Gloriosísimo Patriarca San José (San José)	1797	Ohlone, Bay Miwok, Coast Miwok, Patwin, Plains Miwok, Yokuts, Sierra Miwok, Wappo, Nisenan
Ohlone/Ramaytush – Yelamu	San Francisco de Asís	1776	Ohlone, Coast Miwok, Bay Miwok, Patwin, Wappo
Coast Miwok – Tamal Aguasto	San Rafael, Arcángel (San Rafael)	1817	Coast Miwok, Wappo, Pomo
Coast Miwok – Choquoime	San Francisco Solano	1823	Coast Miwok, Wappo, Lake Miwok, Patwin, Pomo

Notes: [a] South to north; Adapted from: Milliken, Randall, John R. Johnson, David Earle, Norval Smith, Patricia Mikkelsen, Paul Brandy, and Jerome King (2010). *Contact-Period Native California Community Distribution Model: A Dynamic Digital Atlas and Wiki Encyclopedia, with Special Attention to the San Francisco Bay Area*. Prepared by Far Western Anthropological Research Group, Inc., Davis, California, for California Department of Transportation District 4. Some names changed to reflect modern usage. Village community for Mission San Diego, Nipawaii, based on personal communication with Richard Carrico. Second village community listed for Mission San Fernando Rey, Achoicominga, is based on Engelhardt, Z. (1927a) *San Fernando Rey: The Mission of the Valley*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald. Many of the earliest baptisms recorded at Mission San Fernando Rey are from Tujunga. [b] Compiled by E. Kimbro and J. Costello in collaboration with J. Johnson, R. Milliken, and R. Carrico (some names changed to reflect modern usage), from Kimbro, Edna and Julia Costello with Tevvy Ball (2009:17). *The California Missions: History, Art, and Preservation*. Getty Publications, Los Angeles, California. Major groups are not distinguished from those with smaller representation; groups with only trace presence are not listed.

Presidios (military garrisons) served as military and administrative hubs for Spanish and Mexican colonial enterprises in Alta California and were placed at strategic coastal harbors that offered access to the interior and defense against other foreign incursion by sea. Each mission was part of one of four presidio districts based out of San Diego, Santa Bárbara, Monterey, and San Francisco. Approximately seventy soldiers would be stationed at each presidio, often married men with families. Soldiers from the presidios also provided the mission guard and accompanied missionaries, helping control the Native mission populations and offering protection from non-Christian Native people outside the missions. Alta California was removed and isolated from the religious and governmental centers of New Spain in Mexico and consequently, Franciscan and military authorities operated with a degree of independence, although strained relations between missions and presidios were a source of tension throughout the Mission Period (Kimbro and Costello 2009:18).

Three pueblos were also founded during the Spanish Period at Los Angeles, Branciforte (Santa Cruz), and San José to promote civilian settlement, with others springing up after Mexican independence (e.g., Yerba Buena [San Francisco] and Sonoma). Outstations, including asistencias (larger "sub-missions") and visitas (smaller establishments in Native communities periodically visited by a priest; smaller establishments might simply be termed places [parages]) further expanded mission system influence. Farms and ranches (estancias and ranchos) were established to raise crops and cattle, taking over more and more Native land, and causing widespread environmental changes. For example, Mission San Gabriel operated as many as thirty-two ranchos, Mission San Francisco operated eight, and Mission San Miguel six. Other mission system infrastructure included assorted aqueducts and roads, including El Camino Real that connected the missions. Well known outstations included Pala (Mission San Luis Rey), San Pedro y San Pablo (Mission San Francisco), Paso Robles (Mission San Miguel), and Santa Margarita (Mission San Luis Obispo). Outstations were variously developed and might include a church, overseer's residence, granaries, and assorted other buildings and structures. In some cases, they also supported significant Native populations that could rival those of the missions, even after mission secularization (Jackson and Castillo 1995:12; Schneider and Panich 2014:16). For example, Paso Robles reportedly had a population of 190 baptized Native people in 1839 (Jackson and Castillo 1995:12). In one case, an outstation was converted to a mission (San Rafael).

Like the missions themselves, the other components of the mission system (presidios, pueblos, and outstations) were also Native places where Native people lived and labored and experienced Spanish and Mexican colonialism (see I.C.3, page 95). Most archaeological and historical investigations of the Mission Period have focused on the missions while systematic studies of outstations are rare, with limited archaeological studies conducted at ranches and other outposts (Schneider and Panich 2014). Native people also continued to maintain ties to their homelands and the broader landscape where they avoided missions or sought refuge, gathered natural resources, and maintained distant trade relationships, and these sites are also underrepresented in the historical and archaeological record (Panich and Schneider 2019; Schneider 2021a). These other kinds of sites represent, and could provide important insights into, the lives of Native people during this time (Schneider and Panich 2014:16).

I.A.2 – Environmental and Economic Change Introduced by the Missions

California's Indigenous economies were built on local hunting and gathering practices and relationships between Native communities. With the establishment of the mission system, Native economic systems were incorporated with a macro-scale world economy. Mission populations and Native communities outside the missions were caught up in a major expansion of the capitalist world economy creating wealth managed under a specific religious, social, and economic system. At the same time, at the more local level, the missions were attempting to transform Indigenous hunting and gathering economies into one based on sedentary agriculture and livestock management. Native communities, within and outside the missions, resisted that transformation and continued to hunt and gather in the hinterlands surrounding the missions while also engaging in activities of the Spanish economy (agriculture, animal husbandry, and trade). As such, Native communities continued to maintain some control over the means of their production. Nevertheless, these economic practices, specifically the introduction of animal husbandry and agricultural production, brought about significant environmental change to the native California landscape.

Economic Change – Participating in Global and Mission Economies

From the time of its founding in 1769 until 1810, the Alta California mission system maintained an economic relationship, via the Pacific Ocean, with the rest of New Spain. Supply ships arrived once or twice a year from the colonial port of San Blas on the west coast of what is today Mexico (Archibald 1978; Costello 1992). For these first four decades, such ships were the only official avenue for external commerce as imports from sources outside the Spanish Empire were prohibited and overland routes were completely closed after the 1781 Quechan revolt (see II.C.1). Using Native labor, the missions produced several products for trade on the world market, including hemp, sea otter pelts, animal fats, and cow hides. In return, the missions acquired items such as metal hardware, buttons, cloth, decorations for the altar (e.g., candlesticks, statues, tapestry), small crosses and rosaries, iron pots and kettles, chocolate, farming equipment (e.g., hoes, sickles, plow shares), horse tack and gear, medicine, glass beads, spices and condiments, tobacco, dishes, and knives (Costello 1992:63-64).

Especially early in the Mission Period, redistribution of imported goods to the Native population was crucial to the micro-economics of the mission communities (Duggan 2000:18). The missionaries intended for some of the goods produced within and traded into the missions to be redistributed to Native people who incorporated those items into existing Native economies (see II.B.1). For example, there is clear evidence that missionaries and soldiers continued the strategy of early Spanish explorers who sought to use glass beads to "curry the favor of the region's inhabitants" and attract converts (Hackel 2016:402; see also O'Neil 1992). In contrast, much imported pottery was likely used by colonists though it was often passed down to Native people over time (Voss 2012).

Some researchers argue that Native people may have expected to receive the goods they produced and traded for, and to also have a say in the management and control of their distribution (Duggan 2000; Milliken 1995). For example, at Mission Santa Clara, production and redistribution of goods and management of the granary were controlled by Indigenous men from Baja California—including Placido (baptism &&DCL5013), a storekeeper. An Indigenous Tamien leader, Aqui, negotiated the marriage of women from his village to these managers of mission production (e.g., marriage #CL0078 and #CL0022),

possibly to maintain control of the mission economy (Duggan 2000; Milliken 1995, 2009:68-69). When Father Peña fired Placido from his position, Placido and his Tamien kin filed a formal charge of murder against Father Peña with the Spanish military in March 1786 and testified that Father Peña had killed a local man through violent punishment (Duggan 2000:69). The military investigated the charge and prosecuted Father Peña; however, years later the Native people involved confessed that the charge was a hoax designed to maintain control of the storehouse (Duggan 2000:69; Milliken 1995).

At the end of the eighteenth century, shipments from New Spain began to rapidly decline, and missions began to trade with illegal partners such as British and American vessels (Farris 1989:492; Igler 2013:22-26). Illegal trading had become so rampant by 1804 that a Spanish royal order was issued to close all ports to foreign ships, driving the popular smuggling further underground (Archibald 1978:132). This trade accelerated after the Mexican War of Independence began in 1810, ending regular supply shipments from New Spain. Production and markets for cattle grew and California's economy became heavily market-oriented during the war (Costello 1989, 1992; Duggan 2000; Hornbeck 1989; Ogden 1927, 1929). By this time, missions were predominantly trading with Boston ships for imported goods and relied on the global market to provide necessities (Duggan 2000:14). These events opened opportunities for Alta California missions and the region's emerging rancho system to enter the broader Pacific Basin trade of the mid-nineteenth century based largely on cattle hides and tallow. By secularization, this trade supported large sectors of California's economy (Archibald 1978).

After 1810, Spain also ceased to pay the soldiers stationed in California, which required the missions to distribute much of their surplus to the presidios rather than back to Indigenous communities. In addition, export prices of mission goods increased, making trade on the global market an attractive alternative to redistribution among the Indigenous population (Duggan 2000:77). Between 1822 and 1835, after Mexico won independence from Spain in 1821 and loosened previously held trade restrictions, the missions became even more incorporated into the world economic system. These external factors may have made it more challenging for Indigenous people to maintain control over the mission economy later in the Mission Period.

Other mercantile ventures also offered new avenues of material exchange in central California. The Russian colony of Ross was founded in 1812 just north of San Francisco Bay. Though trade between the two colonies was initially prohibited, northern missions and presidios eventually developed lively commerce with the Russians who provided an alternative source of manufactured goods (Lightfoot 2005:126-128). One Russian-American Company agent, Carlos de Gerolt (aka Karl Friedrich von Gerolt), even lived at Mission Santa Clara in the 1830s (Gibson et al. 2011:291). Closer to Colony Ross, it is believed the Russians provided materials necessary for the construction of Mission San Francisco Solano and supplied saddles and weapons to outfit Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo's garrison at Sonoma (Farris 1989:486).

Though most colonial commerce was oriented to the Pacific, this gradually changed over time. The Hudson's Bay Company, for example, sent pack trains and fur trapping parties across the region from the late 1820s onward. Some Franciscan missionaries in Alta California may have purchased goods

directly from the Hudson's Bay Company, while Native people living in the region's interior no doubt acquired beads and other objects directly from Company traders (Maloney 1936; Van Bueren 1983). By some estimates, the Hudson's Bay Company was likely the primary source of glass beads entering California after around 1830. The entrance of the Hudson's Bay Company into the region is marked archaeologically by an expansion of glass bead types found in Native sites dating to the period. For example, a Native village site CA-YOL-13 has one of the widest varieties of glass beads of any site in California, suggesting that it may have been a regular stopping point for Hudson's Bay Company parties moving through the Sacramento River Valley (Meighan in press). Other post-secularization Native communities were also engaged in their own independent commercial ventures, such as the Coast Miwok trading post at Toms Point in Marin County (Panich et al. 2021).

Environmental Change – Introduction of Foreign Plants and Animals

Native Californians managed their environment through practices like prescribed burning and basketry coppicing and gardening to produce the resources they needed. European exploration and colonization catalyzed a series of environmental changes that forever changed Indigenous land stewardship and permanently transformed Native California landscapes. There are two principal perspectives on the effects of this environmental change. First, introduced invasive plants rapidly and thoroughly replaced native herbaceous vegetation throughout lowland California, severely affecting Native subsistence options. The second posits that invasive plant colonization was not so pervasive, and some key native plants, notably seed-bearing grasses, continued to flourish in at least some areas, perhaps due to Indigenous practices favoring them (Reddy 2015, 2016).

Allen (1998), Hackel (2005), Larson et al. (1994), and Milliken (1995) argue that the introduction of domesticated animals, crops, and weeds into Alta California triggered a major ecological change that had far-reaching effects on Native Californian diets. The most significant Spanish practices were free-ranging livestock grazing, agriculture, predator eradication, and prohibiting Indigenous people from killing domesticated animals. Hackel (2005:65, 71) argues a "dual revolution," involving demographic collapse and ecological change, was as effective in conquering California as military victories.

Anderson et al. (1997) concur that vegetation replacement was rapid and widespread. Lower-elevation landscapes had been substantially altered when late-nineteenth-century botanists and plant geographers first documented vegetation communities. There is evidence that some weeds spread into California prior to 1769; exotic filaree (*Erodium* spp.) pollen has been found in high-resolution off-shore sediments dating to 1755-1760 (Mensing and Byrne 2000). There are also tantalizing hints of very early spread of filaree and non-native grasses in mission adobe bricks (Hendry 1931). However, claims that weed seeds in the bricks date to the 1770s are inconclusive since adobe walls continually decayed and were rebuilt or refurbished, and associations with initial mission construction are difficult or impossible to establish. Filaree seed has been recovered from mission adobe bricks dating to the broader Mission Period, and pollen and seed remains in bricks suggest Eurasian weeds quickly dominated the landscape surrounding Mission Santa Clara (Reddy 2017, 2021).

Tribes burned grasslands to promote plant growth throughout California (Lewis 1993; Lightfoot et al. 2021a; Timbrook et al. 1993; among others). Preston (1997) posits introduced weed success because native grasses required this burning to thrive, while introduced plants did not. With the arrival of the Spanish, cultural burning was suppressed, reducing viability of native grasses and forbs, furthering encroachment and replacement by non-native plants. Preston (1997) notes Eurasian weeds evolved with domestic livestock and had a competitive advantage over native herbaceous plants not adapted to intensive grazing. In his view, year-round grazing by cattle and sheep, in concert with invasive and aggressive introduced weeds and burning suppression, quickly led to the eradication and replacement of native herbaceous plants with introduced species. Preston's focus on Native burning is misplaced, however, as invasive weeds also thrive after fires (barring those set in the spring), so Spanish prohibitions of Native burning must have been less important than weeds outcompeting native plants under overgrazing. Many native economic plants are disturbance-adapted, and their seeds do not have to be exposed to heat or smoke to germinate like a small number of obligate fire-following plants of California chaparral (Minnich 2008:63).

Macrobotanical evidence from archaeological sites both within and outside mission Native spaces show that some native herbaceous plant stands remained intact during at least portions of the Mission Period. Data from within missions indicate that native small seeds continued to be important contributors to Native diets. Recent data from Native contexts in Mission Santa Clara have clearly demonstrated continued reliance on native wild plants (Reddy 2021; Wohlgemuth 2017). At Santa Clara, where plant data are parsed into Early (1784-1798), Middle (1799-1820), and Late phases (1821-1850), native edible small seeds are common in the Early phase, decline significantly during the Middle, and nearly disappear during the Late phase, reflecting gradual rather than immediate replacement of native herbaceous plants with Eurasian invasives in the immediate mission vicinity.

Outside the missions, Reddy (2015, 2016) suggests that Tongva people cultivated native little barley and maygrass during the Mission Period in the Ballona wetlands along the lower Los Angeles River; these seeds were very abundant in ceremonial, feasting, and habitation contexts at two archeological sites. Reddy (2016) notes that if native grasses were depleted, the Tongva would not have been able to make extensive mortuary-ceremonial offerings of wild plant seeds. Display of copious quantities of wild plants in ritual contexts may suggest a surplus of wild foods beyond the basic needs of daily consumption (Reddy 2015). At site CA-YOL-69, forty miles from missions and dating to circa 1800-1825, filaree is the only exotic taxon found among a welter of native small seeds. At Síi Túupentak, a village near Sunol only eight miles east of Mission San José, features dating before 1805 contain fourteen genera of native small seeds in addition to exotic watermelon, wheat or barley grains, corn kernels, and weedy filaree and mallow (*Malva* spp.). One feature dated to 1831, however, has only four native small seed genera along with the same weeds and cultigens. These data suggest that native plants persisted far from mission cascos, but by the later Mission Period weeds were replacing native plants there too, supporting the trend found at Santa Clara.

Archaeological data are supplemented by ethnohistoric records. In 1792 Spanish naturalist Longinos Martinez saw Chumash women harvesting wild seeds with a seedbeater near Santa Bárbara. He also

notes that non-native mustard (*Brassica nigra*) was a common field plant in coastal California between San Diego and San Francisco, and that mallow the size of small trees was so dense around some southern California missions that it was gathered to render into fiber (1938:43-47). In 1827 explorers observed large stands of mustard in the Los Angeles basin (Minnich 2008:109). There is evidence for widespread proliferation of non-native vegetation at Mission Santa Clara in the first decades of the 1800s (Allen 2010a).

Impacts to the Environment Caused by Livestock/Animal Husbandry and Agriculture

The native landscape and vegetation were also adversely impacted by the introduction of domesticated animals. Herds of horses, cattle, pigs, and sheep multiplied quickly, and were allowed to range freely over California's grasslands. Hackel (2005) argues that while the Spanish prohibited Native Californians from killing domesticated animals, their predators were being exterminated and the small population of European colonists and mission-dwelling Native Californians couldn't consume all the available meat, so there was an explosive expansion of the domesticate population. This is clear from records showing domesticated animals from Mission San Gabriel (Engelhardt 1927b) and the Pueblo of Los Angeles (Mason 2004) documenting a dramatic increase in the numbers of these animals over the span of the Mission Period. Mission San Gabriel's ranchlands were the most extensive of any of the California missions, covering over 2,100 square miles (Gentilcore 1961). In addition to herds on mission lands, nearby ranchos also had many cattle and horses. Records of cattle, sheep, and horses at the mission and pueblo show sheep populations expanded much faster than cattle and horses. Gentilcore (1961:Figure 7) notes similar rapid expansion at other missions (see also Hackel 2005).

Spanish colonists quickly recognized that the rapid increase in herds of domesticated animals degraded native vegetation and diminished pasturage, so they began to reduce herd size (Engelhardt 1927b; Mason 2004; Wade 2008). In 1807, pobladores (pueblo settlers) slaughtered horses in the Los Angeles Basin to conserve pasture, because horses outnumbered cattle and were not needed in such large numbers (Mason 2004:43). Typically, horses were used at the missions and traded to presidios and northern Mexico. However, cattle had multiple uses as food, soap and candles from fat, glue and other materials from hooves, and clothing and other items from hides (Gentilcore 1961; Wade 2008). There are accounts from Mission San Buenaventura of excess meat when cattle were slaughtered for hide and tallow that could not be used by the missionaries or the Native people and was burned in the fields (Wade 2008). Interestingly, despite periodic culling, horses remained valuable and off-limits to Native people, and horse theft received strict punishment (Hackel 2005; Silliman 2001a:387; Spielmann et al. 2009).

Summary

There is no question about the degradation of the native landscape across California with the establishment of the mission system. The devastating impact of introduced plants and animals on the environment and Native lifeways, and the extent of replacement of native plants by invasive species may not have been as rapid or pervasive as some claim. Macrobotanical data from both within and outside mission contexts (Popper 2016; Reddy 2015, 2021; Wohlgemuth 2017, 2021) demonstrate that the environmental impacts were neither immediate nor universal and were rather cumulative over the Mission Period and more extensive near the missions than in the hinterlands (see II.B.2).

I.A.3 – The End of the California Mission System

Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, signaling the eventual demise of the Franciscan missions in California (Panich 2020:97). The new, liberal Mexican government intended to emancipate California mission Indians, freeing them from their bound state to become citizens, and to make the missions into regular Catholic parishes (Haas 2014:17-19). In 1813, the Spanish Cortes (parliamentary courts) had passed a secularization law that included plans for Native pueblos on mission lands (Jackson and Castillo 1995:88; Rizzo-Martinez 2022:177). However, shifting politics in Spain and Mexico caused mission secularization to be postponed. By the time secularization began in California, it had already been completed at missions in central Mexico (Haas 2014:140; Hackel 2005:375). Mexican ideas about Indian equality and citizenship circulated through Indigenous communities at the Alta California missions. They would surface in the first emancipation petitions that released people from mission affiliation. Emancipation and secularization were extended processes that were not completed until after 1840 and each Native community experienced and responded to these processes differently (Jackson and Castillo 1995:90; Rizzo-Martinez 2022:178-179).

In 1826, José María Echeandía, the first Mexican governor over California, initiated conditional emancipations for select baptized Native people with the "Decree of Emancipation in Favor of Neophytes" (Haas 2014:140-141; Hackel 2005:375-388; Jackson and Castillo 1995:91; Panich 2020:97-98). Initially this decree applied to a small number of baptized Native people in the San Diego, Santa Bárbara, and Monterey presidio districts and it was later extended to missions in the San Francisco presidio district in 1828, excluding the two northernmost and newest missions San Rafael and San Francisco Solano (Jackson and Castillo 1995:91). Missionaries were asked to identify people for emancipation if they met specific criteria—they had been Christians for a minimum of fifteen years or since childhood, were adults and preferably married, and were able to support themselves (Hackel 2005:376). Some Native petitioners also wrote up their own requests for emancipation. For the next seven years, Native people petitioned for their freedom, stating their jobs that made them supporting citizens. The many skills of the wives and daughters, emancipated with their male head of family, did not get mentioned in the petitions.

For example, in 1827, two men from Mission Soledad, Vicente Juan and Gaspar, petitioned Governor Echeandía, describing themselves as "married and workers: we present ourselves before you with the most profound respect," asking "if you find it just, to segregate us from said Mission and missionaries"; In a postscript, they added, "From your generous goodness, we solicit our freedom" (Haas 2014:144). Missionaries never used the word freedom in their emancipation petitions, but Native people wrote and spoke of freedom repeatedly. Indigenous Californians referred to libertad (liberty) and to emancipated individuals as gente libre (free people). With support from Mission Soledad's Father Francisco Xavier Uría, Vicente Juan, Gaspar, and their wives, Vanerada and Antonia, were granted license to leave the mission. Without such support Native people could not disaffiliate from the missions (Haas 2014:141; Hackel 2005:381).

The problem immediately surfaced that the emancipated needed more than freedom to establish their lives outside the missions (Haas 2014:145-146). Land ownership offered security and freedom "to

organize and control their own labor, the right to associate, to be educated, and to move about" (Haas 1995:38). Few Native people gained land prior to secularization, but compared to later allotments of mission lands, those who did receive land through early petitions had the benefit of legal title and generally larger parcels (Hackel 2005:390). Many emancipated Native people stayed near, or later returned to areas near, their missions. Some established small farms near the missions where the missionaries allowed them to. They often found work on the growing number of private ranchos and in towns or lived as servants in non-Native households. Emancipated Native people also returned to their villages when they could, although laws and regulations guiding emancipation, and later secularization, did not acknowledge Native people's rights to their ancestral homelands. Almost every mission lost a significant portion of their population during this time, but hundreds of people remained at the missions. The missions continued to be Native places, along with the other places Native people made do through these new colonial experiences, and the many impacted territories and ancestral sites settlers occupied.

In response to Native people's demands for emancipation in southern California, in 1833, then Mexican Governor of California, General José Figueroa, issued "Provisional Steps for the Emancipation of Mission Indians" (Haas 2014:152-157; Hackel 2005:385-386). This plan required emancipated Native people to form self-governing pueblos and was put in place at Missions San Diego, San Luis Rey, and San Juan Capistrano. At Mission San Diego, about 109 adults were told they could leave and form a pueblo at the mission's Rancho San Dieguito (Haas 2014:153-155). Only four individuals agreed to go to San Dieguito as it was their homeland. By 1835 several pueblos had been established by groups of Native people emancipated from Mission San Diego (Haas 2014:156; Farris 1994). The same Indigenous politics prevailed among those selected for provisional emancipation at Missions San Luis Rey and San Juan Capistrano (Haas 2014:155-156). Here and elsewhere, Native leaders made it very clear that they would not relocate onto the land of other Tribes. If they took possession of land, they wanted their former territory or the mission itself, that their ancestors had helped build.

One month after Figueroa implemented his plan, the Mexican national government passed the "Decree of Mexican Congress Secularizing the Missions" legally formalizing secularization (Hackel 2005:386). A year later in 1834, Figueroa again issued guidelines for "Provisional Rules for the Secularization of the Missions of Alta California" on the distribution of mission lands and supplies and creation of secular communities (Haas 2014:157-159). Non-Native administrators put in charge of implementing these guidelines often used similar measures of social control as the Franciscans, including corporal punishment (Jackson and Castillo 1995:96-96; Rizzo-Martinez 2022:178). Although emancipation and secularization did provide new freedoms, Native people were still treated as second-class citizens (Rizzo-Martinez 2022:180). Administrative processes varied, with the main distinction being between missions where the government supported Native pueblos and the majority of the missions where colonists obtained control of most land and supplies (Jackson and Castillo 1995:97). Native people's freedom was further limited through this process as they were required to continue providing support to the missions for agricultural cultivation and were prohibited from selling land or livestock they were granted.

At Mission San Fernando, emancipated Native people stayed in large numbers in and around the mission, cultivating their own plots, as they did commonly at other missions (Johnson 1999:259-262).

Native people continued to live at the mission and nearby ranchos even after California came under American governance. In 1843, this Native community began to receive land grants. The first was given to Samuel, a Tataviam man who had sowed wheat, corn, and beans there, planted an orchard, and built a stake house. Those were the minimal requirements for a small grant. Thirty-nine other Native men signed a petition for community land at the mission and several applied for land grants, individually or in partnerships. They formed farms and ranchos that sustained a large population in the San Fernando Valley. These included small grants allotted to José Miguel Triunfo, one to Tiburcio Cayo, Romá, and Francisco Papabubaba at El Encino, and another to Urbano Chari, Odón Chihuya, and Manuel. Some of these petitioners were likely representing larger family groups. Here, again, Native people requested land grants in their ancestral homelands (Champagne and Goldberg 2021).

In 1833, the Acjachemen people at Mission San Juan Capistrano requested the Native community be granted the land they had tended and were still using to support themselves (Haas 1995:39). Emancipated Native people received at least seven grants for villages although they were not given legal title. Most returned to nearby villages, others farmed mission lands, and some moved to the pueblo of Los Angeles and dispersed ranchos (Haas 1995:43). In 1841, the mission was converted into a pueblo, the only such occurrence in California, with Native people emancipated from the mission and Californios (non-Native settlers in California) receiving land (Haas 1995:53-56). Acjachemen people were granted small buildings of the former mission, and the public lands of Mission San Juan Capistrano also augmented the ability of families to support themselves. The vast majority of these Native land claims later went unrecognized by the United States Land Commission in 1851 (Haas 1995:60).

At Mission Santa Clara, like Native people from distant homelands at other missions, many Yokuts from the Central Valley returned home after emancipation and secularization. After 1836, at least six Native ranchería settlements were established near the Pueblo of San José on private ranchos with a community of “free Indians” in the pueblo. Others went to East Bay ranchos to join extended family. Four of twelve mission land grants dividing the mission’s 66,000 acres were allocated to Native petitioners. José Gorgonio and José Ramon received 4,439 acres for Rancho La Purísima Concepción in 1840; Lope Inigo received Rancho Posolmi some 3,042 acres in 1844; Roberto received 2,219 acres for Rancho Los Coches also in 1844; and Marcelo, Pio, and Cristobal received 2,277 acres for Rancho Ulistac in 1845. Like the examples above, these men petitioned for and received grants that included their ancestral or familial villages (Arellano et al. 2021:42-45; Panich 2020:133-134; Shoup and Milliken 1999:113).

Camilo Ynitia, a Native man emancipated from Mission San Rafael, provides an unusual example of an Indian awarded a large rancho called Olompali in Marin County at 8,877 acres. His father had been the headman of a Coast Miwok village community that existed there continuously for hundreds of years, and Ynitia followed in his father’s footsteps. General Mariano Vallejo supported his land grant petition in 1843. In 1846, a brief skirmish between Americans and Mexicans took place at Olompali during the Bear Flag Revolt. Ynitia is the only Native American in northern California to have land title confirmed by the United States Land Commission. He sold his property to a large landowner named James Black for $5,000 in 1852. This probably saved him from having the land stolen by voracious American immigrants

who did not accept that Indians would have rights of land ownership (California State Parks 2022; Carlson and Parkman 1986).

As Americans and other foreigners flooded California after the discovery of gold in 1848, they brought race traditions different from those in Mexico, and lacked experience with Native citizenship (Haas 2014:181). One of the first things the California Constitutional Convention had to figure out was the meaning of Indigenous rights. José de la Guerra y Noriega, one of the few Californio representatives at the Convention, spoke through a translator against excluding Indians. He asked that Indians who held property be able to exercise all the rights and privileges that other freemen did; he later said that probably only 200 Indians would qualify. The Convention decided to exclude Native people from the rights of citizenship, and the California constitution and subsequent state laws conformed to that idea. As Native Peoples faced a new period of genocide under the United States during the 1850s and 1860s, those who had lived under Mexican rule at times chose to identify as Mexican to survive in the face of individual danger, village massacres, and daily acts meant to hurt and humiliate Native people who were never extended the privileges of human rights (Lindsay 2012; Madley 2016).

I.B – MISSION SUBJUGATION OF NATIVE PEOPLES AND THE EFFECTS ON INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

The unequivocal view of historians, including Madley (2016) and others (e.g., Akins and Bauer 2021; Bauer 2016; Field 1993; Lindsay 2012), is that the early American Period in California, beginning in 1848 when Mexico ceded its territory to the United States, was characterized by genocide—tacitly and explicitly government sanctioned violent removal and murder of Native people for their land and access to gold. Native scholars (e.g., Castillo 2015; Costo and Costo 1987; Sepulveda 2016; Tinker 1993) generally also consider what happened during the Mission Period as genocide, a view also shared by several members of the Advisory Committee for the current study in consultation meetings. Many other California Mission Period scholars, however, tend to avoid using the term genocide, and some explicitly reject the applicability of the term to the Mission Period (e.g., Field 1993:v; Sandos 2004:179) despite the negative effects of mission system subjugation on Indigenous communities. The debate over what to include under the term genocide extends beyond California mission studies to international law and Indigenous rights discourse (Benvenuto 2015; Novic 2016). While resolution of this issue is beyond the scope of this study, some history of terms and definitions is presented to set the stage for the discussion that follows.

The term genocide was coined in 1944 by Raphael Lemkin, a Polish Jew who had escaped the Holocaust. As a lawyer and government consultant, including Advisor on Foreign Affairs to the United States War Department, he first coined the term to describe various atrocities and crimes during World War II (Lemkin 1944). Genocide, from the Greek “genos” for nation, race, or Tribe, and Latin “cide” for killing, was originally defined by Lemkin (1944:79) as “the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group,” having two phases: (1) “destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group;” and (2) “the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor.” Lemkin’s genocide isn’t restricted to mass killings or bodily harm; he identifies techniques of genocide in eight different fields—political, social, cultural, moral, religious, biological, physical, and economic (Lemkin 1944:79-95, 1945). In a footnote, Lemkin (1944:79) also proposes ethnocide, stemming from the Greek “ethnos” for nation, as an equivalent term to genocide.

In 1948, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, initiated by Lemkin, became the first human rights treaty adopted by the United Nations. Article 2 legally defines genocide with a specific focus on intentional physical or biological destruction of a group of people. Although a category of cultural genocide was debated, it was not ultimately included. The legal definition of genocide has been criticized and debated since then, with alternative definitions and terms proliferating (Novic 2016:6). Beginning with Indigenous rights discourse in the 1970s and the work of French ethnologist Robert Jaulin, the term ethnocide has been redefined as a morally equivalent alternative to genocide meaning the destruction of a people's culture or group identity, conceptually distinct from intentionally physically or biologically eliminating a people (although sometimes occurring concurrently; Benvenuto 2015). Ethnocide is also sometimes synonymously used with the term cultural genocide. Distinct from Lemkin's original definitions, cultural genocide is contemporarily used to reference processes of forced assimilation and targeted destruction of an ethnic group's culture (Novic 2016:4). How acts other than physical or biological violence fit into the conceptual frameworks of genocide studies and international law are still debated (Benvenuto 2015:27; Novic 2016:8).

As Charleston (2015:68-70) points out, arguments that discount Spanish colonization of the Americas as genocide tend to rely on the United Nation's legal definition and ignore Lemkin's broader definition or other conceptions of cultural genocide or ethnocide. It is certainly the case, however, that the mission system was intended to transform Native Peoples of California into a Catholic peasantry and through its implementation many Native people prematurely died. Below is a discussion of some of the aspects of life during the Mission Period that could have purposefully, unintentionally, or indirectly caused genocide/ethnocide of the California Native population and cultures, or the "destruction of essential foundations of… life" (Lemkin 1944:79). Topics include mission conscription (I.B.1); expansion of mission influence and conscription of diverse groups of people (I.B.2); and disease, violence, and Native deaths (see I.B.3, page 79). In spite of the mission system and these devastating forces Native people persisted; persistence as a Native response is touched on in the following discussions and explored more fully in II – Native Identity, Persistence, and Resistance.

I.B.1 – Mission Conscription

There have been many studies and debates on how the Spanish colonized Native landscapes. Colonizers and Native people both employed deliberate strategies around baptism and other kinds of relationships predicated on their own experiences and ideologies. These varied depending on the specific moment in history as well as the individuals and communities involved (Peelo 2009; Sandos 2004). Native people's choices were constrained not only by Spanish actions, but also by existing Indigenous politics, including both feudal and alliance relationships (Rizzo-Martinez 2022:7). Additionally, Tribal responses were often not unified, and individual or family decisions could work against the larger community as some people chose to affiliate with missions while others remained reluctant or resistant (Hackel 2005:74). Once conscription of a given community began, it often became self-perpetuating as fewer people remained in home villages and more people were affiliated with the missions (Johnson 1989:373). Regardless, the "bigger picture is one of contingent persistence: Native Californians made intelligent choices that allowed them to weather the impositions of colonialism as best they could" (Panich 2020:77).

Franciscan Implementation of Mission Conscription in California

The Catholic Church had a long history of approving the subjugation of Indigenous Peoples who "had no souls" according to AMTB Chairman Valentin Lopez speaking of a 1452 papal bull which declared that pagans should be consigned to "perpetual servitude" (see Native Voices – AMTB). By the time the Spanish invaded California they already had over 250 years of experience subjugating Native people and establishing missions throughout the Americas (Jackson and Castillo 1995:6). Father Junipero Serra, Franciscan founder of the California mission system, along with his close friend and colleague Father Francisco Palóu, had spent eight years in the Sierra Gorda of central Mexico and then nine more years as itinerant missionaries in various parts of Mexico before coming to California in 1769 (Beebe and Senkewicz 2015:90, 102). These collective and individual experiences influenced conscription strategies in California which were also adapted in response to local scenarios.

Across the North American Borderlands, Spanish missionaries developed a range of strategies for proselytizing among Indigenous Tribes with different community structures and subsistence economies (Lightfoot et al. 2013; Thomas 2014; and see Spicer 1962:287-288). Many Franciscans ventured to areas, such as the Spanish colony of La Florida and the American Southwest/Northwest Mexico, that were populated by agriculturalists. There, many missions were incorporated into existing Indigenous communities, allowing Native people some control over the organization of their domestic and public spaces. In contrast, regions like California, where Native people moved seasonally, presented logistical obstacles to the maintenance of a mission colony. In these areas, Franciscans and other missionaries typically attempted to concentrate dispersed Indigenous communities at newly built mission establishments. These differences aside, the fundamental blueprint for Spanish missions across North America revolved around the interrelated policies of reducción and congregación. Native communities, regardless of existing settlement patterns, were to be centered on specific mission sites.

While Franciscan missionaries were focused on religious conversion and saving souls, mission conscription was also aimed at building a peasant population that would support the Spanish empire (Schneider 2021a:57). Chairman Lopez points out that cultural traditions were frequently demeaned as the Indians were being re-educated to become Christians. Over time, there was a shift from proselytizing non-Christian Natives for the good of their souls to filling the ever-decreasing mission labor pool due to fugitivism and horrific death rates caused by disease, culture shock, and the conditions of colonialism. This also led to changing conscription strategies, including increased use of force, and expansion of the mission conscription area. Father Mariano Payeras, writing in 1820, expresses his dismay over the dissonance between the goal of the missionaries and their actual results:

> It is a goal of all missionaries to the heathen… to draw them out of the sierras and ravines and gather them for catechism and polity on the plains, there forming towns… which have all religious and civil conveniences. That, my Fathers, has been the task of our predecessors and ourselves in Alta California… from 1769 to the present time.

> [But] it pains and saddens our Christian hearts exceedingly because where we expected a beautiful and flourishing church and some beautiful towns… we find ourselves with missions or rather with a people miserable and sick, with rapid depopulation of Rancherias which with profound horror fills the cemeteries.
>
> Every thoughtful missionary has noted that while the gentiles procreate easily and are healthy and robust… in the wilds, in spite of hunger, nakedness and living completely outdoors almost like beasts, as soon as they commit themselves to a sociable and Christian life, they become extremely feeble, lose weight, get sick, and die. This plague affects the women particularly, especially those who have recently become pregnant (Payeras 1995:225).

The Myth of Volunteer "Recruitment"

Many California mission sites present a narrative that paints Native Californians as willing, happy converts (see Lorimer 2016 and Sepulveda 2016 for overviews of the California "mission myth"). The preponderance of evidence indicates, however, that Native Californians did not simply walk into the missions happily. Multiple, intersecting factors contributed to Native baptism and affiliation or relocation to the missions. Factors that have been previously explored include: curiosity, experimentation, and religious attraction; interest in or persuasion by gifts of clothing, beads, food, and other items; maintaining or forging socio-political alliances and kinship relationships and as an avenue for status and prestige; environmental change and food shortages; disease, death, and depopulation within home villages; psychological disruption; and aggressive proselytization through intimidation and force (e.g., Arellano et al. 2021; Costo and Costo 1987; Hackel 2005; Johnson 1989; Larson et al. 1994; Madley 2019; Milliken 1995; Peelo 2009; Rizzo-Martinez 2022; Sandos 2004). Together these factors contributed to reorganization of Indigenous socio-political and economic life on a massive scale.

Prevailing scholarly thought holds that Native people were compelled to join the missions over time as external circumstances resulted in increasingly constrained options and dissolution of Native village communities and larger kinship and exchange networks (e.g., Hackel 2005; Larson et al. 1994; Milliken 1995). Other recent scholarship more explicitly considers Native agency in making decisions based on Indigenous value systems for how to engage with the mission system and maintain communities and connections with homelands and cultural landscapes (e.g., Panich 2020; Rizzo-Martinez 2022; Schneider 2021a). Native people responded to colonialism in a variety of ways, making choices for individual, family, community, and cultural survival. Many people did make choices other than immediate baptism and mission affiliation. Participation in Catholic religion was also a form of survival allowing Native people to maintain community connections, beliefs, and practices (see Native Voices – FTBMI; Panich 2020:94).

The use of force in proselytizing has been much debated by scholars (see, for example, Madley 2019). Spanish law and policies in California required conversion to be voluntary, officially rejecting the use of force, as purportedly did the Church (Cook 1976a:73-75; Lewis 1987:90-91; Lightfoot 2005:82; Sandos 2004:103). Documentary records and oral history accounts (see, for example, Costo and Costo [1987] on

"The Indian Testimony") are unequivocally clear, however, that force was a very real factor in many Native baptisms. Further, what is identified as "force" may depend on the perspective taken; other forms of coercion or compulsion, besides physical capture, may also be considered force (Lewis 1987:90). Examples of violent early encounters that could be considered Spanish intimidation or psychological violence perpetrated on Native people were common (see, for example, Milliken 1995 and Rizzo-Martinez 2022).

Initially, Spanish officials intentionally avoided outright confrontation, recognizing that they did not have the military power needed for defense against the Native population (Rizzo-Martinez 2022:66). Overt hostility towards the Spanish during the early years of settlement necessitated reliance on soldiers for protection and slowed the pace of mission establishment (Jackson and Castillo 1995:75). Cook (1976a:73-80) and Madley (2019), among others, provide a number of examples of use of physical force and outline two main periods for Native baptisms—prior to around 1790-1800 characterized by a policy of persuasion as the mission system was established, and use of force increasing after that point. Timing of this transition varied; Rizzo-Martinez (2022) proposes that for Mission Santa Cruz and the greater San Francisco Bay Area, this shift happened during the early 1800s.

Regardless of the factors and strategies that led to mission affiliation, once baptized, Native people were legally considered wards of the Church, backed by the government and military, and their freedom to reject the mission system was revoked (Madley 2019:20). To the Franciscans, this meant they had full control over all aspects of baptized Native people's lives, including, in most cases, requiring them to relocate to the missions following the policies of reducción and congregación (Missions San Luis Rey and San Diego were exceptions where only partial reducción was enforced). Yet Native people continually insisted on spending time outside the missions, going to their homelands with or without authorization. This was sometimes done as a condition of accepting baptism, especially as people were brought to the missions from greater distances (Hackel 2005:286; Milliken 1995:95). In concession and mutual accommodation, a system of paseo (approved leave) was established that allowed colonial authorities to grant permission to Native people to take leave from the missions (Panich 2020:71; Schneider 2021a:66-67). Formalized by the Spanish to monitor Native people's movements after the Quechan Revolt in 1781 at Yuma (see II.C.1), Native people used the paseo system as another way to sustain cultural practices and relationships with people and places (see II.C.2; Milliken 1995:95; Schneider 2021a:67).

Native people also continued to leave the missions regardless of permission status, sometimes in large numbers. Missionaries often used baptized Native auxiliaries (military supplement) to proselytize and forcibly return fugitives (Cook 1976a:74-75; Sandos 2004:102-104). Native people may have also used opportunities to participate in these activities to maximize benefits for themselves or settle old scores (Panich 2020:104). When Native people continued to resist missionization, the missionaries turned to the military who captured runaways and unbaptized individuals (Cook 1976a:75-76; Panich 2020:104). As an example of forced "recruitment," Achille Schabelski, a Russian visitor to California in 1823, observed:

> The manner of converting the Indians being the same today as it was before [independence from Spain], and having had previous occasion of seeing it put into

practice with my own eyes, you may judge from this description that it did not at all conform to the principles of Christianity.

The commander of the presidio sends a detachment of soldiers to the mission in order to augment the number of inhabitants. The missionaries give them the converted Indians who, having embraced Christianity for a long time, speak Spanish well and serve as guides and interpreters for the soldiers.

Having left the mission, they travel over the country and as soon as they notice indications of some habitations, they stop to await the night, and send out the cleverest Indians to reconnoiter the area. Having assured themselves that it is a village, they swoop down on it during the night making loud cries. The Natives… who have only a bow as a weapon, rush out of their houses and are greeted with a fusillade of musket fire. This they hear for the first time and, seized by panic, they seek safety in flight. The Spaniards, profiting from the disorder, throw themselves on them and throw lassos around their bodies. As soon as an Indian is caught, he is dragged to the ground and the soldier rides at a great gallop [dragging him] so that the Indian is weakened by the loss of blood from his wounds. He is then bound and turned over to the Indian allies.

If the soldiers, after having trapped several dozen miserable Indians, perceive that their holy zeal will not produce any more captives, they return to the mission. The reverend fathers received their new infants and make them embrace Christianity. Such is the manner employed in California to make new proselytes for the Catholic religion (Farris 1993:5).

Examples of Mission Conscription Strategies

This subject is discussed extensively by Advisory Committee members in the Native Voices section of this document, focusing on use of sacred places and baptizing children (see specifically AMTB and FTBMI). The missionaries were particularly adept in using sacred and important Indigenous places which were quickly claimed for Catholic proselytizing events, for example, transforming Indigenous icons to Catholic ones. Another pattern in mission conscription was child baptisms as a strategy to bring families into the missions. In the writings of Father Junipero Serra, there is evidence of a conscious plan to focus first on baptizing young Indians with the expectation that they would quickly pick up the Spanish language and act as interpreters between their parents and the priests (Beebe and Senkewicz 2015:222-225). With these baptisms the Spanish offered gifts, including beads and wool clothes or blankets to attract families with children (Rizzo-Martinez 2022:44). This pattern likely reflects an act of mutual accommodation which allowed Native people to forge new alliances without immediately submitting to lifestyle changes, but also provided Franciscans with a foothold in new areas (Panich 2020:77). Native people may have further relied on these early baptisms as a strategy for information-gathering on the missions, as previously suggested by Edward Ketchum, Vice-Chairman and Tribal Historian for the AMTB (cited in Rizzo-Martinez 2022:44).

Rizzo-Martinez (2022:49 citing Williams 1892) provides a compelling quote from Lorenzo Asisara, an Ohlone man born at Mission Santa Cruz:

> First were taken the children, and then the parents followed. The padres would erect a hut, and light the candles to say mass, and the Indians, attracted by the light—thinking they were stars—would approach, and soon be taken. These would bring in others, such as their relatives.

Children dominated early baptisms at Missions Santa Cruz and Santa Clara (Milliken 1995; Rizzo-Martinez 2022). Panich (2020:67) reports a poignant story of an Ohlone couple near modern day San Jose whose baby daughter was gravely ill, as were many other children in the village in 1777. When Father Tomás de la Peña came to the village and claimed he could save the baby, the parents reluctantly agreed as a desperate measure. The priest baptized several children at multiple villages that day and returned to the newly founded Mission Santa Clara. These were the first baptisms to take place in the San Francisco Bay region (Milliken 1995:67). Although the baby survived, Panich (2020) reports that one-third of the baptized children died. Similarly, Stoll et al. (2016:Table 74) report infants baptized at Missions San Gabriel and San Fernando Rey as a last resort by desperate parents, with most succumbing to diseases soon after baptism.

When Mission San Buenaventura and the Presidio of Santa Bárbara were founded in Chumash homelands in 1782, Governor Neve initially hoped to avoid reducción, instead seeing the missions solely as religious sites rather than centers for relocation and industry. He envisioned Native people remaining in their villages after baptism and working for the Spanish at the Presidio while continuing to engage in their traditional economy. Yanonali, a powerful Chumash leader governing a community centered on the Native town of Syuxtun, negotiated an agreement to provide labor to build the Presidio in Yanonali's territory in exchange for trade items. Syuxtun was one of the largest Chumash coastal villages and played an important role in the Chumash bead trade and interregional trading system. In this agreement, Syuxtun would not convert to Christianity and Yanonali would maintain autonomous leadership. Similar agreements were made with other Chumash leaders. In this way the Chumash were initially able to retain greater autonomy and bring the mission system into their traditional economy, building on existing relationships in which the political elite brokered exchange (Haas (2014:16-17).

Just a few years later, when Missions Santa Bárbara and La Purísima were founded in 1786 and 1787, respectively, the Spanish government and missionaries again instituted reducción requiring baptized Chumash to physically move to mission sites. In the 1790s, Chumash people began to enter the missions in larger numbers. Yanonali was baptized in 1797, making a new agreement for the people of Syuxtun to remain in their town after baptism; however, they would relocate to Mission Santa Bárbara within a few years. More than sixty percent of Coastal and Interior Chumash traditional villages had been abandoned by 1802 as people moved into the missions. The remaining autonomous Chumash villages were absorbed into the mission system within a decade of the founding of Mission Santa Inés in 1804 (Haas 2014:17-21).

Rizzo-Martinez (2022:80) highlights how Native people from the same Indigenous village were split between missions. For example, people from the village of Ausaima in the San Felipe Sink were split

between Missions Santa Cruz and San Juan Bautista. Some Tribes were primarily taken to Mission Santa Cruz, for example the Tomoi (between 1806 and 1808) of the Pacheco Pass area. Johnson (2018:142) also points out that the majority of people at each of the three largest Chumash villages in the Cuyama region became associated with different missions. Intentional or not, such splitting or clustering of Tribes was an effective manipulation of power-relations within and between Tribes, while providing new avenues and opportunities to negotiate socio-political relationships for the colonizers.

Experiences of the Payómkawichum in Southern California were somewhat unique and illustrate the high variability in mission conscription strategies. Mission San Luis Rey was founded in Payómkawichum homelands in 1798, but locally available resources could not sustain a large population (Haas 2014:29-33). So the missionaries established agreements with neighboring Native communities for the resources needed to grow in size and wealth. For example, based on earlier experiences with occupation along the Chumash coast, Father Lasuén instituted a policy of partial reducción. Baptized and non-baptized Indigenous people lived together in Indigenous villages similar to a pattern common elsewhere in the Spanish Americas but not in California. Some Payómkawichum people worked in the mission system, particularly in agriculture and ranching, without affiliating with the mission for decades or never being affiliated. Although a chapel was also built at San Antonio de Pala Asistencia, no missionaries lived there and as late as 1825 some locals remained unaffiliated with the mission. Many Payómkawichum villages in the interior hinterlands were able to retain a greater degree of autonomy from the missions compared to other areas and remained populated throughout the Mission Period (Haas 2014:34). A similar policy of partial reducción was also employed in San Diego in Kumeyaay homelands where many affiliates also lived outside the mission.

I.B.2 – Expansion of Mission Influence

This section focuses on expansion of the mission system's geographic sphere of influence through time. Mission records document the demographic makeup of each mission and can be used as a proxy to examine the pace of movement of Native Californians from their homelands into Spanish mission colonial centers (McLendon and Johnson 1999; Milliken 1995, 2006, 2008, 2010; Milliken and Johnson 2005; Milliken et al. 2010). Spanish missionaries were required to record baseline information when baptizing each individual. Baptismal records from each mission include a unique sequential identification number for each person, baptismal date, Native name, a new Spanish name (allowing their gender to be determined), and approximate age. Typically, mission records also included the Native ranchería, or community of origin. The meaning of ranchería is somewhat ambiguous and may have signified "either an inhabited place or a community of people with a shared identity who live in a given region" (Milliken 2006:7). Exactly where each ranchería was located, however, was rarely documented in these archival sources. Subsequently, researchers have invested considerable effort in reconstructing village locations and the nature of Native landholding groups (for the history of this work, see Milliken 2006:7-18 and the references therein).

Overall, colonial impacts on traditional village lifeways via relocation to the Spanish missions spread out from the missions in a time-transgressive fashion, referred to by Bennyhoff (1977) as the "domino effect" in which Tribes closest to the missions generally were brought in earlier than those located

farther away. Milliken writes of an "outreach area" for each mission, "the area from which the mission drew recruits and the area within which Tribal life was torn asunder by the end of the mission period" (Milliken 2008:1-3). The missions of Alta California were largely established near the Pacific coast between San Diego County in the south and Marin and Sonoma Counties in the north; therefore, Tribes living along the coast and nearby inland areas were the first to be colonized.

Communities initially affected included Kumeyaay, Ohlone, Tongva, Salinan, Chumash, Acjachemen, Esselen, Tatavium, Payómkawichum, and Coast Miwok-speaking Tribes. Initially, when conscription was focused on lands close to mission colonial centers, each mission was "home" to Indigenous people from a few nearby villages. Therefore, the first generation born in the missions typically shared an ethnolinguistic and cultural background. In later years, conscription expanded geographically to include the interior southern California desert, Central Valley, and even the foothills of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and Cahuilla, Cupeño, Serrano, Yokuts, Plains Miwok, Sierra Miwok, and Nisenan people (Cook 1962). In the north, Patwin, Lake Miwok, Wappo, and Pomo people were also drawn into the missions, especially after the founding of the outstation that later became Mission San Rafael (1817) and Mission San Francisco Solano (1823). Other impacted Native Peoples in the south include Vanyumé, Kitanemuk, Pai Pai, and Kiliwa (**Table 3**). As the area of mission conscription expanded, the missions became "home" to diverse, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual communities.

Pace of Relocation from Traditional Homelands to Mission Colonial Centers

The most comprehensive effort to reconstruct the pace and scale of Spanish relocation efforts throughout California using mission records are the ethno-geographic studies of Milliken (2006, 2008, 2010). The resulting Community Distribution Model (CDM) includes an associated database of each baptized Native American and an assessment of home village or community through familial reconstitution, kinship network analysis, and the domino effect (Bennyhoff 1977; Milliken 2006:19-29). Milliken then constructed mapping regions using GIS polygons to represent the relative placement of communities on the landscape. He made it clear that these mapping "regions" represented only the general placement of Native American territorial communities on the landscape and not actual boundaries (Appendix B: Figure 1; Milliken 2006:20-21).

Milliken's database has been animated and used to visualize via a web application how the pace of Native American relocation took place (focusing on the depopulation of territorial communities) and at the regional scale adding in the movement of individuals within territorial communities in the San Francisco Bay Area (Byrd and DeArmond 2018). Archivally predicted persistence of some territorial communities in the Bay Area has also been independently verified by analysis of archaeological data (Byrd et al. 2018). These results provide a foundation for future archaeological research into initial reactions to colonial intrusion in consideration of traditional Native communities within the ever-expanding catchment range of the missions. Thus, these geospatial data can aid in understanding how the impacts of colonialism played out on a larger scale, and how the pace and extent of relocation impact varied by region within modern California.

Figure 9 presents snapshots in time of the cumulative rates of baptisms within individual territorial communities between 1790 and 1820 showing a dynamic landscape of colonial-induced cultural change and persistence (based on baptismal records of 45,712 Native Californians from 392 discrete communities). This map shows a general set of patterns, and it is important to recognize that some individuals in the mission records lack baptismal dates, territorial community is uncertain for some, and others avoided being baptized at all. Moreover, a one hundred percent baptismal rate does not mean that Native American culture or societies ended, and certainly not that a community's ties to its homeland ceased (Schneider 2015a). Instead, these trends reveal that use of the traditional landscape was reconfigured both in context and practice, taking on new forms due to colonial pressures.

Several trends are evident in Figure 9, notably that this overall process plays out over a considerable period and the pace varies by setting. Following the domino effect, coastal settings were depopulated first, as most missions were located relatively near the coast, and extended farther and farther inland as time went on. In contrast, there is a much later direct colonial impact on the central San Joaquin/lowermost Sacramento Valley and North Coast Ranges, with these generally occurring forty-five or more years after the start of Spanish colonization.

Several factors contributed to this varied and complex colonial landscape and how regional populations responded to these intrusions, including the setting and varied spacing of the early missions, the timing and location of subsequent missions, and differences in terrain. The colonial approach to subjugating Indigenous Tribes and Tribal reactions also varied. As a result of the varied timing of baptisms and relocations in western California, archaeological evidence of traditional community persistence, as well as new and varied forms of colonial-induced interactions and adaptive changes should be diverse.

Mission Impacts Beyond the Coast

Mission impacts were felt well beyond occupied Indigenous homelands through expanded conscription and the spread of technologies, horses, goods, and ideas, along with disease and violence. For example, as reported by Chairwoman of the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians Historic Preservation Advisory Board Larea Lewis (2013) for the Desert Cahuilla (see *Native Voices*). Although there were periodic plans to expand the missions into the Central Valley, none were realized largely due to environmental challenges (e.g., the extensive marshland) and effective Native resistance (Bernard and Robinson 2018:113). Instead, Indigenous people of the Central Valley and other inland areas were brought into existing missions. This was particularly true of the more inland missions—San Juan Bautista, Santa Clara, and San José. However, some coastal missions, for example Santa Cruz, also took in people from the Tulares (as the Central Valley was called; Rizzo-Martinez 2022). Extensive conscription of Central Valley Yokuts began during the 1810s although initial relationships had already been formed by that time and affiliation to some missions had already begun (Haas 2014:38-42; Rizzo-Martinez 2022:143). Interestingly, even after the missions were secularized in 1834, there were instances of Yokuts people from the valley being brought into Missions San José and San Miguel. A possible reason was a devastating malarial epidemic that swept through the Central Valley in 1833 (Milliken 2008; Milliken and Johnson 2005).

Yokuts interactions with colonizers were complex, transforming and becoming more adversarial over time. During precontact times, Yokuts were well-established intermediaries for coastal and trans-sierran trade, and they continued to act in this capacity incorporating the mission system into their economy through both trading and raiding (Haas 2014:38-39, 42-44, 178). Yokuts homelands also became a safe refuge for Tribes escaping colonial pressures. Between 1810 and 1820, nearly every Yokuts village took in Indigenous refugees and had also obtained horses which greatly improved Yokut raiding activities. These factors led to increased conflict and violence during encounters with Spanish and Mexican forays to retrieve fugitives, increase conscription, and punish Yokuts for helping runaways and raiding. On multiple occasions explorers were sent into this area to scout out the villages and then engaged in punitive expeditions to bring back escaped Native people (Cook 1960, 1962). The resulting violence was extreme, including burning entire villages such as Wowol whose inhabitants refused to give up fugitives from Mission San Miguel in 1816 (Haas 2014:42).

Languages Spoken in the Missions

One of the objectives of the missionaries was for Native Californians to stop using their Native languages and to learn Spanish. This is consistent with the missionaries' efforts to stop long-standing cultural practices of Indigenous Peoples and replace them with Spanish Catholic practices. As such, the persistence of Native languages was greatly affected. The missionaries expected the younger generations born in the missions to predominantly use the Spanish language. Some priests did endeavor to learn Native languages, specifically to reach out to older generations within and outside the missions. Some priests also documented Indigenous vocabularies which have become valuable to linguists and Tribes. Perhaps the most famous missionary linguist was Father Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta at Mission San Juan Bautista who took down a number of vocabularies from speakers of various languages (Weber 1983:8-11). Based on his compilations, linguist J. Alden Mason (1916) published a "Mutsun Dialect of Costanoan." In some cases, a linguist priest would prepare a confesionario (a guide for priests taking confessions). One such volume that has survived was prepared by Father José Señán at Mission San Buenaventura (Beeler 1967).

An interrogatorio (questionnaire) about life in the missions was sent out by Don Ciriaco González Carvajal, Secretary of the Department of Overseas Colonies, in late 1812 to the missions of California. Responses trickled in between 1813 and 1815 from eighteen of the nineteen missions then in existence (the responses for La Purísima have not been found; Geiger and Meighan 1976:19-21). In a section devoted to linguistics, for some missions (for instance, San Diego, San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, and Santa Bárbara) it was reported that only one Native language was spoken. For many others (e.g., San Gabriel, San Fernando, San Francisco, Santa Clara, San Antonio), multiple languages were identified. At Mission San José, there were at least nine languages (Milliken 2008:3-5). It should be taken into account that with the new and varied people brought into the missions after 1815, the language count for any given mission may have increased after the interrogatorio was completed.

Table 4 presents the relative percentage of Native language speakers at each mission. The results are derived from Milliken's CDM California Mission Database inferred from Spanish mission baptismal records (Milliken 2006; Milliken et al. 2010); only individuals whose parents both spoke the same Native

language are included for a total sample size of 61,631 recorded between 1769 and 1833 (mission record-keeping was less consistent after secularization). It should also be noted that the data are sparser from some missions, including the three southernmost missions, with minimal data from Mission San Diego.

The twenty-one Spanish missions included six in Ohlone territory, five in Chumash territory, four in Takic territory—one each among the Payómkawichum, Acjachemen, Tongva, and Tataviam, two each in Salinan and Coast Miwok territory, and one each in Kumeyaay and Esselen territory (Milliken et al. 2010:Figure 10) (**Figure 2**). Mission locations dictated the initial language spoken, the local one, with multiple languages added as Native people were drawn in from farther and farther away so that the language composition of each mission changed through time.

Table 4. Relative Percentage of Native Californians by Natal Language at Each Mission.

Missions (south-north)	San Diego	San Luis Rey	San Juan Capistrano	San Gabriel	San Fernando Rey	San Buenaventura	Santa Bárbara	Santa Inés	La Purísima	San Luis Obispo	San Miguel	San Antonio	Soledad	San Carlos Borromeo	San Juan Bautista	Santa Cruz	Santa Clara	San José	San Francisco de Asís	San Rafael	San Francisco Solano	Total
Year Established	1769	1798	1776	1771	1797	1782	1786	1804	1787	1772	1797	1771	1791	1770	1797	1791	1777	1797	1776	1817	1823	-
Language Territory	Kumeyaay	Takic Payómka-wichum	Takic Payómka-wichum	Takic Tongva	Takic Tongva	Chumash	Chumash	Chumash	Chumash	Chumash	Salinan	Salinan	Esselen	Ohlone	Ohlone	Ohlone	Ohlone	Ohlone	Ohlone	Coast Miwok	Coast Miwok	-
Chumash	-	-	-	0.2%	20.0%	99.0%	100%	95.0%	98.0%	91.0%	6.0%	0.5%	-	0.04%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,049
Bay Miwok	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.01%	6.0%	11.0%	-	-	1,068
Coast Miwok	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.0%	34.0%	53.0%	3.0%	3,502
Kumeyaay	79.0%	8.0%	0.2%	0.4%	0.05%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	133
Esselen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.0%	19.0%	27.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,207
Pomo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.04%	0.01%	-	43.0%	3.0%	837
Lake Miwok	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.0%	16
Sierra Miwok	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.3%	-	1.1%	1.8%	4.0%	3.0%	0.02%	-	0.2%	621
Nisenan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.04%	-	-	-	0.9%	-	-	-	66
Ohlone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.3%	44.0%	72%	61.0%	68.0%	79.0%	22.0%	37.0%	-	-	16,642
Plains Miwok	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1%	37.0%	-	-	-	2,847
Patwin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1%	7.0%	13.0%	0.4%	59.0%	2,046
Salinan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.03%	0.4%	67.0%	93.0%	1.0%	0.04%	0.1%	0.05%	-	0.03%	0.02%	-	-	4,864
Takic	21.0%	92.0%	100%	99.0%	79.0%	0.1%	-	-	0.03%	0.04%	-	0.0%	-	0.2%	0.02%	-	0.01%	-	-	-	-	5,312
Wappo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1%	4.0%	3.0%	33.0%	735
Yokuts	-	-	-	-	0.6%	0.5%	0.4%	5.0%	2.0%	8.0%	27.0%	3.0%	35.0%	1%	38.0%	30.0%	17.0%	18.0%	0.02%	-	-	6,686
Total (n)	**48**	**1,034**	**867**	**1,775**	**2,155**	**3,606**	**4,272**	**1,258**	**3,151**	**2,559**	**2,240**	**3,557**	**2,015**	**2,687**	**4,034**	**2,173**	**7,592**	**7,609**	**5,893**	**1,843**	**1,263**	**61,631**

Notes: Data derived from the Community Distribution Model California Mission Database (Milliken 2006; Milliken et al. 2010) for all California missions between 1769 and 1833.

There are three exceptions where the local language was not the majority language spoken—Missions Soledad, San José, and San Francisco Solano. All were founded after the first eleven missions, contributing to their Indigenous makeup. Mission San José was founded in 1791 well within Ohlone territory and not far north of Mission Santa Clara founded in 1777. The Spanish had hoped to situate the mission farther north but hostilities with Bay Miwok caused a change in plans. As a result, Ohlone near Mission San José were conscripted mainly in the early years of this mission (representing the second-most numerous language group), and then the Spanish focused on more distant Yokuts and Miwok (with Plains Miwok the most common) speakers. At Mission Soledad, founded in 1797 within Esselen territory, the Spanish focused on acquiring conscripts from Indigenous lands to the west. As a result, more Ohlone and distant Yokuts were baptized than Esselen speakers since many had previously been brought into nearby Mission San Carlos. Mission San Francisco Solano, founded in 1823, after Mexican independence, was in Coast Miwok territory but mainly Patwin and then Wappo were brought there and baptized. The mission labor pool included only three percent Coast Miwok due to almost fifty years of depopulation of their territory by the Spanish, and conscription to the three prior closest missions.

In terms of the relative percentage of the predominate Indigenous language spoken by mission conscripts, the average per mission based on Milliken et al.'s (2010) database was seventy-six percent. At more than half of the missions (n=12), between seventy-nine percent and almost one hundred percent of Indigenous inhabitants spoke a single natal language, that of the people whose lands the mission was situated in. Another six missions had fifty-nine to seventy-two percent of mission enclave workers speaking one natal language, and only three had less than fifty percent of the Native residents from a single language group. The latter three missions are all in the northern half of Spanish colonial territory, including two of the exceptions discussed above (Missions Soledad and San José). The other is Mission San Francisco de Asís (founded in 1776) where five languages were represented—Ohlone (the local language group) made up the greatest number of speakers (37%), followed by the nearby Coast Miwok (34%), Patwin (13%), Bay Miwok (11%), and Wappo (4%). At this mission, the Ohlone were the earliest brought inside the mission walls as serfs for the Spanish, followed by Coast Miwok and Bay Miwok, and only later were Patwin and Wappo speakers brought to the mission. Overall, prominent language diversity (defined by the number of language groups constituting five percent or more at a mission) is greatest in the north half of the Spanish colonial region of California. This is masked somewhat in the database by the lack of distinction between Southern California Takic languages.

I.B.3 – Disease, Violence, and Scale of Native Deaths in the Missions

Scholars have long debated the demographic effects of the mission system on Native Californians (Cook 1976a, 1976b; Jackson and Castillo 1995). While none would argue that the missions were beneficial to the health of Indigenous populations, an emerging consensus in anthropology and history rejects the idea that Native depopulation was caused by "virgin soil epidemics" alone (Cameron et al. 2015). Instead, recent research is informed by public health perspectives that demonstrate how the conditions of colonialism made diseases so deadly for Native people at places like the California missions (Jones 2015). In particular, the Alta California missions relied on a system of forced relocation, rigid social controls, and heavy labor demands—not to mention outright violence at times—that combined with introduced Eurasian diseases to take a terrible toll on Native Californian communities. Rather than simply a lack of immunity to foreign pathogens, it was the synergistic effects of disease, violence, and cultural

suppression that resulted in the premature deaths of tens of thousands of Native people in Alta California (Jones et al. 2021).

Disease

The Spanish, like foreign colonizers the world over, brought with them illnesses and diseases to which the Native inhabitants had no resistance, resulting in catastrophic deaths. These diseases ranged from outbreaks and epidemics of cholera, measles, and smallpox that ravaged the population causing death in short order, to slower-acting, horribly debilitating venereal diseases that became endemic, especially syphilis, reducing overall immunity (Jackson and Castillo 1995:41-42; Sandos 2004:111-127). Venereal diseases in particular became well established in California starting very early in the Spanish occupation (Hackel 2005:116-117; Sandos 2004:116). These led to a reduction in fertility and greater mortality in younger age groups that appear to have occurred in Native populations both inside and outside the missions, as Johnson (1989:371-372, 2018:145) identifies for the Chumash region (see also Walker and Johnson 1992). Counter to prior hypotheses, in their recent analysis of mortality in precontact compared to Mission Period Native populations, Jones et al. (2021) demonstrate that there is little evidence for significant deaths from introduced disease prior to sustained European presence in California and the massive accompanying disruption. High stress levels due to social and psychological dislocation would have also weakened immune systems and contributed to general depression among mission populations (Jackson and Castillo 1995:52-53).

Diseases and their carriers easily thrived in the mission environments, where Native people lived in both traditional and adobe housing (Sandos 2004:111-127). Even the "upscale" nature of adobe housing that the Spanish introduced added to the transmission of deadly elements (Farris 2016:39). Whereas traditional dwellings could be regularly burned to eliminate pests, this was not a viable option in permanent, adobe buildings and structures. The frequency of pulgas (fleas) in names given to places by the Spanish is witness to the ubiquity of these disease carriers. In addition, the Spanish forced Indigenous people to change their cultural behavior and wear clothing covering their entire bodies without much regular change of clothing. Banning ritual cleansing sweat baths also contributed to disease spread (Walker 2001:291).

The first documented outbreak occurred in 1777, leading to the first baptisms in the San Francisco Bay region, but the disease and extent of spread are unknown (Cook 1976a:18; Walker and Johnson 1992:130; Milliken 1995:67). Epidemics affecting multiple missions over larger areas included diphtheria and pneumonia in 1801-1802 and measles in 1806 that was perhaps the worst, having swept through rapidly from the south and affecting Native populations both inside and outside the missions (Cook 1976a:18-19; Johnson 2018:135-136, 139; Milliken 1995:174). During the six weeks that the 1806 measles epidemic raged at Mission San José, 140 men, women and children died; overall sixteen percent of the total population (Milliken 1995:194; 2008:45-46). There is some evidence of a potential prior measles epidemic; in the 1806 epidemic the very young were susceptible and not the very old, suggesting potential immunity from previous exposure.

Outbreaks and epidemics continued periodically through the Mission Period. An early smallpox epidemic in 1825 was documented in Cahuilla territory in southern California (Bean et al. 1991:18, as cited in Lewis

2013:48). In 1827-1828, another measles epidemic killed up to twenty percent of the population of Mission San Carlos (Jackson and Castillo 1995:42; Hackel 2005:114). In 1833 a malaria epidemic swept through the Central Valley of California that heavily impacted Yokuts (Cook 1955). Interestingly, Walker (2001:282-283) argues although introduced diseases did play a substantial role in the declining health of Native people within the missions, there is inconsistent evidence suggesting widespread epidemics of highly communicable diseases (except syphilis). Smallpox doesn't appear much until later in many areas, in the decade following mission secularization (Walker and Johnson 1994:118). It struck in the north in the vicinity of Sonoma in 1837-38, having been introduced from the Russian settlement of Fort Ross (Smilie 1975:67). In 1844, smallpox killed people throughout California, including seventy-five percent of the Indian community around La Purísima (Johnson 1995:5-6; Walker and Johnson 1992:135).

At many of the missions, priests repeatedly expressed concerns about the high levels of disease and death in the Native population (Cook 1976a; Lorimer 2016:155; Sandos 2004:111-127). Yet the missionaries believed that epidemics were a punishment sent by God, and a lack of doctors with knowledge of European illnesses and medical supplies hindered health care in California (Jackson and Castillo 1995:42; Lorimer 2016:156). At a time when the chief medical treatment in the area was bloodletting using leeches (Farris 2012:109, 336), little good could be done for the poor sufferers of these dread diseases. In one effort to improve the situation of Native people living at the missions, it was decided to build a new facility on the north side of San Francisco Bay in 1817 to provide the sick with a healthier environment and better treatment (Geiger 1969:104). It was initially founded as an asistencia under the direction of Father Luis Gil y Taboada who had previously provided rudimentary medical services at Mission La Purísima; this later became Mission San Rafael.

Violence

Violence was an integral part of the Franciscan missionary approach, and corporal punishment was used to control the behavior of Native people to keep them from leaving the missions or to force them to return, and in "recruitment" (Hackel 2005:322-335; Madley 2019). All Native people at the missions lived under the threat of violence, and even unbaptized Native people living outside of the missions could be sentenced to corporal punishment. Soldiers policed the countryside between and around the missions imposing corporal punishment and other acts of violence (Hackel 2005:336-344). Violence between Native groups outside the missions also increased during the Mission Period, potentially exacerbated by other factors such as dietary stress, social disruption, and epidemic diseases (Walker and Johnson 1992:130-131; Jones et al. 2021:4).

Corporal punishment was imposed in response to running away, stealing, fighting, drunkenness, "concubinage," and other acts seen as disobedience by mission system officials (Walker and Johnson 1992:131). Missionaries often used soldiers or Indian alcaldes (elected officials) to deliver punishments, but would also directly participate, as in the case of Father de la Peña at Mission Santa Clara (Hackel 2005:327-329; Jackson and Castillo 1995:83). Some missionaries were particularly abusive, such as de la Peña, and Father Quintana who reportedly used a metal-tipped whip for floggings and was eventually assassinated by a coalition of Native people at Mission Santa Cruz in 1812 (Rizzo-Martinez 2022:115).

Violence in the missions took multiple forms, and probably the most common was flogging (Beebe and Senkewicz 2015:364; La Pérouse 1989:88-89). Since self-flagellation was engaged by some Franciscan priests, including Father Serra, it made sense to them that flogging was a reasonable approach to corrective punishment (Beebe and Senkewicz 2015:365). Corporal punishment was not typically used by California Native people for discipline or justice and would have caused psychological as well as physical harm, especially when performed in the open and paired with public humiliation (Hackel 2005:321; Jackson and Castillo 1995:83). Other types of punishment included placing Native people in the stocks for days at a time, hobbling while still requiring them to perform simple labor tasks, beating with a cudgel, imprisonment, and hard labor (Cook 1976a:118, 126; Hackel 2005:325-326; Miranda 2013:10-15). For more serious offences such as conspiracy, murder, and armed rebellion, Native people were sometimes executed (Cook 1976a:116-121).

Rape, leading to transmission of venereal diseases, and other violent acts by soldiers were serious problems that priests and civil authorities struggled with (Lorimer 2016:155-156, 160; Sandos 2004:51). Some examples include the rape of two young girls, ages 10 and 11, at Mission Soledad by three Spanish soldiers; continuous seizing and raping of women at Mission San Luis Obispo; the repeated rape of two Native women by four Spanish soldiers at Mission San Diego; and soldiers on horseback at Mission San Gabriel lassoing Indian women "to become prey for their unbridled lust" (Chávez-García 2004:3-4, 9-10). Archival evidence suggests that Native men built relationships with Spanish soldiers, forged by gender, whereby they "supplied women to as many soldiers as asked for them" (Bouvier 2001:102-103). Some Native villages physically or otherwise rearranged their communities to protect women from assault, for example by having them stay closer to home rather than venturing out for plant collecting (Lorimer 2016:160). Many acts of sexual violence went unpunished, and likely many more unreported (Hackel 2005:225-226).

The missionaries used monjeríos (locked dormitories for girls) as a way to control the sexual and reproductive lives of Native people, ostensibly to protect women's "virtue" from sexual promiscuity or predation (Lorimer 2016:162-165). Walker (2001:390), however, attributed these dormitories as being prime disease-spreading contexts because of unsanitary conditions. The dormitories also did not necessarily protect women from assault. In the early twentieth century, linguist and ethnologist John Peabody Harrington documented an account of routine rapes by a priest in the monjerío at Mission San Buenaventura (Madley 2019:34). This story was recounted to him by a Chumash man named Kitsepawit, or Fernando Librado, as it had been passed from Woqoch, or Old Lucas, who had been a sacristan at the mission. Isabel Meadows, an Ohlone woman and culture bearer, also told Harrington of assault by a priest on a young girl, Vicenta Gutierrez, at Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Miranda 2013:22-26). Native informants at Mission Santa Cruz also described sexual assault against girls living in the monjerío by a resident priest (Bouvier 2001:137-138).

In the confesionario for Mission San Buenaventura, the questions being asked about sins to be confessed were often of a rather personal nature, especially when it came to the subject of sexual activity. The priests were very concerned about practices that would limit population growth (for example, Beeler 1967:39). Abortions and infanticide were means of resistance to social control, with some specific instances reported in cases of rape (e.g., Sandos 2004:56, 167). Poor reproductive health resulting from

diseases also caused reduced fertility and women to miscarry (Sandos 2004:124-125). Some missionaries, believing all infertility and miscarriages were intentional, or that regardless both voluntary and involuntary abortion were against God's will, punished mission Natives, especially women, harshly. Castillo (1989:380; Jackson and Castillo 1995:82-83) provides a quote from Lorenzo Asisara, an Ohlone man, who related a story of the vicious treatment that Santa Cruz missionary Father Olbes meted out for these perceived infractions. Believing that their infertility was actually a result of intentional abortion, Olbes insisted on inspecting a couples' genitals and when met with resistance from the woman ordered that she be flogged and hold a wooden baby doll in front of the mission church for nine days; her husband was also shackled and made to present in front of the church wearing horns. Father Zalvidea, while stationed at Mission San Gabriel, similarly punished women for stillbirths by shaving their head, forcing them to carry a wooden baby doll, flogging them, and placing them in iron ankle cuffs for three months (Lorimer 2016:161).

Scale of Native Deaths in the Missions

The magnitude of disease and death as a direct result of the Spanish and Mexican mission system in California was unprecedented and devastating. Prior estimates vary significantly. The most widely accepted estimate for total California population pre-1769 is calculated by Cook (1976b:44) at 310,000 people +/- ten percent. Cook (1976b:42) further estimates that by 1845 the Native population of California had dropped by roughly half to no more than 150,000 people. It is impossible to know the exact number of Native Californians who were forced to be baptized and labor at the missions and then died as a result of this colonial conquest. There are several reasons: missing or incomplete baptism and death records, difficulties distinguishing in mission records between Native Californians and the gente de razón (colonists – Spanish and Mexicans) and Native Americans brought to California, and that many Native Californians died from introduced diseases prior to being forced into the missions and others left the missions in ill health hoping to recover in their traditional lands or to die there.

Demographic patterns at the missions clearly indicate low birth rates and very high rates of mortality for infants, young children, and women in their early reproductive years in particular. The resulting sex ratio in populations favored men, in a complete reversal of pre-mission conditions, as described for the Chumash (Johnson 1989:372; Walker and Johnson 1992:130-136). Similarly, fifty years after Mission San Carlos was founded, men outnumbered women between ages 15 and 64 (Hackel 2005:108-109). Cook (1976a:427-432) also identified this trend for the missions collectively and attributed it to high adult female death rates.

Life expectancy for children in the missions was exceedingly low. For example, mortality of Chumash children eight years old or younger at the end of the Mission Period was approximately 900 deaths per 1,000 births (Walker and Johnson 2003). Newell (2009:167) documented that the mean life expectancy for children born at Mission San Francisco was 4.2 years, with records further indicating that life expectancy never exceeded two years between 1793 and 1821. Similarly short life expectancies between 2 and 11.2 years were also the case at other missions, including San Carlos, San Luis Obispo, Santa Cruz, Soledad, San Juan Bautista, and San Miguel (Hackel 2005:107; Jackson and Castillo 1995:53-56). In comparison, life expectancy for children born into soldiers' families at the presidios was high, with mean life expectancy between 1790 and 1834 averaging 31.4 years (Jackson and Castillo 1995:58). Newell (2009)

also notes that the life expectancy of Euro-Americans in Connecticut around the same period was 45 to 50 years.

To present a comprehensive view of the scale of death noted in the mission records, data were derived from the Early California Population Project (ECPP; Table 5). The ECPP was developed between Steven Hackel (2006a) and the Huntington Library and is accessible to researchers online to expand availability of this remarkable resource. The ECPP includes 85,840 recorded baptisms and 59,538 recorded deaths of Native people at the 21 missions in California between 1769 and 1834. People listed as gente de razón were excluded from these counts. For two missions, Soledad and San Luis Rey, death records are not available. Excluding these, ECPP data reveal that on average, at each mission, 4,109 baptisms and 3,134 deaths occurred between 1769 and 1834, representing survivorship of twenty-four percent. Missions did not all operate for equal amounts of time and for this reason and many other variables the actual number of baptisms and deaths varies greatly between missions. Baptism numbers vary from 1,205 Native people at San Francisco Solano, the last mission founded in 1823, to 8,190 Native people at Mission San Gabriel, founded early on in 1771. Native people's deaths recorded at each mission also vary between a low of 647 at Mission San Francisco Solano and a high of 6,670 at Mission Santa Clara. Not surprisingly, the last two missions founded, San Rafael and San Francisco Solano, had the highest overall survivorship (sixty-two percent and forty-six percent, respectively). Santa Inés had the lowest survivorship at six percent, with over half of the missions having a survivorship of less than twenty-five percent.

Table 5. Recorded Baptisms and Deaths by Mission

Mission	Year Established	Years of Operation (through 1834)	Baptisms	Deaths	% Survived
San Diego	1769	65	6,119	4,172	32
San Carlos Borromeo	1770	64	3,062	2,673	13
San Antonio	1771	63	4,417	3,739	15
San Gabriel	1771	63	8,190	5,312	35
San Luis Obispo	1772	62	2,639	2,309	13
San Francisco de Asís	1776	58	6,575	5,201	21
San Juan Capistrano	1776	58	4,418	3,190	28
Santa Clara	1777	57	7,844	6,670	15
San Buenaventura	1782	52	3,838	3,202	17
Santa Bárbara	1786	48	4,593	3,722	19
La Purísima	1787	47	3,271	2,668	18
Santa Cruz	1791	43	2,223	1,919	14
Soledad	1791	43	2,180	No data	No data
San Fernando Rey	1797	37	2,782	1,998	28
San Juan Bautista	1797	37	3,917	2,919	25
San José	1797	37	7,256	5,232	28
San Miguel	1797	37	2,561	2,026	21
San Luis Rey	1798	36	5,586	No data	No data
Santa Inés	1804	30	1,324	1,245	6
San Rafael	1817	17	1,840	694	62
San Francisco Solano	1823	11	1,205	647	46
Total			**85,840**	**59,538**	**--**
Average Per Spanish Outpost [a]	-	-	4,109	3,134	24

Notes: Data from the Early California Population Project Database of baptism, marriage, and burial records from California Missions developed by the Huntington Library. a Excludes missions without death data (Soledad and San Luis Rey).

I.C – NATIVE LANDSCAPES IN COLONIAL CALIFORNIA

Colonization and policies of reducción and congregación led to a fundamental tension between the intended spatial organization of colonial California and the existing Indigenous landscapes into which the missions were inserted (**Figure 10**) (Schneider and Panich 2014). Recognizing Native Californians' use of meaningful places both inside and outside of mission establishments, scholars have developed spatial models that conceptualize the mission-era landscape in California. For example, Lightfoot and colleagues have proposed a range of spatial categories radiating outward from the head missions to more distant hinterlands (Lightfoot and Danis 2018; Lightfoot et al. 2009). Other scholars have attempted to privilege Indigenous experiences of the landscape and have presented spatial models that allow for more explicit examination of Indigenous autonomy in the Mission Period (Panich and Schneider 2015; Schneider 2021a; Zappia 2014). These alternative frameworks offer a Native-centered way of considering the Mission Period landscape across four spatial categories:

1. Interior worlds where California Tribal communities were only minimally or indirectly impacted by colonial presence;
2. Native homelands on the margins of colonial territories, what Schneider (2021a) has termed Indigenous hinterlands;
3. Landscapes of labor where colonial presence was variable; and
4. Native spaces within colonial settlements.

While Franciscans operating in Alta California sought to control Native people's access to ancestral homelands and other important sites in the broader landscape, a careful reading of mission history and archaeology reveals that Native Californians continued to engage with a range of places beyond the missions in complex ways (Panich and Schneider 2015). This section begins with an exploration of the first two categories—interior worlds and Indigenous hinterlands—in which Native people maintained autonomous spaces beyond the mission system (I.C.1). Next, the question of how Native Californians created and maintained their own spaces within missions and other colonial establishments is explored (I.C.2). The final section (I.C.3) reverses the lens to examine how the Franciscans and colonial authorities established landscapes of servitude in which Native Californians labored both in the missions and in related colonial settlements.

I.C.1 – Native Spaces Beyond the Missions

Beyond the controlled landscapes of the missions, some Native communities may have avoided sustained contact with Spanish colonists while simultaneously receiving introduced goods—and pathogens—that traveled along Indigenous exchange networks and social interaction spheres (e.g., Hull 2009; Ruby and Whitaker 2019). These regions reflect what historian Zappia (2014) has called "interior worlds." For example, the Colorado River Basin, which includes portions of southeast California, was an Indigenous crossroads long before the Spanish invasion. This region offered local Tribes—including Cahuilla, Mojave, Quechan, Cocopah, and others—the foundations for geographic and social autonomy into the mid-nineteenth century (Zappia 2014). The Cahuilla, for example, may have incorporated some aspects of vaquero culture from the missions, but many lineages were able to maintain traditional practices in their desert and mountain homelands into the Mexican Period (Lewis 2013:44-48). Similar conditions prevailed in areas of the Sacramento Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills where Native Californian communities were no doubt aware of colonial presence in the form of the mission system and nonetheless managed to maintain political and economic autonomy until the Gold Rush of the late 1840s (Hildebrandt and Darcangelo 2008; Hull 2009).

Closer to the Pacific coast, many Native Californians adapted their settlement patterns and economic activities to accommodate, coopt, or resist efforts at missionization in ways that often prioritized their connections to ancestral landscapes (Byrd et al. 2020; Reddy and Douglass 2018). In other words, these Indigenous hinterlands were Native homelands that existed at the margins of the Franciscan mission system (Schneider 2021a). Although many people defied Franciscan edicts and left the missions without official permission, Native Californians also demanded that colonial authorities allow them to return periodically to their ancestral homelands. As early as 1783, Spanish officials acquiesced and instituted a system of passes to help identify baptized individuals who had left particular missions on approved leaves (Milliken 1995:95). Under this practice, Native people were granted leaves for one or two weeks at a

time, in some cases up to ten weeks per year depending on the mission and local conditions (Sandos 2004:199). Though some variations existed, the paseo system was common up and down the mission chain, providing the opportunity to revisit homelands, maintain social connections, continue ceremonial obligations, and obtain outside materials for use in the mission rancherías (Arkush 2011:83; Duggan 2018:246-247; Hackel 2005:84-85; Lightfoot 2005:62-65; Schneider 2015b:514; Schneider and Panich 2014:17-18; Spanne 2011). Together, paseo and fugitivism provided Native Californians the resources to maintain thriving Indigenous hinterlands despite the challenges of missionization (to be discussed in more detail in II.C.2).

California's San Joaquin Valley is an excellent example of Indigenous hinterlands in that it bordered the coastally oriented mission system but was never fully controlled by colonial authorities during the years of active missionization (Cook 1960, 1962). Though some Yokuts-speaking people were forced to join central California missions—in some cases as the result of horrific violence against them—the San Joaquin Valley's once extensive tule marshes were also home to multi-ethnic communities who were avoiding the missions, had fled from them, or were simply visiting while on paseo. The region had long served as a major economic nexus connecting coastal Tribes to those of the Sierra Nevada and beyond, and this role only intensified as Native people brought knowledge of horse handling—and the animals themselves—from the more westerly missions (Arkush 1993). San Joaquin Valley Tribes quickly integrated the horse into their economic repertoire, allowing them to raid the coastal missions and also to adopt patterns of mobility that offered relative autonomy from colonial authorities (Hurtado 1988; Phillips 1993).

Indigenous hinterlands could also overlap in various ways with territories claimed by colonial interests. A prime example comes from the Tongva settlement of Guaspet in the Ballona wetlands, what is today the Los Angeles Basin. There, Native people maintained their own independent community into the early nineteenth century, despite proximity to Missions San Gabriel and San Fernando Rey, not to mention the Pueblo of Los Angeles and various colonial ranchos (Douglass et al. 2016, 2018; Reddy and Douglass 2018). Based on archaeological data, Native people relied heavily on local plants while using the site for feasts and mourning ceremonies that brought together individuals and families from a wide geographic area (Reddy 2015). Ethnohistorical records indicate that some families from Guaspet had strong kinship ties to Santa Catalina Island (Pimu) prior to their entry into the mission system (Douglass et al. 2018). Though Native people did eventually leave Guaspet, their presence during the early colonial period directly counters the idea that all Native Californian communities were quickly and fully incorporated into the mission system.

Other Indigenous hinterlands constituted the interspaces between the missions and different colonial regimes. For example, the area around Tomales Bay harbored several Coast Miwok communities who straddled a geographic zone between Mission San Rafael and the Russian-American Company's Ross colony. There, mission records and archaeological evidence together point to multiple villages that persisted into the 1820s even as missionaries periodically traveled from San Rafael to seek out people to baptize (Schneider 2015b; Schneider and Panich 2019). Other Coast Miwok communities on the Marin Peninsula continued to visit shell mound sites, despite their proximity to Mission San Rafael. Whether these forays were conducted illicitly by mission fugitives or while on paseo is unclear, but they

nonetheless provided Coast Miwok people a way to mitigate the impacts of the mission system and to remain connected to their ancestral landscapes (Schneider 2015a). During secularization, several Coast Miwok men petitioned the Mexican government for the lands of Rancho Nicasio, which contained the longstanding Coast Miwok village of Echa-tamal. Though colonial elites robbed them of official title to the land, Coast Miwok families remained at Echa-tamal and other settlements farther west along Tomales Bay for decades during and after missionization (Schneider 2021a).

Example of Spanish Subjugation and Native Persistence at Síi Túupentak, an Ohlone Village
Combining archaeological data and historical records has the potential to greatly enhance understanding of the nuances of initial colonialism and how Native communities in varied settings responded to the challenges posed. One example is the Causen/Patlan Chocheño Ohlone-speaking Tribal group (Causen). They lived near modern day Sunol in the southeast San Francisco Bay Area where Arroyo de Laguna joins with Alameda Creek before flowing down Niles Canyon and into the Bay (Milliken et al. 2010). Archaeological investigations at the site of Síi Túupentak (CA-ALA-565/H) documented a substantial sedentary village, undoubtedly the principal settlement within the Causen Ohlone territory, flourishing for 400 years, from 1400 to 1805, based on extensive radiocarbon dating (Byrd et al. 2020). Thus, it was founded just prior to early European exploration and persisted for twenty-eight years into the Spanish colonial era marked by the founding of Mission Santa Clara and the San José Pueblo in 1777 situated only eighteen miles southwest. The site was recently given the name Síi Túupentak [Place of the Water Round House Site] by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe.

The settlement at Síi Túupentak was an important node in the complex inter-regional interactions of central California, mediated by community leaders who followed well-developed rules of political, social, and religious interaction. This included widely traded extra-local emblematic objects that reflected a community of practice contingent on shared beliefs and ideas grounded in ceremonial and socio-political interaction. Despite being relatively close to Mission Santa Clara, Síi Túupentak was somewhat buffered by two Ohlone territorial communities between them and the newly arrived colonizers. During twenty-eight years of co-existence, there is limited material evidence of interaction with the Spanish—a few glass trade beads and two features with introduced domestic food remains including watermelon, grain (probably wheat or barley), corn, and filaree (a non-local weed).

From historical records, it is clear that external events that took place less than a decade before Síi Túupentak was abandoned had a profound impact. Mission San José was founded on June 11, 1797, four miles southwest of this Ohlone settlement. This was immediately followed by a violent summer of concerted efforts by Spanish soldiers to: (1) exert control over the lands near their new mission; (2) capture Ohlone and Bay Miwok runaways from Missions San Francisco and Santa Clara; and (3) punish Native Americans still living in independent villages in the southeast Bay region who gave them refuge (Milliken 1995). Whether Síi Túupentak was visited during these soldiers' raids is unknown but likely as it was the closest major Ohlone settlement to this new Spanish outpost. However, its inhabitants certainly knew that their options had just become more limited and their lives were about to change forever.

Then on September 10, 1797, three days after the first baptism at the mission, the first Ohlone from the Síi Túupentak area came to the mission—a 66-year-old man and five children aged two through eight

(Milliken et al. 2010). By year's end, two-thirds of the newly baptized at the mission were from the Síi Túupentak area. Consistent with archaeological dating evidence from Síi Túupentak, mission baptism records confirm that during the next eight years (until 1804), more than 200 Ohlone from the Síi Túupentak area relocated to the mission (and only one did so afterwards, in 1807). Their given Native names and their new names the Spanish assigned them, and a great deal more, are recorded (Appendix C). They helped build the mission's church, they worked the mission agricultural lands where Ohlone College stands today, and they undoubtedly planted and tended the mission's orchards and fields. But this was a harsh and foreign setting for them, and their average life expectancy after entering this colonial outpost was only eight years. As a result, only eight people from the Síi Túupentak area survived until secularization in 1833. One survivor was Moy-chol who had been a two-year-old boy when he had moved to the mission in 1797 as part of the first group to do so from Síi Túupentak.

This Ohlone narrative does not end there. Excavations at Síi Túupentak identified a modest 1830s Mexican Period component, complete with features, revealing post-Spanish-era occupation by Ohlone who had returned to this persistent place. Some were undoubtedly among the Native American laborers documented to have worked at the Mexican Period Rancho El Valle de San José, which was centered on Sunol area, and the 1845 Suñol Adobe located approximately a quarter of a mile away (Arellano et al. 2020; Ross et al. 2020). The subsequent American Period presented new challenges for the survivors of Missions San José, Santa Clara, and San Francisco, but their descendants continued to persist nearby, living in Niles Canyon to the west, and near Verona at the Alisal Ranchería to the northeast (Arellano et al. 2020). They continued to work in the local area and descendants from the historic federally recognized Verona Band of Alameda County are thriving as the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe who collaborated and actively participated in the design, implementation, and fieldwork at Síi Túupentak (Byrd et al. 2020).

I.C.2 – Native Spaces Within the Missions

All mission spaces can be considered "Native spaces" in that Native people created, navigated, and labored in all areas of the missions (Silliman 2010). Spanish mission settlements in Alta California each contained religious, industrial, and domestic spaces (Appendix B: Figure 11; Spicer 1961:288-289). Much of the colonial settlement was dedicated to industry, specifically agricultural fields and grazing lands (Church 2002). Other industrial or communal loci on the landscape included communal storage of food in granaries, ceramic kilns (mainly for the production of roof and floor tiles), grist mills and threshing floors, communal wells, communal outdoor ovens, the central plaza, workshops, and the Church. Typically located next to the Church was the campo santo (mission cemetery), which can also be considered a communal Native space within the mission landscape, considering the tens of thousands of Native Californians who were buried within mission cemeteries.

At the missions, domestic spaces were centralized in two areas—the quadrangle and the Indian ranchería. The Indian ranchería was an established residential quarter for Native Americans who were brought into the missions. It was unique within the missions as Indigenous people created this space and also lived within it, often removed from the oversight of Spanish officials. Many archaeologists argue that in the privacy of their own homes, diverse groups of Native people created a shared, at-home identity that was distinctly Indigenous (Allen 1998; Lightfoot 2005; Skowronek 1998). People cooked

and ate wild foods in their houses with their families, they manufactured stone tools and shell beads, and they danced in the "secluded spaces between rows of houses" (Librado 1979:25-33).

Archaeological Preservation of Mission Rancherías

Despite nineteenth- and twentieth-century land uses, urban development, and limited above ground preservation, many Mission Period sites remain intact beneath parking lots, streets, landscaped areas, and buildings and structures. Several archaeological studies at various California missions have identified tangible evidence of Indian rancherías, including Missions Soledad (Farnsworth 1987, 1992), La Purísima (Brown 2021; Deetz 1991 [1963]; Gabel 1952), San Antonio (Dylla 2017; Hoover 2002; Hoover and Costello 1985), San José (Allen et al. 2018a; Panich et al. 2018a; Thompson et al. 2003), San Juan Bautista (Clemmer 1961; Farris 1991), San Luis Rey (Williams and Cohen-Williams 2007), Santa Cruz (Allen 1998, 2003; Felton 1987), Santa Bárbara (Williams 2005), San Gabriel (Dietler et al. 2018a, 2018b), San Miguel (Foster 2016), and Santa Clara (Allen 2010b; Allen et al. 2009, 2010; Garlinghouse et al. 2018; Hylkema 2009; Hylkema and Skowronek 2000; Hylkema et al. in press; Panich et al. 2014, 2018b; Peelo et al. 2018a; Potter et al. 2021a). Studies of the Indian rancherías reveal this preservation and the importance of exploring circumscribed mission landscapes with the goal of representing all archaeological components of mission communities (e.g., Allen 2010b). Missions are more than their churches and quadrangles. The true "center" of the mission landscape was the Indian ranchería. Examination of the spaces within which Native Americans lived, worked, created, transformed shared spaces, raised children, processed food, and made tools and adornments is critical to understanding the persistence of Indigenous culture in the California missions.

Housepits as Evidence of Traditional Native Housing

Traditional houses were a defining feature of mission rancherías throughout California, with ample evidence in the archival record. Housepit construction and form within mission rancherías bear several similarities to precontact and ethnographic examples (e.g., Clemmer 1962; Hildebrandt and Mikkelsen 1993; Moratto 1969; Olsen and Payen 1969; Pritchard 1970, 1983). For example, eighteenth-century explorers on the Vancouver expedition described traditional housing at Mission San Francisco as hemispherical, nine feet in height and diameter, supported by posts, with centrally placed hearths (in Skowronek et al. 2006:159). In 1786, the annual report at Mission Santa Clara indicated that "There are in the Mission 61 families of married neophytes who live in a village of straw houses and they go to church mornings and afternoons to pray the Christian doctrine together with the bachelors, and all together there are 557" (Skowronek et al. 2006:125). Native houses are depicted in an 1820s drawing at Mission San Luis Rey, penned by Auguste Duhaut-Cilly and Alfred Robinson, and at Missions San Gabriel and San Buenaventura, also drawn by Robinson. Robinson also described the residences: "In many of the villages the residences consist of straw huts of an oval form, which, when decayed, the Indians set on fire and erect new ones…" (Robinson, quoted in Egenhoff 1952:48).

Archaeological evidence of these resources is extremely rare; however, two traditional structures have been recently identified at Mission Santa Clara, one in 2004 (Allen et al. 2010) and another in 2012 (Hylkema et al. in press). The floor of a Native-style dwelling was also recently documented at Mission San Gabriel (Dietler et al. 2015) and another traditional structure at Mission San José (Panich et al. 2018a:14; Thompson and Galvan 2007). The housepit structure identified in 2004 at Mission Santa Clara

exhibited a circular, hard-packed, and flat floor, as well as a central interior hearth (Allen et al. 2010:83-84). Burned soil was also identified in the profile of this feature, suggesting that the structure had been burned, similar to Robinson's observations described above. Two larger traditional structures have also been archaeologically identified, one at Mission Santa Clara and the other at Mission San José, and interpreted as roundhouses, or sweat lodges, used by the Native population for religious purposes and community gatherings (Panich et al. 2018a:14; Hylkema et al. in press; Thompson and Galvan 2007).

Remains of Adobe Buildings

Native families and individuals also lived in adobe buildings at all California missions. Married families lived in adobe buildings in the mission ranchería, and some researchers have suggested the presence of traditional housing and adobe architecture symbolizes a particular social hierarchy, with the most prestigious living in adobe structures nearest the quadrangle while others lived in Native-style housing farther from the church (Ettinger 2004; Farris 2016; Farris and Johnson 1999; Hoover and Hoover 2008; Panich et al. 2014). Jayuntes, adobe dormitories in the ranchería, housed unmarried men. Young girls and unmarried women were also housed in dormitories, monjeríos, located closer to the mission quadrangle, where they were locked at night. Native Americans discuss the historical trauma associated with this separation of families within the monjeríos and jayuntes in the missions (see Native Voices – AMTB).

Archaeological evidence of these architectural features illustrates that Native people adopted Spanish architectural styles but in varying ways from mission to mission. These differences may reflect available materials, function, or variable interpretations of architectural styles by different Native populations. In addition, traditional architectural practices were also incorporated into the style of adobe housing within the mission rancherías. They were generally made of rock foundations and adobe bricks but varied in alignment, size, foundations, floors, number of rooms, and hearths.

At Mission Santa Clara, adobe buildings were arranged in parallel rows while at Mission San Antonio the buildings were situated in a u-shape, extending north off the mission church (Allen et al. 2010; Dylla 2017; Hoover and Costello 1985; Hylkema et al. in press). This alignment of adobe housing opening inward onto the large courtyard perhaps messaged exclusion of the surrounding wilds (Dylla 2017:90). Evidence suggests some apartments consisted of a single room, while others consisted of two or more rooms (Dylla 2017:125; Hoover and Costello 1985; Hylkema et al. in press). For example, the jayunte and east wing married families' apartments at Mission San Antonio each consisted of one room while the north wing apartments that housed families consisted of two or more rooms (Dylla 2017:125, 138).

At Mission San Antonio, building foundations were constructed of large river cobbles placed in shallow trenches (Hoover and Costello 1985:17). At Mission Santa Clara, rather than large cobblestone foundations, vast amounts of small-sized pebbles were placed within excavated trenches as support for the adobe walls (Hylkema et al. in press). The thickness of adobe walls also varied and may have been proportional to the height of the walls; the higher the wall the thicker the foundation (Hoover and Costello 1985:17; Panich et al. 2018a:15).

At Mission San Antonio, the rooms each had firmly packed adobe floors; in some areas they even exhibited polishing due to heavy foot traffic, and some rooms were paved with ceramic floor tiles called

ladrillo (Dylla 2017:129, 133; Hoover and Costello 1985:17, 20). At Mission Santa Cruz, evidence suggests that the floors were paved with adobe bricks (Allen 1998:32; Edwards and Simpson-Smith 1987:6-8; Felton 1987:7). In many of the adobes recently excavated at Mission Santa Clara, however, adobe or tile floors were not discernable. Also conspicuously absent from many excavations of the adobe structures at Mission Santa Clara was a layer of tile roof-fall often seen during excavations of Mission Period adobe structures. Archaeological evidence suggests that some adobe housing within the ranchería at Mission Santa Clara may have been roofed with redwood (Hylkema et al. in press). It may also simply be the result of clearing of the area in order to construct neighborhood housing and businesses during the subsequent American Period. In contrast, copious amounts of roof tile were present in the upper strata of excavations of the north wing of adobe buildings within the ranchería at Mission San Antonio (Dylla 2017:127).

At Mission San Antonio, hearths were characterized by loose ashy soil and charcoal fragments (Hoover and Costello 1985:17). Hearths recovered from the jayunte at Mission San Antonio were present within the center of the room and also along the south wall, lined with river cobbles and recycled manos (hand grinding tools), and contained ash, burnt faunal bone, charcoal, and expedient lithic tools and debitage (Dylla 2017:141). At Mission Santa Clara, hearths were diverse based on location and construction Inside hearths were typically centrally placed and, in some cases, included a second hearth closer to the doorway. Intramural hearths and ovens were outside the adobe buildings but near them and within protected Native community spaces.

Refuse Features

Hollow pits filled with Mission Period refuse are rare archaeological finds but have been documented at Mission Santa Clara, interpreted as used for storage, food processing, wells, adobe borrow pits, and other industrial uses (Allen et al. 2010; Hylkema et al. in press; Potter et al. 2021a). After abandonment, these pits were used for refuse disposal and mortuary ceremony. By examining their location, variability in form and size, and primary and secondary uses, refuse features can be characterized as either communal (public) or private (household).

At Mission Santa Clara, small, “private” household pit features vary in style, organized on the landscape in particular ways. For example, one type exhibited dirt steps descending into a deep, large, irregularly shaped opening suggesting it might have been excavated for storage. Further, in one of these, researchers identified whole copper and ceramic vessels positioned as if they had been purposefully placed at the bottom. This type of pit feature is clustered on the northern end of the ranchería. Other private refuse pits may have been originally used to process food, as evidenced by the pit type characterized by a sloping shelf descending down into a deep, circular pit and containing unique “earth funnel-bowls” positioned on or near the shelf or entrance to the deep pit. These earthen bowls were deliberately made with a hole in the bottom, reminiscent of traditional California hopper mortar baskets which were used to leach acorns of their tannic acids. These pit types are all located in the southern part of the ranchería. A third kind of household refuse pit form is generally tear-drop shaped and exhibits shallow steps descending into a deep, narrow, circular pit. Because these pits tend to cluster on the southeastern end of the ranchería, generally extend to the same depth, and share similarities in form, they may have primarily been used as wells.

Numerous forms of communal refuse pits were also characterized within the Mission Santa Clara ranchería based on their large size (Hylkema et al. in press). Some appear to be natural swales in the landscape filled with Mission Period refuse. Others with shallow dimensions, a generally flat base, and circular shape appear to have originally functioned as adobe borrow pits. Further, within these large pits, researchers identified a second smaller but deeper pit. This feature element may represent an adobe mixing pit. A third type is characterized by very large, shallow concentrations of burned bones, shell, fire-affected rock, and oxidized soils representing a very large, communal burn, roasting event, or ceramic firing. Finally, researchers also identified communal refuse features characterized by multiple, distinct refuse pits concentrated near one another and covered with a shared midden. This clustering suggests a possible industrial purpose.

Water Storage, Irrigation, and Food Processing Features

Features related to subsistence agriculture, animal husbandry, and food preparation are also present within the mission rancherías. Agriculture and animal husbandry were the crux of the subsistence economy of the missions, a lot of effort was placed on trapping water and conveyance systems, which included reservoirs, dams, zanjas (or acequias; irrigation ditches), underground clay pipes, and wells. The mission informes (informational reports) provide considerable information on these water systems along with archaeological evidence in some missions; Mission La Purísima has a notably intact water system.

At Mission Santa Clara, an earthen reservoir was constructed adjacent and immediately north of the ranchería. The high water-table provided ample water so stone and brick lining was not necessary like at the reservoir at Mission San Gabriel which also had a sluiceway. The locations of the water storage features were carefully chosen with an understanding of natural water channels. In addition to the reservoirs, the missions also constructed zanja systems to move water. Most zanjas were earthen; however, some were tiled (Mission San Gabriel and Mission San Antonio). Zanjas are documented at several missions including San Gabriel, Santa Inés, and Santa Clara. At Mission San Gabriel, when there was increase in demand for water, the zanjas were expanded, and dams (stone and mortar, dirt and brush) were added to the system (Potter et al. 2021a:415). Artesian wells, including stepped wells, were also constructed to access ground water for daily residential, industrial, and agricultural uses. At Mission San Antonio, the water conveyance system had distinct components including collection dams tapping water from natural springs, and aqueducts constructed of clay pipes that were used to divert water from larger aqueducts to gardens (Peelo 2002).

Features related to crop threshing have been identified at Missions Santa Clara, San Antonio, Santa Inés, and San Gabriel. Threshing floors are activity areas associated with agricultural practices, specifically crop processing. European threshing methods for crops involved the use of domesticated animals (cattle and horses) to trample harvested crops. Engelhardt (1927b) and Webb (1952) summarized historical accounts of such threshing practices at the California missions. At Mission Santa Clara, the earthen threshing floor was near the water reservoir and an animal corral. The ones at Missions San Antonio and Santa Inés both have architectural elements in the form of cobbled stone floors (instead of an unpaved firm surface such as at Mission Santa Clara; Tremaine 1992) and support the historical accounts summarized by Engelhardt (1927b) and Webb (1952). These features are circular; the feature at Mission

San Antonio measures 26 meters in diameter and the Mission Santa Inés feature is 18 to 46 meters in diameter. The former has an arrangement of cobbles in a radiating pattern while the latter was not in any particular pattern. The earthen threshing floor feature at Mission Santa Clara was not circular and likely represents several threshing seasonal events based on the lamination. At Missions San Gabriel and Santa Inés, water-powered grist mills were constructed.

Cattle were the primary domesticated animals in the mission animal husbandry, and they were butchered in high numbers during special matanza (slaughter) events. Dale (1918:200) reported that at the end of one summer, 2,000-3,000 cattle were butchered and processed. The matanza typically occurred over several days of butchering at the missions and ranchos. According to Gust (1991), the primary purpose was to acquire hides and tallow for trade. Tays (1941) reports that the tallow or fat was of the best quality and was kept for household or communal mission cooking and also to make soap. The meat was used by the mission, sent to presidios and ranchos, and dried and sold to visiting sailors in the ports. Such matanza events were documented in the archaeological record at Missions Santa Clara and San Fernando (Enright 2010; Garlinghouse et al. 2018; Potter et al. 2021a) characterized by highly concentrated, bone-dominated midden features within the Indian ranchería (Gust 1982; Walker and Davidson 1989).

Mission Cemeteries

Due to forced labor experiences, in combination with disease and cultural suppression, tens of thousands of Native Californians perished prematurely during the Mission Period (Jones et al. 2021; see I.B.3 and I.C.3, pages 79 and 95, respectively). It is not surprising, then, that every Alta California mission site has at least one cemetery. The general pattern has the campo santo adjacent to the church, though the later cemetery at Mission San José is located nearly a mile away. According to Catholic doctrine, Franciscans intended deceased Native individuals to receive modest burials, covered in shrouds, often with their arms folded over their torsos (Skowronek 1998). Nevertheless, excavations at missions such as Santa Clara and San Diego have revealed that Native people found ways to lay their family and friends to rest in traditional ways. These practices included the interment of large quantities of grave goods, including shell and glass beads, in direct contradiction of Catholic teachings at the missions. Documentary evidence likewise details how the Franciscans were continually frustrated that Native people across the region resisted their policies and continued to bury and mourn loved ones in accordance with traditional practices, which typically included grave offerings (see overview in Panich 2018). Still, excavated burials at the second location of Mission La Purísima (ca. 1813-1849) were devoid of funerary objects, perhaps pointing toward the strict policing of Chumash mortuary practices by the Franciscans at that particular mission (Humphrey 1965; Walker et al. 1988).

Mission cemeteries remain important to Native Californian communities today, even though many have been obscured by agricultural activities or modern development. Active lobbying by Ohlone families saved a cemetery associated with Mission San José during highway construction in the 1960s (Medina 2015). In the 1980s, widespread protest by an alliance of Kumeyaay Tribes helped preserve a cemetery associated with Mission San Diego (Trafzer 1992). More recently, the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe succeeded in gaining control of archaeological mitigation in the largest of multiple cemeteries associated with Mission Santa Clara, eventually renaming the site in their own Chochenyo language as the Clareño Muwékma Ya Túnnešte Nómmo [Where the Clareño Indians are Buried] site (Leventhal et al. 2011).

Archaeological research also has the potential to illuminate Indigenous mourning practices that took place outside mission cemeteries. Recent archaeological excavations within the Native ranchería at Mission Santa Clara, for example, raise the possibility that Indigenous people continued to practice some form of mourning ceremony (Hylkema et al. in press; Potter et al. 2021a:504). Archaeologists have noted several pit features each containing hundreds of burned shell beads, as well as other items that would have been highly valued such as shell ornaments and vaquero gear (Panich 2015; Peelo et al. 2018a; Potter et al. 2021a). These features may represent either the remains of annual mourning ceremonies and/or evidence of the ritual destruction of property belonging to recently deceased individuals. It is also possible that these features took on ritual functions after "their primary function [wells or storage pits] had been exhausted" (Potter et al. 2021a:4). Similar colonial-era mourning features have been documented at the Tongva village of Guaspet and at nearby Mission San Gabriel (Dietler et al. 2015; Douglass et al. 2018). The location of these features within the ranchería at two missions, as well as at an autonomous Indigenous settlement, suggests that Native people maintained certain traditional mourning practices in a variety of settings, even as most individuals who had been baptized were buried in accordance with Church doctrine in the cemetery.

Conclusions

While the church, quadrangle, and industrial mission sites were "Native spaces" in that they were created and used by Native people, the Indian ranchería and cemetery were unique Native spaces within the mission landscape. The Indian ranchería was part of the larger mission complex and it also possessed an internal organizational structure, one that was created and used by Native people removed from the oversight of Spanish officials, including traditional ceremonies, tools, foods, and burials. The communities within the Indian rancherías were adjusting and creating new personal and community identities that can be seen in the archaeological record. They likely formed a shared, Indigenous identity constructed from their cultural experiences, despite finding themselves living under colonial control. In addition, the distribution of unique feature types about the landscape provides insight into how other kinds of social distinctions based on status or gender may have been created through daily practice.

Archaeological studies of Indian ranchería spaces illuminate the importance of viewing missions as landscapes that move beyond churches and quadrangles. As discussed further in II.B.1, it is only through exploring all archaeological components of mission communities, especially those constructed and used by Native Americans, that the persistence of Indigenous culture in the California Missions can be critically understood.

I.C.3 – Landscapes of Servitude in the Mission System

The preceding sections considered the limited autonomy that Native Californians were able to carve out for themselves in the mission system, but it is important to acknowledge that Native labor was a crucial component of the colonial economy. The labor of California Indians was intimately tied to Franciscan goals of conversion, the presidios' dependency on the missions for goods, and the Crown's desire for the California colony to be self-sufficient. Within this colonial context, California Indians labored against their will for the Franciscans, often subject to violence, intimidation, and coercion. It is not surprising, then, that observers have long likened the mission system to the kinds of chattel slavery that people of

African descent experienced elsewhere in the Americas (see Shoup and Milliken 1999:82-85 for an overview). Though some differences between the Franciscan missions and the plantation slavery of the American South and the Caribbean are notable—for example, Native residents of the missions did have some legal rights, and they could not be bought or sold—the similarities are close enough that today many scholars and members of Native Californian Tribes consider the missions to have been a form of slavery (see Native Voices – specifically AMTB and FTBMI).

For Native people associated with the mission system, work proceeded at different locales on the landscape, but much of it was regulated by "a rigorous daily schedule of meals, work, and prayers heralded by the incessant ringing of mission bells that started in the morning and continued throughout the day and early evening" (Lightfoot and Danis 2018:285). Working for the Spanish often went against deeply held cultural practices regarding individual autonomy (Champagne and Goldberg 2021:60; see also Native Voices – FTBMI). Yet, the mission system was designed to force compliance with colonial labor demands. In addition to the audible cues offered by the bells, mission workspaces were under constant supervision by colonial authorities—missionaries, mayordomos (labor foreman, typically gente de razón), and even Indian alcaldes. The mission guard could be summoned quickly if needed.

Colonial-Supervised Labor at Mission Sites

Native people performed various types of labor across the colonial landscape, many separated by gender or age. Colonial-supervised craft production often occurred in structures within or adjacent to mission quadrangles. These included specific spaces for weaving, blacksmithing, and producing pottery, among other trades, that were often taught to Native people by artisans from what is today Mexico. Nearby, Native people labored in laundries, rendered tallow, and produced soap. Many agricultural tasks also took place within or adjacent to the mission compounds, as California Indians processed crops, slaughtered cattle, and tended gardens, vineyards, and orchards. Native laborers also dug extensive irrigation systems as well as enormous pits to obtain raw material for the mass production of adobe bricks and ceramic tiles that they used to construct the various buildings that comprised the mission compounds. They also had the duty of digging graves and burying the many thousands of Native Californians who perished at the missions, often laying them to rest in what can only be described as mass graves. All these activities took place within earshot of the bell and in sight of overseers (Lightfoot and Danis 2018).

Archaeologists and historians have investigated many details of Indigenous mission labor (Allen 2010b). Informational reports provide a detailed look at the expansion of mission compounds over the course of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. In addition to summary statistics regarding the Native population, these documents often provide indirect details about the extent of Indigenous labor, including agricultural output (e.g., figures related to livestock herds as well as crops sown and harvested) and information about the construction of different aspects of mission compounds (see, for example, Skowronek et al. 2006). Though many ancillary structures have been lost over the years, archaeologists have documented sites of Indigenous labor at a range of missions—soap and tallow works at Mission La Purísima Concepción (Whitehead 1980), a laundry and kiln at Mission San Luis Rey (Soto 1961), a threshing floor and fulling mill at Mission Santa Inés (Hoover 1992; Tremaine 1992), and a gristmill dating to the later Mission Period at Mission San Gabriel (Dietler et al. 2015).

Just as in twenty-first-century California, water was a critical resource in the Mission Period. As part of the mission labor regime, Native people created complex water systems at colonial sites associated with the Franciscan missions to control rainfall conditions and buffer against drought (Allen et al. 2018b). These extensive water conveyance features—all dug by Native Californians—connected still other sites of Indigenous labor, namely the mission agricultural system. At many missions, gardens and processing areas were relatively close to the mission quadrangles. For example, archaeological mitigation at Mission San Gabriel uncovered portions of wall that enclosed the garden and orchard. Botanical remains point to a range of plants grown there, including cherry, broccoli, mint, and tobacco (Dietler et al. 2015). At Mission Santa Clara, portions of a mission orchard wall with associated domestic and dietary items were discovered in 2001 and again in 2008 during monitoring for utility and renovation projects (Corey 2001; Peterson 2008).

Outlying Sites of Labor

Native people also labored at places farther removed from the mission establishments. In some cases, baptized Native Californians were associated with visitas, estancias, or asistencias (e.g., Greenwood and Browne 1968). The degree of colonial control likely varied at these locations but some asistencias were used to bolster mission crop yields. For example, the asistencia of San Pedro y San Pablo, in what is today Pacifica, was vital for the production of foodstuffs such as wheat and beans during the early years of Mission San Francisco de Asís. However, San Pedro y San Pablo was unable to maintain a stable Native population and appears to have been relegated to a cattle ranching outpost by the end of the eighteenth century (Dietz 1979). Nearby, Rancho San Mateo also boasted an impressive granary (Farris 1997:8-9; Stanger 1963:24). Farther south, the Franciscans used asistencias to minister to Native people who could not be supported at—or who refused to join—the main mission establishments. For example, the asistencia of San Antonio de Pala served as sub-mission to Mission San Luis Rey de Francia beginning in the early nineteenth century. The asistencia did not have a resident missionary though it eventually grew to include many of the same architectural features as more established missions, including a cemetery, granaries, and separate dormitories for children and unmarried individuals (Haas 2014:33). The asistencia remains an important place for the PBMI who continue to celebrate marriages and funerals in the colonial-period chapel (Gaughen 2011:29).

The Franciscans founded several other outstations in Alta California, though systematic archaeological or historical studies of these are relatively rare. The San Simeon Asistencia, a coastal rancho supporting Mission San Miguel, was founded by 1810 and featured a house, granary, chapel, flocks of sheep, and the largest part of the mission plantings (Farris 2014a:7, 14). Las Flores Estancia (CA-SDI-812/H), established in 1823, is another example of an outpost that included a house, granaries, and chapel, and it offered religious services but lacked a priest (Weber 1988). It also supported irrigation agriculture (Engelhardt 1921:51-52). This estancia was near both Mission San Luis Rey and Mission San Juan Capistrano and mission records indicate that Native people from the Las Flores area continued to go to San Juan Capistrano for religious services. As early as 1810, soldiers and mission-baptized Native people were grazing cattle and sheep in the Santa Margarita Valley (Wee and Mikesell 1994:24). By that time, a cattle pen was built at Las Flores and a dispute had risen between Mission San Luis Rey and the San Diego Presidio over grazing rights (Schaefer 1992:2).

Other Native people may have worked in conditions that were slightly less controlled, if no less onerous. In tending to the free-range livestock, mission vaqueros may have enjoyed some increased autonomy compared to their compatriots living within mission compounds (Panich 2017). As evidenced by vaquero gear found at sites like Mission Santa Clara, some vaqueros lived at the missions while others likely resided at least part of the year at outlying cattle stations. In far southern California, the Franciscans were unable to fully implement the policy of reducción, and many Native people labored for the missions in their ancestral homelands. For example, Haas (2014:31-33) describes several Indigenous towns whose residents tended livestock and grew crops such as beans and corn in the territory claimed by Mission San Luis Rey.

Missionaries also hired out Native labor to the presidios or sent prisoners there as part of work gangs. Thus, like the missions, California Indians built and maintained many of the buildings and structures at California's presidios, though some also worked as servants or even skilled craftspeople. Just as in the missions, Native workers were compensated only with food, though the military did pay a standard daily wage that was credited to the account associated with the laborers' home missions. Much of this labor was on a temporary basis, as Native people returned to their missions of origin at the end of a contract or their term of imprisonment (Hackel 2005:296-309; Newell 2009:75-81; Voss 2008:77-83). Some autonomous villages, or specific Native individuals living there, also entered into their own labor arrangements with the presidios. These unbaptized workers were paid directly, and certain missionaries and other colonial officials candidly acknowledged that such prospects must have seemed more favorable than life at the missions (Newell 2009:77-81).

California Indians similarly worked in the three principal colonial-era pueblos—San José, Branciforte, and Los Angeles—both as part of mission-based labor gangs and as an alternative to life under the mission bell. By the late 1780s, for example, Franciscans complained that secular colonists in the Pueblo of San José allowed Native people to "live in their old freedom and gentile customs" resulting in their refusal "to submit to the bond of the gospel and the laws of Christianity" (Skowronek et al. 2006:133). In time, however, Native labor became central to the colonial economy, and conditions for Indigenous people living in the pueblos likely began to resemble the unfree labor conditions that existed at the missions (Madley 2014:631-632). By the 1840s, the original pueblos were home to urban Indian populations, as were other settlements that eventually became many of California's largest cities. Archaeological evidence has offered some clues about those who lived there, including the use of local pottery, stone tools, and shell beads by Kumeyaay laborers in San Diego's Old Town neighborhood (Farris 2018; Schaefer 2012).

Lastly, many Native Californians eventually found themselves laboring at one of the many private ranchos that sprang up all around California, especially during the Mexican Period. Some participated in early, Spanish Period ranching enterprises, including residents of the Chumash town of Humaliwo who may have used ranch labor as a means to accrue social status, or at least avoid the missions (Gamble 2008:205-206). Many other Native people transitioned more or less directly to the ranchos after mission secularization in the mid-1830s. In Chumash territory, many people labored at local ranchos, but oral narratives also depict the ties that many Chumash individuals and families retained to the broader landscape, including coastal areas (Spanne 2011). Privately held ranchos required the same kinds of labor

tasks as the missions—often in conditions that were equally miserable—but their owners were typically less concerned with the Franciscan project of religious and cultural conversion (Hurtado 1988).

Archival materials regarding the ranchos that mention Native people are rare and only discuss them in very broad strokes (Silliman 2004:xiii, 31). In the Bay Area, for example, baptismal records from Mission San José indicate that by the 1830s, large numbers of Native children were born at outlying ranchos rather than at the mission. Yet little of their lives there is documented (Milliken 2008:76-77). However, other scholars have provided examples for the study of Indigenous lives in these colonial contexts through archival and archaeological records (Haas 1995; Hurtado 1988; Phillips 1993; Silliman 2004). As Haas (1995:49) states:

> The rancho home, as the center of production, was not a private space, but one where business was transacted, artisans and servants labored, and many workers interacted with members of the immediate and extended family.

At Rancho Petaluma, just north of San Francisco Bay, archaeological research has revealed an array of artifacts and ecofacts that indicate that many Indigenous cultural traditions—including the manufacture of shell beads and stone tools—survived the Mission Period (Alvarez and Parkman 2014; Silliman 2004). While the rancheros' labor demands were often as strict as those of the Franciscans, private ranching operations did offer Native people the opportunity to exercise limited autonomy over their own communities and cultural practices (Cook 1976; Hurtado 1988; Phillips 2010).

Example of Rancho San Andrés

One rancho where Indigenous lives are comparatively well-researched is Rancho San Andrés Castro Adobe, near Watsonville in Santa Cruz County. In 1823, Spanish Governor Arguello granted Isidro Castro, a soldier recruit, conditional possession of Rancho San Andrés; the Castro family did not move onto the property until 1836. Juan José Castro, son of Jose Joaquin (Isidro's son), used primarily Indigenous labor to build the Castro Adobe between 1848 and 1849.

Documentary evidence provides details about the Indigenous people living at Rancho San Andres in the early 1840s (Peelo et al. 2021b; Rizzo-Martinez 2022). The 1840 padrón (local census) provides the names of Native people living and laboring as servants; many are also historically documented in the mission baptismal, death, and marriage records (Hackel 2006a; Milliken 2009). These findings support the notion that secularization and emancipation were followed by a time of relative mobility, where Indigenous families followed work opportunities on ranchos. For example, these records tell the story of Carlos, Faustina, and Ynocente, a family of Ohlone heritage, born at California missions, who worked at Rancho San Andrés after secularization. Both Carlos and Faustina grew up in the California mission system, Carlos at Mission San Juan Bautista (baptism #673) and Faustina at Mission Soledad (baptism #1158). Faustina later moved between colonial institutions prior to ending up at Rancho San Andrés. Her daughter, Ynocente, was baptized at Mission San Juan Bautista in 1829, suggesting that sometime between 1818 and 1829, Faustina (and her husband at the time, Gabriel—Mission Soledad baptism #900), had moved to the San Juan Bautista region, possibly after spending time at the Monterey Presidio. In 1840, Carlos and Faustina were married at Mission Santa Cruz (marriage #840). It is

unknown if Carlos, Faustina, and Ynocente left Mission San Juan Bautista after secularization together or independently.

The 1840 padrón provides further insight into a different kind of rancho laborer—orphaned children conscripted to work at the ranchos. One adolescent child named Ybon is listed in the 1840 padrón at Rancho San Andrés. Mission registers indicate that he was of mixed Ohlone and Yokuts heritage from Mission Santa Cruz (baptism #2128). A second Ybon from the Yokuts Tribe of Wechihit was baptized at Mission Soledad (baptism #2221). However, the records indicate that both boys were orphaned. In either case the Ybon listed in the padrón is likely a parentless, adolescent child who labored at Rancho San Andrés. Ybon may represent a pattern whereby orphaned children were "adopted" by rancho communities or conscripted to work, hired to work as laborers, redefining the structure of "family" during this colonial moment.

II – NATIVE IDENTITY, PERSISTENCE, AND RESISTANCE

As discussed in I – A Changing Cultural and Socio-Political Landscape, the Spanish arrival in Alta California in 1769 resulted in major disruptions to the region's Indigenous landscapes. With implementation of the Franciscan mission system, the original inhabitants encountered forced relocation, cultural suppression, environmental degradation, and introduced diseases. Yet Native people were not passive victims. As revealed by Tribal oral histories, archival documents, and archaeological research, Native people throughout the region maintained important aspects of their traditional culture at the same time they actively resisted the Spanish, and later Mexican, colonial projects (Haas 2014; Jackson and Castillo 1995; Lightfoot 2005; Panich 2020; Rizzo-Martinez 2022; Schneider 2021a). This context examines the interconnectivity of Native identity, persistence, and resistance as expressed within and outside Spanish mission landscapes.

Persistence, maintenance, and modification of Native identities in Spanish colonial contexts have been major topics of anthropological research going back decades and continuing today (e.g., Lightfoot 2005; Panich 2013; Panich et al. 2014; Peelo 2010; Spicer 1962). A key insight drawn from ethnohistory and archaeology is that identity is socially constructed through daily practice. Therefore, researchers can use mission sacramental registers, archaeological materials, and other lines of evidence to understand how Native people maintained existing social and kinship ties while forming new, often mixed, communities in unfamiliar, frequently harsh, environments (Brown 2021; Cordero 2015; Hull and Douglass 2018; Lightfoot 2005; Panich 2020; and Peelo 2011, among others). As discussed in II.A, social identities were not only flexible and overlapping but also contested as they had to be maintained and cultivated within entangled colonial social, economic, and religious systems.

Scholars have also countered narratives of Indigenous extinction in colonial California by examining how Native people passed on traditional cultural knowledge during the Mission Period and its aftermath (Arkush 2011; Cordero 2015; Hull and Douglass 2018; Lightfoot and Gonzalez 2018; Panich 2013; Reddy and Douglass 2018; Schneider and Panich 2019; Schneider et al. 2020). This is the focus in II.B which examines how Native people maintained cultural practices despite the conscious efforts of the Franciscans to enculturate them through the mission system. Much of this recent research has focused on archaeological evidence for the persistence of traditional technologies, trade networks, and foodways at

mission sites and other contemporaneous locations (Brown 2021; Panich 2016; Panich et al. 2018a; Peelo et al. 2018a). Simultaneously, historians and others have investigated how Native Californians perpetuated aspects of their precontact religious and spiritual beliefs at the same time they accommodated some elements of Catholicism taught at the missions (Chavez 2017; Cordero 2017; Haas 2014; Sandos 2004).

Resistance to missionization has been another important area of research in California, including passive resistance—what Jackson and Castillo (1995) call "noncooperation"—as well as active refusal of the missionary project either through direct violence or flight. While the persistence of daily practice as a form of resistance is covered in II.B (e.g., Panich et al. 2021b), II.C looks particularly at Native-led revolts against the mission system as well as broad patterns of Indigenous avoidance and fugitivism. With regard to outright rebellions, Native Californians plotted and carried out a range of attacks on the mission system, with varying degrees of success (Haas 2014; Panich 2020; Rizzo-Martinez 2022). Simultaneously, large numbers of Native people either fled the missions or remained beyond their grasp. Recently, Schneider (2015a, 2021a, 2021b) has led the way in challenging scholarly narratives of loss and extinction of Indigenous cultures by looking to the hinterlands beyond the colonizer-controlled mission landscape. Such places offered not only relative safety from the impacts of colonization but also the context for cultural persistence and revitalization during and after the Mission Period (Byrd et al. 2018; Panich and Schneider 2015; Ruby and Whitaker 2019; Schneider and Panich 2014, 2019).

Taken together, this context examines Native Californian persistence across various contexts, ranging from identity and social organization, production and trade of material culture, religious belief, and ultimately active resistance against the Franciscan mission system. These discussions highlight the actions and intentions of Native people who managed to build lives for themselves, their families, and their communities despite the very real adverse impacts of the Spanish and Mexican colonial systems in Alta California.

II.A – SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND HIERARCHIES IN THE MISSIONS

To what extent did precontact Indigenous social and political organization persist in the Mission Period? The intent of the Spanish missionaries was to convert the culturally diverse Native Peoples of Alta California into culturally homogenous community members who would ultimately be good Christian Spanish citizens. Yet Indigenous identity was strongly linked to Tribal linguistics, territory, and kinship, all of which facilitated cultural continuity in various ways after the arrival of the Spanish in 1769 (Rizzo-Martinez 2022). Using archaeological data and ethnohistorical accounts, scholars have illuminated not only the diversity but also the agency of Indigenous individuals and families who resided in the missions (e.g., Brown 2021; Panich et al. 2014; Panich et al. 2018a; Peelo 2010, 2011; Peelo et al. 2018b; Rizzo-Martinez 2022). Agency can be seen in many aspects of Indigenous lives within the missions including marriage and kinship (II.A.1), positions of status (II.A.2), gender roles and ideologies (II.A.3), and linguistic communities. Here, the discussion focuses on how identity was constructed and maintained within the missions.

At the broadest level, the colonial world was split into two identities—gente de razón (people of reason) and gente sin razón (people without reason)—signaling civilized and uncivilized (Rizzo-Martinez 2022). In addition to gente sin razon, the colonists used various terms for the Native people of California—

neophytes (baptized) and Indios (Indians) or gentiles or pagans (not baptized; Peelo 2010; Rizzo-Martinez 2022). Over time, most missions were populated by a diverse array of Native people from ancestral communities from near the mission site as well as more distant areas. Yet, the Franciscans started associating mission names with the Native people, for example Migueleños, Carmeleños, and others, which effectively masked the complex social and political worlds within each mission (Peelo 2010). Despite this attempt to homogenize Indigenous people, diverse Native identities were maintained within the missions.

There are different theories on Indigenous identity within the California missions. Lightfoot (2005) suggests a pan-Tribal identity emerged at many central California missions through a synergistic process of intermarriage as well as shared practices and experiences. These identities over time mapped onto the communal names imposed by missionaries at specific missions (e.g., Carmeleños). Other scholars have argued that in addition to new pan-Tribal identities, Native people in missions constructed two additional identities—one for public spaces and one for private spaces within the ranchería (Allen 1998; Potter et al. 2021a). A third, not mutually exclusive, model suggests that pluralistic Indigenous communities were maintained and navigated by Native people through daily practice and the intentional reinterpretation of identity (Panich et al. 2014; Panich et al. 2018a; Peelo 2011; Peelo et al. 2018b; Rizzo-Martinez 2022). In this latter view, marriage, kinship, social status, and gender all played important roles in shaping how Native individuals and families created and maintained identities in mission contexts.

Historical evidence demonstrates the complexity of how Native people experienced Tribal identities in mission settings. In many cases, an individual's ancestral village community was recorded at baptism, and often at marriage and even death (Peelo et al. 2018b). Further evidence that ancestral Tribal affiliations continued to be important within the missions was that the Indian officials (alcaldes and regidores) typically represented the largest or most powerful Tribal communities within a particular mission (Hackel 2005). When there were multiple dominant Tribes, Indian officials typically served on a rotating annual basis. In this scenario, a pan-Tribal identity specific to a mission must have also had strong components of specific Indigenous identities.

In summary, use of generic words such as neophyte and Indio to identify Indigenous communities and people living within the missions is too simplistic because it suggests that they were all of the same culture. Instead, archaeological data and ethnohistoric documentation have clearly demonstrated that Indigenous communities maintained and negotiated multiple aspects of ethnic, familial, and social identity while in residence at the missions. New social orders and ethnic communities may have been created as new Indigenous people arrived and intermarried with those already living in the missions. Native communities negotiated colonialism in diverse ways that were likely situationally contingent. Social and ethnic identity was often "crosscut by status within and outside of the mission hierarchy, affiliation with natal lineages and village communities, as well as by gender, age and occupation" (Panich et al. 2014:485). There is also no doubt that Tribal ethnicity persisted through the colonial suppression based on the wide range of Native identities in California today.

II.A.1 – Marriage, Kinship, and Family

> "I have lots of relatives. I am rich. I can go to fiestas all over, and it doesn't cost me a cent. I belong to Neeix, Kwainiyit, Kwaxa, Saikul, Paipa, Waichen, and more too." – Kumeyaay elder, early twentieth century (Luomala 1963:298).

Family, lineage, community, and Tribe were foundational aspects of cultural identity among California Native Peoples. Prior to Spanish colonization, marriage was an honored institution in California that facilitated economic, social, and political alliances. Because of rules prohibiting marriage to close kin, people often sought marriage partners from neighboring villages or Tribes (Bean 1992; Gifford 1918, 1926; Johnson 1988; Kroeber 1962; Luomala 1963; Milliken 1981, 1983; Waterman and Kroeber 1965). Through intermarriage, distinct kin groups, villages, and Tribes were tied together "in a fabric of social and genetic relationships" (Milliken 1995:23). Through generations of intermarriage, inhabitants of a certain community recognized aunts, uncles, cousins, and potential mates within a particular sphere of Tribes and Tribal communities (Milliken 1983:130). Native people did not lose connections to their natal groups once they married into a neighboring community, as those connections between groups were vital social relationships (Luomala 1963:291-292). Instead, people likely moved between identities tied to both their natal group and the place they lived with their spouse as the situation required.

The Spanish policy of reducción greatly affected local communities and identities by moving Native people into mission centers, strategically disassociating them from their homelands and the mythical landscapes, graves of their ancestors, and named rocks and landmarks contained therein (Lightfoot 2005:65; Margolin 1989:33). The historical record tells us this practice created mission populations composed of people from variable ethnolinguistic groups and very distant polities, particularly in the northern missions. Within these contexts, Indigenous foundations of marriage and kinship—and identity formation—were deliberately and actively reproduced in mission communities. Although patterns of marriage changed in many ways among Indigenous people living in the California missions, many individuals continued to marry within traditional marriage spheres, rooted in place, even as these individuals were physically removed from those spaces on the landscape. Further, establishment of new social networks did not necessarily imply destruction of other kinds of social networks and identities. While the transformation of the population by reducción, in combination with high death rates and low birth rates, may have made it more difficult for people to find eligible marriage partners within a traditional marriage sphere, Indigenous people continued to use marriage as a way to reaffirm and create social networks and communities, just as in precontact times.

Marriage in Mission Communities

Examples of marriages at two California missions—Santa Clara De Asís and San Carlos de Borromeo—illustrate that traditional foundations of marriage and identity formation were reproduced in the Spanish mission communities (Peelo 2010; Peelo et al. 2018b). These patterns were examined by utilizing the Milliken Database of Central California Mission Records (Milliken 2009), with limited cross-referencing of the Early California Population Project Database (Hackel 2006a).

Example of Marriage Patterns at Mission Santa Clara

The Native village at Mission Santa Clara is best viewed as a growing and changing amalgam of Indigenous Peoples drawn at first from the San Francisco Bay region and later as far away as the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills. The population represented dozens of formerly autonomous, territory-based groups of no more than a few hundred people, some closely related culturally and linguistically, others from vastly different traditions. The community, or perhaps communities, within the Native village were adjusting to both the Spanish colonial regime and day-to-day relationships with other Tribes with whom they had little or no contact prior to the missions.

Maintenance of Traditional Marriage Patterns

Indigenous people at Mission Santa Clara used marriage as one way of maintaining connections to their ancestral territories and kinship traditions (Peelo et al. 2018b). The mission initially drew local Ohlone-speaking people through the year 1810, as it was founded in Tamien Ohlone traditional homelands, and all new marriages recorded between 1779 and 1809 were between members of this ethnolinguistic group. Yokuts and other interior ethnolinguistic groups began moving into the mission in large numbers after 1810. Yet, new marriages of an intra-ethnolinguistic group nature continued to dominate at Mission Santa Clara; 61 percent of marriages between 1810 and 1855 were between partners who shared ethnolinguistic ties, despite the diversity of the population and cohabitation of Ohlone and Yokuts peoples.

Marriage patterns indicate that for many Ohlone living at Mission Santa Clara, marriage continued to be a way for people to maintain traditional relationships within Tribes as well as with neighboring Tribes. For example, approximately 36 percent of the Ohlone population married partners from their same Tribe between 1778 and 1809 (Hackel 2006a; Milliken 2009). Some of the Ohlone Tribes located farther from the Mission (Luecha, Palac, and Tayssen) had lower frequencies of inter-Tribal marriages prior to 1810. For these Ohlone Tribes, connection to individuals of their Tribe appears to have been emphasized through marriage patterns in the mission. Individuals from the Ohlone Tribe of Tayssen also participated in marriages with individuals from Tribes directly neighboring their traditional homeland (San Antonio, San Carlos, and Luecha). Community and kinship among baptized Native people at Santa Clara, as reproduced through marriage patterns, appear to have been connected to Tribal affiliations and traditional Tribal neighbors.

New Marriage Patterns: Clareños and Status

Marriage may have been used by other individuals as an avenue for establishing new and novel relationships centered around the mission Indigenous community of Clareños. For example, women from Luecha, a Tribe located east of the mission, intermarried with men from neighboring Tribes, such as San Antonio and Tayssen, but also married men from very distant Tribes such as Santa Ysabel and San Bernardino. Only two out of the ten marriages of Luecha women recorded between 1810 and 1855 exhibit a traditional marriage pattern. This suggests that Indigenous people who married outside of a traditional marriage sphere were creating a new sphere—one that surrounded a mission community of Clareños rather than an ancestral community (Peelo 2010, 2011). Intermarriages across ethnolinguistic boundaries, outside of traditional marriage spheres, also suggest the forging of new mission-centered communities. After 1810, marriage records suggest that thirty-nine percent of the marriages occurred between individuals from different ethnolinguistic groups.

A closer examination of the inter-ethnolinguistic marriage patterns of women, compared to those of men, may lend itself to possible hypotheses concerning these unions at Mission Santa Clara. When segregated by gender, it appears that men and women were practicing different marriage strategies. For example, of the marriages between Ohlone and Yokuts individuals, the majority took place between Yokuts women and Ohlone men. A similar pattern is true for other interior groups. Of the marriages between Ohlone and Sierra Miwok individuals, most were between Ohlone men and Sierra Miwok women. Women from the interior appear to be strategically marrying Ohlone men, or vice versa. Perhaps other kinds of social groups within the Native population were maintained through these marriages. For example, high-status Yokuts families may have strategically married their female children into high-status Ohlone families in an effort for both to maintain authority in this new colonial space. Of the forty-two Yokuts women who married Ohlone men between 1810 and 1855, three were marriages to Ohlone men recorded in the documents as being elite (alcaldes), all from Tayssen. The marriage history of one of these elite Tayssen men, Pio (baptism #CL4805), suggests that elite Tayssen men may have been marrying elite Yokuts women (Peelo et al. 2018b).

Example of Marriage Patterns at Mission San Carlos Borromeo

Similar to Mission Santa Clara, Indigenous people living and intermarrying at the ranchería at Mission San Carlos Borromeo came from diverse communities and homelands. The majority of the population was directly from or descended from different Rumsen Ohlone villages as this mission was founded in their traditional homelands. People from other Ohlone Tribes were also baptized at this mission, including Sargentaruc, Ensen, Mutsun, Ausaima, Calendaruc, Pagsin, and Unijaima. Esselen Tribes such as Aspaniajan, Ecgeajan, Eslenajan, Excelen and Ymmunajan were also living in the mission ranchería.

Maintenance of Traditional Marriage Patterns

Indigenous people living at Mission San Carlos generally maintained precontact marriage patterns during the first years when different local villages were incorporated into this mission community (1770-1779). During this early decade, the mission was a heterogeneous community of people from different Rumsen villages. They continued to marry following endogamous marriage patterns. For example, eighty-nine percent of men and one hundred percent of women from the Achasta village married other Rumsen people. Similarly, among the Echilat, one hundred percent of men and ninety-two percent of women married other Rumsen. This pattern continued even as the population within the mission diversified between 1780 and 1808 when hundreds of individuals from other Tribes, such as Ensen, Excelen, Sargentaruc, and Calendaruc, migrated to the mission. Tribes a bit farther away from Rumsen territory, such as Pagsin, Mutsum, and Ausaima, also joined this mission during this time. Despite this diversification, thirty-seven percent of Rumsen men and forty-one percent of Rumsen women continued to choose marriage partners with ancestral ties to Rumsen villages. Among the Excelen, forty-eight percent of women and fifty-seven percent of men also continued to choose Excelen marriage partners during this time. However, after 1809, very few marriages continued to follow an endogamous pattern, with only twenty-three percent of Rumsen men and twenty-one percent of Rumsen women choosing marriage partners with ancestral ties to Rumsen villages (Peelo 2010).

New Marriage Patterns: Carmeleños and Gender

The data also suggest that Indigenous marriage practices changed at Mission San Carlos. While uncommon early on, there are a few rare cases of intermarriage between Tribes shortly after the mission was established. For example, Catetano Antonio (baptism #CA0102), a man from the Rumsen village of Achasta, married Chauac (baptism #CA0468) from Ensen, the neighboring Tribe to the east (marriage #CA0110). As time went on, the occurrence of inter-Tribal marriage patterns increased. Between 1780 and 1806, fifty-eight percent of Rumsen men and fifty-six percent of Rumsen women married people from neighboring Tribes such as Calendaruc and Ensen. For the Excelen¸ this change occurred as soon as they joined the mission community in large numbers. During their initial incorporation into the mission, more than half of the Excelen men were marrying non-Excelen women. The Excelen moved to Mission San Carlos from their home in the rugged Santa Lucia Mountains to the south. They spoke a different Indigenous language than the majority of others living at this mission and may have needed to use intermarriage as a way of creating social and political connections to Rumsen families. After 1809, the majority of marriages took place between partners who were from or had ancestral ties to neighboring Tribal communities. For example, seventy-one percent of Rumsen men and fifty-four percent of Rumsen women married people who were from neighboring Tribes. After 1809, nearly all of the Native people baptized at Mission San Carlos were born there. During this time, the population was also greatly transformed by high death rates and low birth rates. The population declined at an exponential rate over the course of the Mission Period as many people died and numerous young individuals did not live to reproductive age. This may have made it more difficult for people to find eligible marriage partners within a traditional marriage sphere. For example, there were more Rumsen individuals dying than living to reproductive age, likely making it very challenging for Rumsen people to marry according to traditional patterns (Peelo 2010).

As people intermarried across Tribal social boundaries at Mission San Carlos, a new community identity, that of the Carmeleño, may have been created. Over time, diverse Indigenous people married partners from non-traditional marriage spheres, strengthening ties to other Tribal groups. This practice may have created an arena within which a new mission-centered kinship may have emerged among the pluralistic populations as intermarriage between diverse Tribes (Kroeber 1932) and ethnolinguistic groups materialized as the norm.

Conclusions

During colonial times, Indigenous people continued to use marriage as a way to create networks of communities between which they could move, depending on the contexts of particular social situations. Despite societal and historical constraints, there are several instances where individuals living within the missions expressed agency in their marriage patterns and kinship/family creation. Some individuals and Tribes, such as the Rumsen at Mission San Carlos, continued to marry within an endogamous pattern, up to secularization. At Mission Santa Clara, maintenance of ancestral Tribal communities may reflect the status Native leaders held within the mission. By emphasizing how these marriage practices worked to maintain the authority and power of distinct Tribes within the mixed community, this practice reflects the reproduction of pluralistic Tribal configurations.

In addition to these consistencies, marriage patterns changed quite dramatically within the mission communities. Unions outside of traditional marriage spheres, across Tribal and ethnolinguistic groups,

did occur within mission communities, typically increasing through time, as death rates and population diversity increased. Inter-ethnolinguistic group unions may be seen as one's disassociation with a Tribal territory and acceptance of a more "Mission Indian" identity (Ginn 2009; Peelo 2010). Once diverse Indigenous people started to marry others outside of a traditional marriage sphere, they were creating a new sphere—one centered around a mission community. Out of such practices involving kinship and lineage-making, social identities surrounding each intermarried mission community may have emerged.

It is also important to highlight the situational aspects of identity. Many people living in the mission communities likely maintained connections to their ancestral communities even though they intermarried into other Tribes and formed new colonial identities. These different identities may have both been important and situationally expressed. Further, the change in marriage patterns in the mission community was a reproduction of Indigenous sensibilities regarding marriage. Changes in marriage patterns during the Mission Period are not reflective of the destruction of precontact marriage practices, but their reproduction in new historical contexts. Marriage patterns were different in the missions, but Indigenous people continued to use marriage as a way of creating alliances, where the alliances important in mission contexts may have changed. For example, it may have become important to marry people from Tribes outside of one's traditional marriage sphere to avoid inter-Tribal conflicts within a pluralistic mission community. Marriage, kinship, and family patterns are not static, but historically constructed. While the relationships designated as important changed due to historical circumstances, strategies used to deal with affiliation building (e.g., intermarriage) were maintained.

II.A.2 – Understanding Native Status in Mission Communities

Understanding status and prestige in the mission system is complex, given that Native people were already "at the bottom of the class system" organized into colonially defined, stratified hierarchies (Lightfoot 2005:23; Newell 2009:73; Sandos 2004:9). How status and prestige were recognized and expressed were distinct between the colonizers and colonized. For example, the missionaries ascribed prestige to certain types of labor roles that were valuable to them, such as skilled craftsmen or interpreters, while creating new divisions of labor (e.g., Native men were assigned to tend agricultural fields and orchards, while before colonization, plant gathering was done primarily by women). Newell (2009:66) states that "[l]abor contributed to the formation of a social hierarchy among the baptized Indians at Mission San Francisco, the contours of which are barely visible in the extant records." Moreover, all records of labor and status are from colonial perspectives, and it is unclear if Native people shared these views.

Native status and prestige were reproduced, maintained, and created in the California mission system through political accommodation, labor roles, marriage patterns, and the production, exchange, and use of material culture. For example, elites married elites and Native leaders and their children maintained high-status positions within mission communities (Cordero 2015:143). Native people also used Spanish religious practices, such as compadrazgo (godparenting), to maintain elite status within mission communities. For example, the wife of an Indian captain, Maria Serafina Hilachap, sponsored twenty-four newly baptized Native people at Mission San Diego in the 1780s and 1790s (Perez 2011). Material culture, such as obsidian tools and shell ornaments, continued to be used to create, express, and negotiate prestige (Ellison in press; Hylkema and Maher in press; Hylkema et al. in press). Given available data, the focus here is on Native status and prestige in the missions reflected through the roles of Indian officials.

Indian Officials

Indian leaders attained status within mission communities and played important roles in organizing and regulating mission life as officials (Hackel 2005:228; Jackson and Castillo 1995:37-38; Lightfoot 2005:24). As ordered by California Governor Felipe de Neve in 1778, Indigenous Californians living in the missions appointed their own Native officials through annual elections, instituted and directed by Spanish mission system officials (Bolton 1917:43; Cordero 2015:133; Engelhardt 1915:336-349; Geiger 1959:244; Hackel 1997:374; 2005:229, 235; Haskett 1988:54). Alcaldes served as magistrates and regidores as community representatives. This system was primarily established to allow the Spanish to rule by proxy, as the alcaldes and regidores served the needs of the Franciscans and the colonial enterprise (Hackel 2005:229). In fact, the Franciscan priests exercised significant control to ensure the election of men whom they expected to facilitate their authority in the missions. The field of candidates, often drawn from Tribes with the greatest number of people at the mission, was narrow, proposed by the priests, and ultimately the governor approved or disapproved of all elected Indian officials (Hackel 2005:238). Native people may have therefore used the alcalde system to create a new status for themselves and their families, as this appointment was not only ascribed to precontact leaders but also achieved through cooperation and connections to Franciscan priests and other mission system officials.

The responsibilities of the Indian officials served the needs of the colony and included (Hackel 2005:241-252; Jackson and Castillo 1995:37-38; Lightfoot 2005:24):

- Translating Catholic rites and messages from the Franciscans
- Ensuring that Native people at the mission attended Mass
- Managing Native labor, ensuring that Native people at the mission attended work assignments and playing a role in structuring daily routines
- Overseeing nightly activities in the mission ranchería
- Participating in administration of the sacraments of baptism and marriage as godparents and witnesses
- Helping Franciscans control sexual behaviors by keeping unmarried men and women in single-sex dormitories
- Investigating and reporting crimes on behalf of the Spanish military
- Administering corporal punishment
- Leading armed Indian auxiliaries in protecting the missions from foreign attack

At the same time, however, elected Indian officials protected the interests of their own communities. For example, Claudio Ssojorois (baptism #FR0463) and Homobono Sumipocse (baptism #FR0504) of Mission San Francisco de Asís provided testimony that their alcaldes used their authority to sanction behaviors they considered appropriate, but which Franciscans would think subversive, such as pursuing customary economic and social activities in the countryside instead of following the priests' demands to supervise work (Hackel 2005:243; Milliken 2009). At the risk of punishment, many alcaldes failed to report crimes to mission system officials, indicating their sense of duty to the Indigenous community. As examples, an alcalde at Mission San Diego, Francisco, failed to report an event whereby Native people affiliated with the mission attacked the village of Jalò, and Rosendo, and an alcalde at Mission San Juan

Bautista failed to provide the names and location of Native people who had stolen cattle from the mission herd (Hackel 2005:243-244). In some instances, Native people who had served as Indian officials participated prominently in overt rebellion (II.C.1).

Often traditional leaders, or those with close blood ties to them, were appointed as Native officials by the missionaries (Bolton 1917:43; Cordero 2015:133; Engelhardt 1915:336-349; Geiger 1959:244; Hackel 1997:374; Haskett 1988:54). For example, José Maria was a village captain, the son of a captain, married to the sister of a captain, and had unusually wide-ranging kinship connections. He later served as an Indian official at Mission Santa Bárbara where he was valued by the Franciscans and beloved by the local community (Hackel 2005:250). Hackel (1997:374) argues that Indigenous people in positions of power within the California missions "continued to derive their identities from their places of origin decades after their ancestral villages were incorporated in the mission."

In many ways, the role of Indian official within the missions was a reproduction of Tribal headmen roles of precontact communities. Like traditional headmen, Indian officials in the missions did not participate in manual labor but oversaw the production and distribution of the community's food and other goods (Hackel 2005:244). For example, in 1786, Father Tomás Peña of Mission Santa Clara documented how, when consulted on whether or not to sell limited supplies to the Presidio even though it would create food shortages, the alcaldes of the mission elected to sell the provisions, noting that "they would choose life in the open, for the pinole was already getting ripe" (Hackel 2005:244-245). Mission Indian officials and traditional headmen were also both responsible for presiding over annual ceremonies that occurred after harvest. In addition, both acted as military leaders. Indian officials also distinguished themselves with clothing, regalia, shell bead money, staffs, special residences, extra provisions, and special privileges much like Tribal headmen did in precontact times (Hackel 2005:248). They also had greater access to certain higher-status material goods (Lightfoot 2005:24).

Conclusions

The recognition and expression of status among Native people within the California missions were complex, situational, and based on one's perspective. From a Spanish colonial perspective, Native people were positioned at the bottom of a well-established hierarchy. However, Indigenous status and prestige in the missions were not statically defined by the system but were instead dynamic. Native people in the missions found ways to simultaneously acquire status through ascribed and achieved methods, as well as creating it anew within the mission communities. Precontact, ascribed status persisted through such practices as marriage between high-status partners and maintenance of traditional leadership patterns. Within mission rancherías, Native people expressed status by producing and adorning themselves with high-status goods, such as obsidian and shell ornaments. The missions also offered opportunities for Native people to achieve status through alliances with Franciscans, as skilled laborers and through election to positions as Indian officials.

II.A.3 – Roles and Experiences of Indigenous Women in the California Missions

An Ohlone woman named Hilaria (baptism #CL5657), baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1810, had ancestral ties to the ethnographic village of Tayssen. She was born in the mission ranchería and at a young age was likely moved to the monjerío, dormitories where girls and single women were restricted

and segregated from their communities. She lived there until she was married to her first husband, Jose Antonio (marriage #CL2124). She was married five times, birthed six children, and was a godmother seven times. In addition, the documentary record suggests Hilaria was potentially polyandrous. She married Pio, an Ohlone man also with ancestral ties to Tayssen, on December 10, 1834, just seven months after marrying Baudelio (baptism #CL4561; marriage #CL2536). She had a child with Pio in 1836 and another child with Baudelio in 1837, suggesting she maintained her relationships with both partners simultaneously. Polyandry, practiced by precontact female chiefs, is not exclusive to Hilaria at Mission Santa Clara (King 1994:203-228; Sandos 2004:23). A cursory examination of mission records reveals additional examples of polyandry indicated by women who re-married while their previous husbands were still alive, and sometimes continued to bear children with both men. Though no systematic research has been conducted across the Alta California mission system, this situation is evidenced in the mission records at Missions Santa Clara and Santa Cruz.

This archival evidence is surprising. One might argue that the priests wouldn't have allowed this as it contradicted Spanish colonial gender ideology and cannon law. Roman Catholic ideology and Spanish law "defined women as sexual beings and delineated their sexual lives through the institution of indissoluble, monogamous marriage" (Castañeda 1998:232). Yet, the archival evidence suggests that Tribal chiefs continued to wield power within the mission (Geiger and Meighan 1976:126-127; Lightfoot 2005:70), and some Indigenous women continued to exercise their inherited authority, have more than one husband, and act as legitimate leaders in ways that sustained their communities in nineteenth-century California (Richmond and Den Ouden 2003:213).

Archaeologists are intrigued by these few archival examples because they work under the assumption that there are "invisible narratives" in the archival record. This possible narrative of powerful women can be addressed further by examining artifacts from the Native ranchería at Mission Santa Clara. Acknowledging that Spanish colonial-prescribed gender ideologies and gender roles affected Indigenous women in the California missions differently than they did men, archaeology might reveal how women developed different approaches in dealing with the changes disrupting their world (Devens 1992:4).

Gendered Expressions of Colonialism

Spanish colonial gender ideologies and divisions of labor often contrasted with, if not contradicted, California Indigenous traditions and roles. Men and women were afforded vastly different opportunities when it came to participating in the male-dominated socio-political world of the Spanish missions.

Gender Ideology

From the beginning, the reformation of Indigenous ideologies towards women and their sexuality was an important part of Christianizing and Hispanicizing Native Californians (Hurtado 1999:2). While priests attempted to thwart sexual relations outside of marriage for Indigenous men and women, the sexual behaviors of women were exceptionally controlled. Prior to puberty, between around 7 to 11 years old, young girls were removed from their extended family living situations in the ranchería and forced to live under lock and key in monjeríos (exact age is debated; Voss 2000). They were not allowed escape from these often-unsanitary conditions until they married and were again allowed to join the ranchería community. Women were also severely punished by priests for sexual practices prohibited by Spanish

doctrine. For example, priests commonly attributed miscarriages to infanticide and punished women who miscarried by shaving their heads, flogging them for fifteen subsequent days, making them wear iron on their feet for three months, and making them appear in church every Sunday with a painted wooden child in their arms (Castañeda 1998:234-235).

Gender Roles

While precontact economic roles were different for men and women, their roles in support of the mission community sometimes contrasted with their traditional ways. While Indigenous men labored in the fields and pastures and specialized in crafts such as carpentry and masonry, women were taught to weave and expected to "attend to domestic duties" such as cooking, cleaning, and laundering (Bouvier 2001:xiv, 82-85; Lightfoot 2005:67; Milliken 1995:90; Milliken and Schwitalla 2012; Popper 2016:12; Reyes 2009:125). Men and women also participated differently in religious and political practices. Indigenous men were taught Spanish and allowed to participate in sanctioned church and leadership roles; only men were allowed to be in the mission choir or become alcaldes (Bouvier 2001:158-159; Hackel 1998:123; Sandos 2004:141).

The archival record provides evidence of women resisting their exclusion from political and religious activities which threatened their traditional status and authority. For example, the story of Toypurina describes how a powerful woman led eight separate villages in conspiring an attack against the priests and soldiers of Mission San Gabriel (Jackson and Castillo 1995:76-77). In neighboring Baja California, a Cochimí woman named Bárbara Gandiaga helped assassinate a priest at Mission Santo Tomás in 1803, likely in retribution for sexual abuse against Native women (Panich 2020:91). Native communities supported and placed the health and well-being of the group in the hands of female visionaries, as they did traditionally (Castañeda 1998:236).

Women in the Native Ranchería at Mission Santa Clara

Archaeological data from Mission Santa Clara reveal patterns of gendered artifact distribution among public and private spaces within the Native ranchería (Hylkema et al. in press). Supported by archival and ethnographic evidence for gender roles within precontact and colonial Indigenous communities, hypotheses can be made about the gendered use-association of a number of recovered artifacts. While many objects were likely used by both men and women, such as nails, adobe blocks, and ceramic tablewares, other objects tend to be gender-specific. For example, artifacts used in cooking are typically associated with women, including ceramic and metal cooking pots, millingstones, and pestles. Other roles performed by women, including weaving, sewing, and basket-making, also have material signatures such as awls, battens, and spindle whorls (Bouvier 2001:82-85; Gifford 1940:168-70, 199-204; Lightfoot 2005:67; Milliken 1995:90; Reyes 2009:125). Indigenous women can also be associated with specific adornment types, including incised bird bone ear tubes and tattoos, represented by a possible bone and metal tattooing device (Barrett and Gifford 1933:223-4, 1940:179-81, 227-29; Hudson and Bates 2015:147-49).

There are some private/household features at Mission Santa Clara that contain more artifacts used by women when compared to communal features. For example, one household refuse feature contained a large number of cooking vessels and groundstone, and another contained forty-five fragments of bone

batten detritus, a complete bone batten, a bone awl, five metal cooking vessels, three milling slabs, three pestles, a tattoo device, and eight incised bird bone ear tubes. However, the data indicate that women were also occupying, using, and disposing of material within public/communal features at a significant rate. Importantly, the household features contained artifacts associated with labor approved by colonists, such as food preparation, and the communal features contained artifacts that might not have been as accepted, such as incised bird bone ear tubes marking Tribal designations, and bone awls used to construct traditional baskets. All of the daily practices of women, approved or not, were performed in both public and private spaces.

Conclusions

For women living in the mission rancherías, organized labor was influenced by both Spanish and traditionally prescribed gender roles: cooking, sewing, weaving, basketmaking, and child rearing were all traditional female tasks also acceptable to a Spanish gender ideology. These practices appear to have continued within the ranchería, at least at Mission Santa Clara, in both public and private spaces. Women were permitted to practice traditional lifeways out in open, public spaces. Women also continued practices that were likely not as sanctioned by the Spanish, both in public and private spaces within the ranchería; tattooing, using traditional stone tools, and wearing incised bird bone ear tubes continued in public spaces. Because women and their labor were generally seen as "non-threatening," women may have been able to subvert the Spanish and practice traditional lifeways out in the open.

Indigenous women experienced much abuse at the hands of the Spanish and were not given the same access as men into colonial systems of power. Their lives were greatly impacted by the California mission system in unique ways based on their gender. However, because of the parallels between women's economic roles in Spanish and Indigenous cultures, women's traditional economic practices were allowed to continue in public spaces. In addition, women practiced traditional social, political, and possibly religious lifeways openly in the ranchería, and some women, like Hilaria, continued to hold positions of authority in their communities. Women were also publicly negotiating other, less approved social and political roles. Accordingly, women actively taught children about traditional practices and were very active in ensuring their persistence. In addition, the continued practice of traditional lifeways, knowledge, and ritual may have provided Indigenous women an opportunity to access positions of power in a colonial system that denied them such accolades.

II.B – PERSISTENCE AND ADAPTATION OF TRADITIONAL CULTURE INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE MISSIONS

As a reflection of daily practices—such as labor, leisure, worship, diet, and more—the material culture of Native Californians living in mission settings has been an enduring topic of research. Though the documentary record does contain important information, this research area has long been the domain of archaeologists. Early investigations were rooted in the broader application of acculturation theory in the social sciences, with an underlying assumption that Native material culture underwent a unidirectional shift from traditional forms to those introduced by Europeans (Deetz 1963; Hoover 1989). Using material evidence from California mission sites, subsequent research has shown that the process of acculturation was not so simple. For example, Farnsworth's (1992) research at Mission Soledad demonstrates that the shifting economic situation after Mexican independence eased pressures on Native

Californians to adopt European lifeways. More recent research at California missions and related sites has continued to offer evidence for how Native people adopted introduced goods and adapted traditional technologies (Arkush 2011; Panich 2016; Peelo et al. 2018a; Silliman 2001b).

Native people living at the missions used certain European technologies that lacked local antecedents in ways that nevertheless made sense within existing practices and worldviews. At the same time, many introduced goods were actively incorporated into existing Indigenous traditions. Yet Native technologies and related regional trade networks also continued in various ways, particularly along the margins of the colonial world (Arkush 1993; Panich et al. 2018c). Thus, it is not uncommon for sites dating well after the onset of colonization to have few, if any, introduced items of material culture, leading to an under-appreciation of post-contact Indigenous histories in many regions of California (Panich and Schneider 2019; Schneider 2015a). The first section below (II.B.1) discusses archaeological evidence for these intertwined processes within Native and mission contexts.

Similar processes unfolded in the realm of subsistence and foodways discussed in the second section (II.B.2). Prior to colonization, Native Californians had complex subsistence practices designed to buffer short-term environmental fluctuations. Many Indigenous people—within and outside the missions—continued to hunt and gather after the arrival of the Spanish in 1769. In some instances, the Franciscans even encouraged people to return to their homelands to harvest wild resources as the mission agricultural programs were often unstable, particularly in the early years (Farris 2014b; Hackel 2005). The documentary and archaeological records demonstrate that local resources remained important to many groups despite the growing presence of introduced species. For example, one of the most detailed documents describing the lives of Native people living at the Alta California missions is the interrogatorio (questionnaire), circulated between 1813 and 1815 (Geiger and Meighan 1976). In response to questions about foodways and subsistence, Franciscans at all eighteen missions for which there were responses included details about Indigenous hunting and gathering—practices that are also reflected archaeologically (e.g., Cuthrell et al. 2016; Popper 2016; Reddy 2015).

The final section (II.B.3) considers Indigenous religion in the Mission Period. Here again, documentary evidence suggests that Native Californians maintained a strong attachment to traditional beliefs, including the importance of dance and song. Similar findings have been demonstrated through archaeological investigations of Native residential areas at Alta California missions where archaeologists have recovered charmstones, bird bone whistles and tubes, tobacco seeds, and the remnants of mourning ceremonies. All these point to the clandestine practice of Indigenous ceremonies and rituals out of sight of the Franciscans (Arkush 2011; Cuthrell et al. 2016; Dietler et al. 2018a; Greenwood 1976; Panich et al. 2018a; Peelo et al. 2018a). Clearly, Native people found ways to continue their spiritual traditions and, in some cases, blend them with the Catholicism taught at the missions. As discussed below, these findings demonstrate that conversion was much more tenuous than baptismal figures alone would suggest.

II.B.1 – Production, Trade Networks, and Consumption

The following discussion focus specifically on what material culture can tell us about the persistence of Indigenous cultural traditions, social positions, and economic relationships in the Mission Period. For ease

of presentation, objects that originated from Indigenous networks and those initially obtained from colonists are discussed separately. In practice, the division between the two was likely fluid and dynamic and people and goods passed across colonially imposed boundaries throughout the Mission Period.

Indigenous Production, Consumption, and Trade Networks in the Native World

As Franciscan missions were specifically designed to enculturate Native Californians into Euro-American lifeways, one way to understand the persistence of Indigenous cultures in California is to examine how Native people maintained aspects of traditional technologies, access to associated raw materials, and the socio-cultural meanings of material culture (Arkush 2011). While the archaeological evidence is clear that Native people maintained many traditional technological practices during the Mission Period, it has proved challenging to directly link specific artifact types (such as shell beads or stone tools) to members of specific Tribal communities or even broader ethnolinguistic groups who lived at particular mission sites. For example, the ethnolinguistic composition of Mission Santa Clara shifted radically from Ohlone speakers in its early years to increasing numbers of Yokuts speakers after 1810; however, few clear archaeological signatures for these demographic changes have been identified despite extensive excavations in the Native ranchería (e.g., Panich et al. 2014; Peelo et al. 2018a; Potter et al. 2021b). Instead, access to outside resources like shell bead money or certain types of lithic materials may have had more to do with social status within particular mission populations (Brown et al. 2023; Panich et al. 2014).

This section focuses on the manufacture and distribution of shell beads and stone tools (particularly obsidian). It is worth pointing out that beads and stone tools were part of larger conveyance networks that included a range of other materials, including those introduced by colonists (Arkush 1993). However, both shell beads and stone tools are abundant in Native ranchería sites at most California missions as well as in nearly all contemporaneous Native Californian sites within and outside colonial control. They also provide important details about shifts in production techniques and trade networks. Stone tools in particular reveal broad patterns of material availability across the region identified by cutting-edge geochemical analyses. Beads and stone tools also have important implications for social status, making them particularly useful for understanding the persistence of a range of Indigenous traditions during the Mission Period in Alta California.

Shell Beads

Shell beads have been recovered from a range of Mission Period sites across California, in mission compounds and far-flung Native refugia. The data point toward persistence of Indigenous value systems that had been based on shell beads for millennia prior to the arrival of Europeans. Native Californians in many mission contexts produced certain kinds of shell beads for local use. For example, there is good archaeological evidence of Indigenous manufacture of *Olivella* (*Callianax*) disks (Class H) at Mission La Purísima near traditional Chumash bead production centers, as well as at Missions Santa Cruz and Santa Clara farther north (Allen 1992, 1998; Brown 2021; Hylkema and Maher in press). Native Californians also manufactured some spire-lopped *Olivella* beads (Class A) at Mission Santa Clara (Burns 2019; Hylkema and Maher in press; Peelo et al. 2018a). But in many cases, shell beads produced outside the missions were conveyed across long distances as part of persistent exchange networks. Generally speaking, archaeologists have identified beads that originated in two distinct regions and dispersed via overlapping, but likely independent, circulation networks from late precontact times into

the Mission Period—one in north-central California and the other centered on the Santa Barbara Channel Islands and nearby mainland sites (Rosenthal 2011).

The northern shell bead exchange network centered on disk beads manufactured from shells of various clam species native to the Pacific Coast of central and northern California. Traditionally, these clamshell disk beads were used in a wide swath ranging from the Point Reyes-Bodega Bay region along the coast eastward into the Sacramento River Valley. Most manufacturing sites were located inland, a pattern that persisted well into the nineteenth century as indicated by clamshell bead manufacturing materials found at the autonomous Patwin site CA-YOL-69 (ca. 1800-1825) along Cache Creek in Yolo County as well as at Rancho Petaluma in Sonoma County (1834-1850s; Alvarez and Parkman 2014; Wiberg 2005). Clamshell disk beads are present at a range of Mission Period archaeological sites across the hinterlands of Marin and Sonoma Counties, the missions and other colonial centers of the San Francisco Bay Region, and autonomous Native villages in the greater Central Valley (Eubanks 2019; Panich 2014; Rosenthal 2011).

A second, more southerly circulation zone involved *Olivella* beads produced by Chumash and Tongva people living on the Channel Islands and along the Santa Barbara Channel. Autonomous Mission Period Chumash sites have yielded shell detritus associated with the mass production of *Olivella* beads (particularly Class H disks; Graesch 2004). Many such beads were used locally in the greater Santa Barbara Channel region, but others were moved long distances via Indigenous networks that circulated throughout southern California and as far north as the Sacramento River Valley (Bennyhoff 1977:44; Gamble and Zepeda 2002). For example, the isotopic analysis of *Olivella* disk beads (Class H) recovered from Mission Santa Clara directly links these beads to production centers in southern California (Burns 2019; Eerkens et al. 2005).

Whether shell beads were locally produced or exchanged over long distances, Native people continued to use them in myriad ways—as items of exchange, personal adornment, basket decorations, and offerings for the deceased. For example, *Olivella* beads (likely produced by Chumash artisans) found at the Mission Period site of Amat Inuk in San Diego County were associated with a number of burials, demonstrating not only the perpetuation of long-distance trade but also the use of shell beads for important purposes such as mourning. Copious amounts of shell beads, made of *Olivella*, clamshell, *Haliotis* (abalone), mussel, and scallop, were also recovered from a range of habitation, ritual, and burial Mission Period contexts in the Los Angeles Basin (Cannon 2016). Taken together, these data reveal remarkable persistence of bead manufacture, use, and conveyance within and outside mission establishments.

Shell ornaments continued to communicate aspects of an individual's social status during the Mission Period. Shell beads and abalone pendants were valued as tokens of wealth and status, serving as symbols of membership and rank within a variety of exclusive societies among widely distributed populations (e.g., Hudson and Blackburn 1986; Kroeber 1932; Patterson 2014). For example, recent archaeological investigations in the Native ranchería at Mission Santa Clara uncovered vast quantities of shell beads and ornaments, including 152 modified *Haliotis* artifacts, and 7,053 shell beads of various types (Hylkema and Maher in press; McKenzie in press). In other research at Mission Santa Clara, shell beads, including *Olivella*, clamshell, and *Haliotis* epidermis beads, have been recovered from both of the main mission cemeteries as well as from pits in the mission ranchería likely used for traditional mourning

ceremonies (Panich 2014; Potter et al. 2021b). As detailed by specialized studies (e.g., Burns 2019), some of these materials were produced at the mission while others were obtained through long-distance conveyance. Together they provide insight into how Native people continued to produce and reproduce status in the colonial world (Peelo et al. 2018a).

Obsidian and Stone Tools

Obsidian—naturally occurring volcanic glass—is another important archaeological marker of Indigenous trade networks and consumption patterns as each geological "source" of obsidian has a unique chemical signature. Models of obsidian acquisition typically assume that culturally bounded landscapes, such as those existing in Native California prior to the Spanish invasion, served to restrict direct access to geographically circumscribed sources, resulting in exchange systems that conveyed obsidian across Tribal and ethnolinguistic boundaries. Thus, although some local consumption no doubt occurred, most obsidian was conveyed outward from quarries and other source areas via regional exchange networks for thousands of years (Hughes and Milliken 2007; Jackson and Ericson 1994), a pattern that continued in many cases into the Mission Period.

In the San Francisco Bay region, the most common obsidians associated with late precontact and Mission Period sites were from the North Coast Ranges, primarily the large Napa Valley source area and the nearby, but more geographically restricted Annadel source (Martindale Johnson 2020; Panich 2016; Panich et al. 2018c; Parkman 1983; Schneider et al. 2014). During the Mission Period, Native people also used obsidian from sources in the eastern Sierra Nevada, such as Bodie Hills, Casa Diablo, and the Coso Volcanic Field. The former two were more prevalent in central California and the greater San Francisco Bay region, while Coso obsidian was more commonly used to the south (Panich 2016). In the far southern parts of Alta California, Native groups such as the Kumeyaay used the large obsidian outcrops at Obsidian Butte (southeast California) as well as a source in northern Baja California dubbed Tinajas, although questions remain about whether the latter source was used during the Mission Period in Alta California (Panich et al. 2017; Shackley 2019). Sites in the Los Angeles Basin have yielded an interesting mix of obsidian from eastern Sierra sources and Obsidian Butte (Peterson et al. 2016). Supplementing investigations into regional exchange networks, obsidian hydration analysis indicates that Native people recycled older obsidian artifacts in a variety of Mission Period contexts including missions, ranchos, and relatively autonomous Indigenous settlements (Hull 2009; Panich et al. 2018c; Silliman 2005).

As an important raw material for stone tools, obsidian was likely highly prized in mission contexts. In central California, excavations at mission sites have yielded large numbers of obsidian artifacts—cores, flakes, and formal tools—that came from geological sources more than 62 miles away. These include significant obsidian assemblages from Missions Santa Clara and San José (Ellison in press; Panich 2016; Panich et al. 2018c). As in other contexts, the prevalence of obsidian in these socially restrictive settings may suggest that Native people—men in particular—used obsidian and the ability to acquire it as a way to bolster their status and identity within specific Tribal groups (Silliman 2001b). A chipped obsidian cross found at a Coast Miwok site near Mission San Rafael may further speak to the potency of the material in the context of religious conversion and directed acculturation (Panich and Schneider 2015:55). Obsidian from southern California missions is rarer—partly due to their distance from geological sources.

However, some examples stand out, including obsidian projectile points from Missions San Buenaventura and San Fernando (Panich et al. 2021b; and see Peterson et al. 2016).

Obsidian was not the only raw material used for stone tools in the Mission Period. Various cherts were also used but are not as conducive to geochemical provenance analysis. Still, archaeological research at the Presidio of San Francisco and nearby Rancho Petaluma in Sonoma County indicates that Native people there, likely laborers, used local cherts for a variety of purposes even as they relied on obsidian for bifaces and projectile points (Hull and Voss 2016; Silliman 2003). Chert flakes are also present at Missions Santa Clara and San José, even though chert projectile points are less prevalent than those manufactured from obsidian. Farther south, however, chert was the primary raw material for projectile points at many missions stretching from Santa Cruz to San Buenaventura (Ellison in press; Panich et al. 2018a; Panich et al. 2021b). Though less commonly studied, the manufacture, use, and recycling of groundstone is additionally worth examining in colonial contexts, as exemplified from recent research at Mission La Purísima where certain soapstone vessels were refashioned from earlier forms (Brown 2018). As with shell beads, the prevalence of obsidian and other stone tools and flakes from sites throughout colonial California demonstrates that Native Californians persisted in maintaining core aspects of their traditional technologies.

Indigenous Production, Consumption, and Trade of Colonial Goods

Once introduced objects made their way to the California missions they were disseminated to (or otherwise acquired by), modified, and used by diverse groups of people living at the missions via smaller, micro-economic processes. In general, Native Californian traditions structured the ways foreign materials were used in local contexts, as Native people incorporated colonial cultural material and practices into their new lives. Foreign materials and objects, such as clay pots and metal tools, were constructed by Indigenous artisans and used by the Native population. Other objects, such as glass beads and imported ceramics, were produced outside California but exchanged and consumed in traditional ways. For example, it appears that Native people used European refuse to create glass and ceramic projectile points that provided a means for active resistance (Panich et al. 2021b). Similarly, metal objects, such as knives, and horse handling gear associated with Native vaqueros have been recovered archaeologically from mortuary contexts throughout the region (Gamble 2008; Panich 2017; Swope and Douglass 2016). By producing, exchanging, and consuming European items in Native ways, local people embodied foreign commodities with Indigenous values. Below, significant research on specific artifact classes is highlighted.

Locally Produced Ceramics

"Missionware" or "plainwares" are terms commonly used to refer to low-fired earthenwares produced by Indigenous and colonial people of California from 1769 through the 1840s (e.g., Deetz 1963; Farnsworth 1987; Hoover 1989). For thousands of years, California Native Peoples produced woven baskets instead of ceramic vessels (e.g., Bates 1992, 1993; Elsasser 1978; Shanks and Shanks 2006; Yamane 1997); only a few communities (e.g., Yokuts and Kumeyaay) produced pottery prior to Spanish colonization (e.g., Drover 1975; Gayton 1929; Jackson 1990; Johnson 1990; Love and Resnick 1983; May 1978; VanCamp 1979). Skilled potters trained in the Spanish technological style, such as Mariano Tapia and José Antonio Romero, were hired by the Spanish Crown to travel from Mexico to Alta California and teach Native people in the missions this craft (Engelhardt 1924:121; Guest 1973:302,

306, 336; Johnson 1985:54; Langellier and Rosen 1996:87; Schuetz-Miller 1994:91; Skowronek et al. 2006; Voss 2008:222).

While these ceramics are all fired at low temperatures, there are other attributes that offer clues to production methods—wheel-throwing, coiling, slab-building, pinching, and molding clay around a basket. Vessels took the shape of Spanish soup plates, Mexican Indian cooking pots, and traditional baskets. When researchers looked at the chemical components of paste samples using instrumental neutron activation analysis, they determined that generally each mission, presidio, and pueblo community produced pottery with their own geochemically distinct local clay (Skowronek et al. 2009).

An in-depth study of plainware pottery produced at Mission San Antonio de Padua examined the variability of the pottery assemblage from this mission at each stage of manufacture, including clay procurement, temper choice, primary production techniques, decoration, finishing, and firing (Peelo 2011). Those making plainwares at this mission extracted clay from the same local source and tempered their clay with local granitic-rhyolitic sand. Potters then used distinct primary and secondary production techniques to construct vessels of multiple forms. For the final step, potters chose to fire their plainwares in open fires. It seems that both men and women produced pottery at Mission San Antonio de Padua, in both workshop and household settings. Some Indigenous men who became potters probably learned this craft from Mariano Tapia when he visited the region in the 1790s, or from others who learned directly from this Mexican potter. Native California women in the missions may have also taken up household ceramic production possibly learned from Indigenous women from Baja California, the San Diego area, and San Joaquin Valley, regions where Native people traditionally made ceramics.

Glass Beads

Throughout California, Native people incorporated glass beads into existing shell bead economies and associated practices. Archaeological evidence suggests that Native people in both mission and non-mission settings used glass and shell beads in much the same ways: for personal adornment, as currency or status symbols, and in some contexts as grave goods or as offerings in other forms of mortuary ceremonies (Panich 2014, 2015; Robinson 2013; Ross et al. 2016). Indeed, beads of various materials formed much of the economic foundation of the Indigenous value system in colonial California (Allen 1998:95). The Franciscans and other colonists recognized the importance of beads for Indigenous people, and the responses to the interrogatorio of 1813-1815 mention the use of beads among Native people living at several missions, including San Luis Obispo, San Antonio de Padua, San Juan Bautista, and Santa Cruz (Geiger and Meighan 1976).

Colonists were the main sources of glass beads which were typically ordered by individual missions and presidios from suppliers in Mexico. Such beads were used to facilitate passage through Native-controlled territory, entice would-be converts to the missions, and pay for Native labor conducted outside of the mission communities (O'Neil 1992; Hackel 2005, 2016). In some cases, Indigenous glass bead preferences even drove colonial purchasing decisions, as reflected in the archaeological distribution of different colors of glass beads in different parts of California. In the north, Ohlone, Coast Miwok, and others preferred white beads, whereas blue, green, and purple glass beads are more common in the Chumash and Tongva territories of southern California (Brown 2021; Dadiego et al. 2021; Panich

2014; Ross et al. 2016). Beyond these regional trends, archaeologists have documented hundreds of distinct types of glass beads from Mission Period sites in California, highlighting their importance for Native people (e.g., Meighan in press).

For example, recent excavations at Mission San José recovered more than 2,800 glass beads from the remnants of an adobe structure that was home to Native people living at the mission; nearby domestic refuse features included some 500 additional glass beads (Panich et al. 2018a). The quantity of beads from the residential adobe may be related to the occupant's status (cf. Allen 1998; Panich et al. 2014) as excavations at a different adobe dormitory yielded far fewer beads (Thompson 2003). Interestingly, earlier excavations at the site of the colonial-era church at Mission San José resulted in the collection of 570 glass beads as well as more than one hundred shell beads (Dietz 1983). Taken together, the overall color patterns are similar throughout all contexts, with white and off-white predominating. This may relate to the similarity between white glass beads and traditional white to off-white *Olivella* and clamshell disk beads (Panich et al. 2018a).

Metal Artifacts

Metal workshops were often established at the California missions to construct new tools and repair worn-out materials. For example, the 1792 informes indicate that Mission Santa Clara established an "equipped forge" and purchased an anvil for metalworking the next year (Skowronek et al. 2006:161). Skilled blacksmiths from central Mexico assisted in efforts to colonize and build new missions. Historical records indicate that at least six blacksmiths arrived with the Portolá Expedition in 1769 (leading to founding of the first California missions at San Diego and Carmel), while Father Serra indicates that one blacksmith served several missions in 1773 (Simmons and Turley 1980). Metallurgy trades were generally practiced in or near the mission quadrangle. In addition to practicing metallurgy in workshops, Native people living in some mission rancherías appear to have practiced metallurgy in this residential space, as evidenced by slag, sheet copper scrap, and copper rods, as well as riveted and repaired copper vessels recovered from household refuse pits (Phillip and Peelo in press).

A variety of functional classes of metal was recently recovered from a range of features within the Native ranchería at Mission Santa Clara (Phillip and Peelo in press). Roughly a quarter of the metal recovered was rusted, fragmentary, and unidentifiable. Seventy-five percent of the assemblage was identifiable, lending information about access to and use of imported metal artifacts within the ranchería. Many artifacts listed in the informes were recovered, including copper and iron vessels, bell clappers, a scythe, a padlock, several spurs, and scissors. Interestingly, many metal objects not listed on the informes were also recovered, including abundant construction material (e.g., nails, wire), items of personal adornment, copper pots, and copper rods.

Metal buttons present in the ranchería assemblage at Mission Santa Clara may have been used by Native people as money or noisemakers. Mission documents, such as censuses performed at Mission San José, indicate that clothing and metal buttons were used as payment for Native labor (Bauer 1953; Carrillo 1877; Cleland 1941; Hackel 1998). This practice is a reproduction of the traditional association of other small, portable objects, namely shell beads, with a monetary value (Heizer 1962, 1975). Buttons may have also been interpreted through an Indigenous mindset in another way. Sandos and

Sandos (2014:607) illustrate that Native laborers at Mission San José highlighted their desire for metal buttons because of the sounds these objects made when they were hung together or were woven in groups into garments for Native dances. Native musicians traditionally used bird-bone whistles, clapper sticks, turtle-shell shakers, and other instruments made from local products, and it is likely that metal objects like buttons were used in similar ways (Rizzo 2016).

II.B.2 – Subsistence and Foodways

While archival sources provide key information on the role of plant and animal foods in Native diets in the missions, this topic is best addressed through study of animal and charred plant remains preserved in archaeological deposits. These data provide insights into the role of domesticated and wild plants and animals in Native people's daily diets and during special events both inside and outside mission cascos.

Lightfoot and Parrish (2009:50-94) discuss the varied richness of topography, vegetation, climate, and landscape in California, highlighting its resource diversity and productivity, and how complex, logistically organized Native hunter-gatherers harvested and stored wild plants and animals. Animal foods included a wide range of terrestrial and marine mammals, marine and freshwater fish and shellfish, birds, amphibians, reptiles, and insects. Plant foods included very diverse nuts, small seeds, berries, roots, corms, flowers, and greens. Indigenous people actively managed the land and its resources through prescribed burning and tending to enhance growth of certain plants, for example for food or basketry material (Anderson 2007; Cuthrell 2013; Lightfoot and Parrish 2009; Lightfoot et al. 2021b; Sigona et al. 2021). Some plant foods, like staple acorns, needed intensive preparation before consumption. Social factors—investment in labor, risk assessment, population density, settlement organization, and cultural preference—also played a prominent role.

Traditional Native subsistence practices and foods were affected by introduced weeds, cultivated plants, and domesticated animals into the landscape with the arrival of Europeans and colonialism. Native populations of the California missions were inculcated into Spanish agricultural and stock-raising practices in direct contradiction to traditional hunting and gathering lifeways.

Native subsistence practices and foods outside the mission complex ("hinterlands") are discussed independently of those within the mission casco to demonstrate similarities and differences in data and implications within and beyond controlled colonial landscapes. This discussion draws on data from select sites across the state; few mission-associated sites dating to the period of significance have been excavated and studied.

Subsistence Outside the Mission Cascos

The focus here is on charred plant remains and animal bone recovered and analyzed from three Native village sites in the hinterlands—Síi Túupentak (Ohlone; CA-ALA-565/H), dating ca. 1744-1831, in Sunol, San Francisco East Bay, less than ten miles from Mission San José; Patwin site CA-YOL-69, dating ca. 1800-1825, north of San Francisco Bay along Cache Creek; and Guaspet (CA-LAN-62 and CA-LAN-211), an ethnohistoric Tongva village in the Los Angeles Basin.

Plant Foods

Features at Síi Túupentak provided insights into plant use in the earlier and later Mission Period. Two features (29 and 41) dating to 1744-1805, yielded seeds of cultivated crops such as wheat or barley, corn, and watermelon (Wohlgemuth 2021) along with introduced non-edible weeds such as filaree seeds. Native wild foods were represented by low densities of nutshell fragments and significant amounts of native goldfields seeds. Most key native food plants commonly found in precontact site contexts were absent. Another feature (40), dating to 1831, likely left by Native people working as laborers at a nearby rancho in Sunol, contained abundant wheat, corn, barley, and watermelon, and also had inedible introduced mallow and filaree weed seeds (Wohlgemuth 2021). The feature had much fewer native nuts and small seeds than precontact site deposits so cultigens may have supplanted them by this time.

Five features from CA-YOL-69 yielded filaree and wheat but wheat was uncommon, probably obtained in trade or brought to the village by Natives during paseos or from Native people in contact with the Spanish (Wohlgemuth 2005). Most CA-YOL-69 features were replete with acorn, manzanita, and native small seeds, suggesting wheat supplemented rather than replaced native foods.

Plant foods were recovered from refuse, feasting, and mortuary features at Guaspet (Reddy 2015, 2016; Reddy and Douglass 2018). Plant remains from the mourning ceremonial area at CA-LAN-62 were from well-preserved thermal features containing burned basketry, while those from CA-LAN-211 were from feasting activities, habitation midden, and refuse features. Plant remains occurred in high densities, with wild grasses accounting for the majority, and a focus on wild barley and maygrass. Introduced non-native cultigens accounted for less than one percent of the combined collection and included low frequencies of six domesticated crops (chickpea, garden pea, oats, barley, wheat, and corn). Introduced cultigens occurred in higher ratios in the feasting contexts compared to the mourning contexts, indicating more resistance to integrating new plant foods into ceremonial events than in feasting meals (Reddy 2015, 2016).

Animal Foods

Data from two pre-1805 features (29 and 41) at Síi Túupentak indicated use of deer and small/medium mammals. Mammals from a third Síi Túupentak feature (40), dating to 1831 and likely associated with Native ranch labor, included cow, sheep/goat, and cat and lacked wild animals, reflecting a late Mission Period shift to domesticates from the broad-spectrum use of animals in precontact contexts (Whitaker 2021). Both earlier and later features had minimal marine fish or shellfish that are frequent in precontact deposits, indicating disruption of Native movement to the bay shore or exchange with shoreline groups.

At Guaspet, diverse faunal remains from mourning and feasting contexts included terrestrial mammals, sea-mammals, fish, birds, and reptiles, as well as domesticated animal remains (cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and chickens; Lev-Tov et al. 2016; Reddy et al. 2016). Mourning features contained more mammals and birds, few cartilaginous fish, but many bony fish. The feasting features had more fish, particularly cartilaginous fish. Domesticated animal bones were present in similar frequencies in both mourning and feasting contexts, suggesting that Native people did not distinguish between wild or domesticated animals acquired from the missions and ranchos in these important activities.

Summary

Subsistence data from archaeological sites beyond mission cascos indicate continued use of native plants as staples, refuting arguments that native vegetation throughout lowland California was significantly impacted and Native people could not survive on their traditional foods (e.g., Allen 1998; Hackel 2005; Larson et al. 1994; Milliken 1995). Secondly, there appears to be a gradual acceptance of introduced cultigens into daily diets and in ceremonial and feasting contexts. Finally, the cultigens and domesticated animal foods were likely obtained by Native people of Síi Túupentak and Guaspet as part of payments from the Spanish presidios and ranchos that regularly needed Native labor, or during paseo returns to ancestral villages.

Subsistence Within the Mission Cascos

Spanish control of Native subsistence practices and foods within mission complexes was not complete. The discussion below draws on data from the few missions with adequately recovered data.

Plant Foods

Insights on plant foods within Indigenous spaces come from five missions—San Gabriel, San Fernando, La Purísima, San Luis Obispo, and Santa Clara. The most reliable data are from the Native ranchería at Santa Clara where the number of identified plant specimens is more than six times the combined total from all other missions (Table 6; Popper 2009, 2016; Puseman et al. 2012; Reddy 2021; Wohlgemuth 2017).

Table 6. Mission Plant Remains—Relative Percentage of Cultigens versus Wild Seeds and Nuts

	Mission Santa Clara	Mission San Luis Obispo	Mission La Purísima	Mission La Purísima	Mission San Gabriel	Mission San Fernando
Citation	Wohlgemuth 2017	Popper 2016	Popper 2016	Brown 2021	Puseman et al. 2012	Popper 2009
No. Flotation Samples	38	15	15	5	83	12
No. Identified Specimens	16,231	895 [a]	542 [a]	552	322	275
Contexts Sampled	Communal and household refuse features	Midden outside adobe quadrangle	Midden outside adobe quadrangle	Native quarters	Mission gardens	Granary foundation, oven, midden
Data Reliability	Very High	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Low	Low
% Cultigen	12	8	16	26	37	56
% Wild Plants	88	92	84	74	63	44

Notes: [a] – Reflects maximum values only.

Much variation in plant remains from different missions is likely due to the contexts sampled for flotation (such as the presence of features and feature types excavated) and preservation conditions. Higher prevalence of Eurasian crops at Santa Clara is in part due to the sampling of crop-processing features which contained hundreds or thousands of grains and chaff fragments (Wohlgemuth 2017). At the other extreme are the very sparse finds from non-feature deposits in the gardens of Mission San Gabriel (Potter 2015). While archival sources note San Gabriel as the leading wheat producer of all missions (Gentilcore 1961), wheat remains are, to date, nearly absent (Potter 2015).

Acorn is prevalent at three of the studied missions. They are virtually absent at Missions San Fernando and San Gabriel, which is mysterious since oaks are common in the vicinity of both. Similarly puzzling, the ubiquity of watermelon at Santa Clara contrasts with its absence or near-absence at other missions. Despite these distinctions, cultigens and Eurasian field weeds are common at all five missions, with presence values exceeding or comparable to native food plants, reflecting the common denominator of farming to all missions prominent in archival sources (e.g., Gentilcore 1961).

The notion that Native mission residents were predominantly fed the products of field crops does not square with the higher relative percentage of wild nuts and seeds at four of the five missions (see Table 6). There are issues with percentage data reliability—to what size grade was nutshell sorted, how plant remains are counted, the number of identified specimens (NISP), and the number and range of contexts studied. Percentages are not exact measures of the dietary contribution of native plants versus Eurasian cultigens, but rather a metric comparing native food and cultigens from plant assemblages of different missions and non-mission sites that provide standardized data on relative use of these foods. Even with these caveats, the dominance of native foods (74% to 92% excepting San Fernando and San Gabriel where sampling is suspect) clearly indicates persistence of Indigenous practices in using traditional wild foods under the mission system (**Table 6**).

In addition to persistence of Native practices, mission agricultural and population records also suggest that traditional foods made critical dietary contributions. Paired harvest and population data from informes for thirty-four years between 1782 and 1832 at Mission Santa Clara reveal near-constant shortfalls in agricultural production to meet the annual caloric needs of Native people. In twenty-one of the thirty-four years, harvests did not meet ninety percent of plant caloric needs (Wohlgemuth 2017). Native plant foods were therefore vital to keep people alive.

Continuity or change of plant use within the Mission Period can be addressed only at Santa Clara where plant data are parsed into Early (1784-1798), Middle (1799-1820), and Late (1821-1850) ceramic phases. Wheat and corn production appears relatively constant, while charred barley grains increase during the Late phase. Peach finds increase after the Early phase reflecting the lag from planting to full production in orchard trees. Interestingly, watermelon seeds are much more common in the Late phase. Native edible small seeds are common in the Early phase, decline significantly during the Middle, and nearly disappear during the Late phase, reflecting increased replacement of herbaceous native food plants with Eurasian invasives in the Native daily plant-gathering radius around the mission. Counter to this trend is the Late decline in Eurasian field weeds mallow and filaree, perhaps due to improved agricultural practices in mission fields or in grain cleaning during harvest and threshing.

Distinct patterns of plant remains found in smaller household and larger communal refuse features at Mission Santa Clara may show trends in plant use in public versus private contexts (the lack of specific context or low NISP preclude this analysis at other missions). Household features have high frequencies of acorn nutshell, native small seeds, and watermelon seeds, while communal deposits have more cultigens and more distant, non-local native hazel, gray pine, manzanita, and currant berries. Acorns and edible small seeds appear to have been gathered, processed, and consumed more by households, and while both are also common in the communal deposits, may have been considered more as private resources. Interestingly, watermelon also may have been viewed as a private resource. The major cultigens appear to have been more of a public resource grown, processed, and consumed by the community at large. Distant native nuts and berries targeted by communal forays also may have been public resources; the prevalence of distant pine nuts at Mission San Gabriel (Potter 2015) might suggest pine nuts were public resources there as well. While greater use of local native plants in private contexts suggests persistent practices in Native households, more watermelon in household features suggests incorporating new foods into Native foodways from household gardens.

Psychoactive plant remains also vary by context at Santa Clara. *Datura* spp. (also known as jimsonweed or toloache) was found about equally in communal and household features, while tobacco was more than three times as prevalent in household deposits as in communal features. The widespread finding of jimsonweed and tobacco at Santa Clara and tobacco at San Gabriel points to Native agency in persistence of ritual practices despite Spanish religious strictures and prohibitions.

Many references in the historical literature indicate the significant quantity and important role wild foods played in the diet of Native people in several California missions. Father Palou in 1773 commented that Native people at Mission San Antonio ate wild seeds, acorns, and pine nuts that they gathered (cited in Engelhardt 1972[1929]:12). Father José also commented on gathering practices at Mission San Buenaventura noting that Native people in the mission had supplies of acorns, chia, seeds, fruits, and other various wild foods which were all valued (cited in Webb 1982[1952]:40).

Animal Foods

Data about animal foods through faunal analysis are available from nine missions: San Antonio (Langenwalter and McKee 1985), La Purísima (Gust 2004), San Luis Obispo (Gust 2006), Santa Cruz (Allen 1998), San José (Panich et al. 2018a), San Juan Bautista (St. Clair 2005), San Buenaventura (Romani and Toren 1975), San Gabriel (Dietler et al. 2015; Potter 2015) and Santa Clara (Garlinghouse 2009; Garlinghouse and Boone in press; Noe 2022).

All the data clearly indicate the importance of cattle in Native diets, and wild animals played a notable role too (Allen 1998:42; Panich et al. 2018a; Popper 2016; Smith-Lintner 2007; St. Clair 2005). At Mission San Gabriel, the Native diet was dominated by cattle and sheep. Wild animal remains, including deer, were few, perhaps due to decreases in deer populations from encroachment by ranching and agriculture. Domesticated animals were butchered by the Native people using Spanish techniques, but Indigenous butchering techniques were employed for wild animals (Dietler et al. 2015).

At Mission Santa Clara faunal remains are frequently the most conspicuous constituents in many archaeological features, sometimes forming distinctive layers or concentrations with articulated carcasses. Cattle bones are usually the most abundant remains by weight and the most numerous of domestic animals, though other domestic livestock (e.g., sheep, pigs, horses, and domestic fowl) are evident. Many features contain abundant bone of many native mammals, birds, fishes, reptiles, and amphibians from outside the immediate boundaries of the mission casco. The sheer volume and variety of some of these foods (particularly freshwater fishes and squirrels) indicate that Native people in the missions were involved in traditional food gathering activities not only during paseos, but also on an ad hoc basis in their everyday mission duties. The types and variety of species, moreover, suggest that mission inhabitants expended considerable effort in obtaining these foods, as fish, small mammals, and waterfowl require relatively specialized curated toolkits (e.g., fishing tackle, nets, cordage, weirs, traps, snares, decoys) needing regular maintenance (Garlinghouse and Boone in press).

In contrast, the diets of Spanish soldiers and priests lacked wild native animal elements (e.g., Allen 1998; Gust 2004, 2006; Langenwalter and McKee 1985; Romani and Toren 1975). In addition, the beef given to the Native people within the missions was consistently limited to medium- and low-quality portions, with higher quality cuts markedly absent (Garlinghouse 2009; Kiel 2016; Noe 2022). Studies have observed high bone fragmentation and spiral fractures of cattle elements for marrow extraction in Native spaces.

A common event at all the missions were matanzas—periodic slaughter of cattle that involved Native people, priests, and vaqueros (Dale 1918; Gust 1991; Tays 1941). Cattle were butchered in large numbers to acquire hides and tallow for trade (Gust 1991). Dismemberment included removal of fat for hides, tallow, and soap; meat was a secondary by-product (Tays 1941). Cattle bones were used as fuel at least at Mission San Fernando (Enright 2010). In addition to matanza events, cattle and other animals were butchered as needed, perhaps once or twice a week for food (Engelhardt 1927b:157; Gust 1982; Tays 1941) and remains deposited in midden areas near domestic kitchens or habitations (Gust 1982; Walker and Davidson 1989).

Historical references regarding wild animals include Fathers Marquinez and Escudé at Mission Santa Cruz who documented in 1814 that in addition to beef, Native people also ate wild animal foods such as salmon, lamprey, marine fish, stranded seals and whales, and a variety of other wild mammals, waterfowl, and reptiles (cited in Geiger and Meighan 1976:87-88). Similarly, Father Palou in 1773 commented that Native people at Mission San Antonio hunted rabbits and squirrel (cited in Engelhardt 1972[1929]:12). Father José at Mission San Buenaventura noted that Native people ate wild animals including fish, mussels, ducks, geese, cranes, quail, hares, squirrels, rats, and other animals, all abundantly available.

Summary

There is ample evidence from archaeological data and ethnohistorical sources to suggest that Native communities in the missions continued their traditional subsistence practices. Depending on the success of the colonial enterprise of reducción, these foods played larger roles than hitherto suspected. At some missions, especially San Luis Rey and San Diego, Native Californians were apparently at greater liberty

to engage in their traditional practices (Shipek 1981). At Mission Santa Cruz, by contrast, Allen (1998) argues that the Franciscan missionaries exercised stricter supervision and control over their charges.

Subsistence data from mission cascos provide insights into several issues. First, there is a difference in animal versus plant foods. This may be due to opportunities available during paseos, and wild plants seem to have been more readily available around agricultural fields and orchards than were wild animals. If true, the high population density around cascos may have driven away animals rather than habitat transformation by grazing animals and invasive Eurasian weeds. Fine-grained data from Mission Santa Clara and village site Síi Túupentak show transformation was not immediate around cascos and sites in the hinterlands, but rather accelerated in the later Mission Period. Second, Mission Santa Clara faunal and floral data show Native people were given moderate and low-quality meat portions and cultivated grains, probably combined in stews and mushes. Finally, continued consumption of traditional foods by Indigenous people in the missions shows these foods were critical or important supplements to diets, as well as important in maintaining cultural traditions and social relationships.

II.B.3 – Religion and Spirituality

Prior to the disruptions of colonization, most Native Californians practiced religions that recognized the spiritual power of animals, plants, and even entire landscapes. Indigenous spiritual beliefs were regionally specific, including the World Renewal religion in far northern California, Kuksu in north-central California, the ‘Antap society along the south-central coast, and Chinigchinich in southern California; the latter two both incorporated the toloache plant. Though some internal variation no doubt existed, within each area these religious practices cut across community and language boundaries, providing the philosophical and moral foundation of Native life at a broad scale while also fostering inter-community connections. Each religion had its own set of complex public ceremonies often involving dancing and singing sacred songs as well as specialized knowledge restricted to a smaller group of spiritual practitioners who helped cure the sick and maintain well-being for their people. Shamanic traditions also remained important in certain areas of California, particularly where local people were not incorporated into one of the four major religious networks (Bean and Vane 1978; Kroeber 1925).

Conversion and Integration of Catholicism and Native Religion

A defining goal of the Franciscan mission system was to convert local Indigenous people to Roman Catholic Christianity. While the missionaries hoped that Native Californians would fully embrace the new religion, the realities of colonization meant that most baptisms occurred before individuals had attained a comprehensive understanding of Christian beliefs and practices (Hackel 2005:139-143). Accordingly, there is growing scholarly consensus that baptism of Native people did not necessarily entail true religious conversion. As noted by historian James Sandos (2004:xv): “Accepting the ritual of Baptism after eight to thirty days of rote recitation of Christian prayers did not mean Indians expelled other beliefs from their hearts and heads.” Indeed, a recent analysis, which included a tally of Native people who accepted the final sacraments, suggests that only about five percent of those baptized in the California missions truly embraced Christianity (Cordero 2017).

A critical challenge for the Franciscans was the language barrier. Though some endeavored to learn Native languages, most relied on Indigenous translators (Hackel 2005:134-139; Jackson and Castillo 1995). Yet

these Native translators made Catholicism intelligible to the many California language groups in the missions by associating it with their own Indigenous concepts and ideas. For example, Indigenous scholars and the few existing confessionals and catechisms portray strong religious figures in shamans and indicate that Indigenous practices persisted (Beeler 1967; Kelsey 1979; Smith and Johnson 2013).

Sandos (2004:20) found that Indigenous concepts of power went "virtually undetected by the missionaries" and offered Native people spiritual support and ways of coping with Christian teachings and practices. In addition to the widespread precontact religions, shamans were men and women who held particular kinds of spiritual power and knowledge that they learned from an elder who selected them for that purpose. It became more difficult at the missions where youth were separated from adults, but shamanic and other spiritual practices continued. For example, the use of toloache as part of spiritual life continued in the southern regions of California as part of the Chinigchinich and 'Antap religions. At missions farther north, it has been noted in archaeological deposits at Mission Santa Clara (II.B.2), while at Mission San José, documents describe its use in a sweatlodge located in the mission ranchería (Panich et al. 2018a:25; Sandos 1995:29).

An extraordinary manuscript written by a Payómkawichum scholar, Pablo Tac, consists of a dictionary, grammar, and history of his people under Spanish and Mexican colonialism. Tac offers a record of Payómkawichum religious and spiritual ideas and practices at Mission San Luis Rey where he was born in 1821. The manuscript shows the presence of Chinigchinich belief and practice at the mission where Spanish words gave way to Native ideas in translation. In Spanish, Tac wrote about Payómkawichum history and the way Tribes gave their allegiance to God, writing "Dios." In Tac's dictionary, Dios is translated into the Payómkawichum word Chinigchinich (Haas 2011:237). When Payómkawichum revered Chinigchinich or "God," the figure and the ideas were quite distinct from those the missionaries conveyed.

In the religious world of Mission San Luis Rey, Spanish things were incorporated into Payómkawichum spiritual practice. The word "as," for example, had two meanings in colonial Payómkawichum. It referred to the introduced, domesticated animals like the horse and cow and to supernatural figures related to shamanic practice. Shamans consulted the "as" to gain and augment their knowledge and skills as healers and other practitioners. This suggests how translators brought foreign things into Indigenous perceptions of the sacred (Haas 2011:23-25).

Dance and Song

It is apparent from nineteenth-century writing and memories that dancing and singing were important spiritual practices among Indigenous Californians during the Mission Period, despite attempts by the Franciscans to control them. Governor Felipe de Neve ordered a ban on baptized Indians holding dances in 1782, although this was only selectively enforced (Hackel 2005:264). In response to the 1813-1815 interrogatorio, all eighteen of the missions that returned responses described Native dances and songs (Geiger and Meighan 1976). According to Father Geronimo Boscana, dance was performed nearly daily at Mission San Juan Capistrano when he was there between 1814 and 1826 (Haas 2014:73). Boscana emphasized that sacred laws were conveyed through dance in the practice of Chinigchinich, establishing rights and ceremonies that preserved life (Haas 2014:74; see also Harrington 2005:205). Missionaries,

administrators, and foreign travelers documented Native dances both inside and outside the missions as part of community rituals for healing, mourning, feasts, and other events (Schneider 2021b). Yet these witnesses did not always understand, or attempt to learn about, the significance of Native dance (Chavez 2017).

Franciscan missionaries generally did not approve of traditional Native dance as religious practice. At Mission San Buenaventura, Father Señan spent a significant time in his bilingual confessional manual explaining to any missionaries who used it how to talk about dance and spiritual practices. He wanted the confessant to distinguish between believing dance could cure illness, which was a sin, and dancing because everyone was doing it, which he considered acceptable (Beeler 1967:25). At Mission San José, Father Pedro de la Cueva kept dance ornaments and paraphernalia locked up, only bringing them out when he approved a performance (Rizzo-Martinez 2022:129-130; Sandos 2004:24, Figure 2 caption).

Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff drew a Native dance at Mission San José approved by Father de la Cueva in 1806, also describing dance preparations and accompanying music (Sandos 2004:24, Figure 2 caption). Between 1815 and 1817, members of a Russian expedition witnessed Native dance at Mission San Francisco de Asís recorded in a stunning image created by Louis Choris (1815) and in detailed textual descriptions (Langer and Jackson 1988:302). Most foreigners mentioned dance only in passing, but the records left by Pablo Tac and Fernando Librado, a Chumash elder born at Mission San Buenaventura in 1839 who spoke to anthropologist John P. Harrington in the early twentieth century, mention dance at length and give it great prominence in Indigenous life within and outside the missions. In their descriptions of dances, Tac and Librado make reference to details such as the astrological order in specifying the directions of entrance of the dancers and the position of their gaze. They emphasized a connection between sound and dance, with the singer leading the dancers. Both discussed divine animation that enabled the dancers to take on animal spirits (Haas 2011:74, 77; Hudson and Underhay 1978:125).

Dance sustained traditional forms of knowledge held by elders (Haas 2014:74). It also allowed Native people to bring new things into the Indigenous sacred realm, thus gaining mastery and control over them. Tac spoke of one dance that had both male and female dancers, which was uncommon. An elder sang and as the dance proceeded, people threw the mission foods of corn and wheat on the dancers, bringing colonial things into an Indigenous framework. “Chiat” in Payómkawichum originally referred to a part of dance regalia. “Cheiis” is to “dress in this thing for dancing,” and also refers to the act of dressing or donning clothes at the mission, which brought a living memory of dance practice into something imposed by the Spanish (Haas 2011:243, 2014:80).

Fernando Librado pointed out losses in dance practice that had taken place at the Chumash missions. He lamented the songs that could no longer be performed because the particular knowledge of one or more singers had not been passed on. The high level of deaths meant losses in performers in the community. Fewer songs meant that related dances could not be performed. Still, dance and song brought communities together and reunited others for ceremonial purposes (Hudson 1979:73-74).

While dance did not have a Catholic analogue, song was prominent in both Native religions and Catholicism. Religious music played a role in Catholic indoctrination of California Native Peoples

(Hackel 2005:154). Music was central to Catholic daily ritual at the missions, with song a part of every mass and at other services (Sandos 2004:130, 135). Most missions also had a choir with thirty to forty boys and men, and many choir members were also musicians playing instruments including violin, flute, trumpet, and drums (Sandos 2004:137-138, 141). Franciscans hoped ritual singing would emotionally move Native congregants and connect them to Catholicism (Sandos 2004:131, 152).

Membership in the choir was considered prestigious by the Franciscans who gave choristers special training, clothing, and work assignments in skilled trades, creating positions of ascribed status (Sandos 2004:141-142). Choir members were also more familiar with the Spanish language and had special access to Spanish and Mexican settlers outside the missions through music, often playing at events, and work in the skilled trades (Sandos 2004:143-144). In some ways this was also similar to membership in the secret societies of some Native religions such as Kuksu and ‘Antap—open only to select individuals, identifying clothing and ceremonial attire, special social access, sharing a secret language, and having a prominent role in religious rituals (Sandos 2004:142).

Summary

Catholic religion taught at each mission was delivered in translation. Belief remained within a framework partly established by those who moved between languages to render meaning. In this way, the understanding of Christian religious figures, and the significance of their lives and teaching, took on meanings particular to Indigenous thought even as new concepts were introduced to Native people. Daily religious practice, like the mass, took place alongside dance, the meaning of which escaped the Franciscans because it remained outside the translated sphere. For example, the belief in the Chinigchinich practice present among some Chumash, Tongva, Acjachemen, Payómkawichum, and Kumeyaay Peoples during the mission era brought Indigenous vision to mission communities. Though the colonial presence set limits on Indigenous people within the missions, dance remained a significant part of spiritual life, with little counterpart in European practice, while music represented an area of accommodation and syncretism. These processes set the stage for the complex relationships that Native Californian Tribal communities have with Christianity today.

II.C – REBELLION AND RESISTANCE

Despite enduring stereotypes of docile Indigenous converts (Lorimer 2016), Native Californians resisted the mission system, and Spanish/Mexican colonization more broadly, in various ways. For example, many observers have considered the persistence of traditional culture, discussed in II.B as a form of “noncooperation” or even passive resistance (Jackson and Castillo 1995; Panich 2020). As described below, Indigenous people also resisted in more active ways, including the use of force to protect themselves and their communities and often simply by abandoning the missions altogether.

The first section (II.C.1) takes on the issue of major rebellions against the mission system. These types of uprisings began almost immediately, with the revolt at Mission San Diego in 1775 that involved Kumeyaay people from several allied villages. A decade later, at Mission San Gabriel, a spiritual leader named Toypurina helped organize a coordinated attack that likewise drew support from multiple communities. In attempting to understand such coordinated resistance, scholars have examined Indigenous accounts, which time and again refer to specific grievances, including the disruption to

existing social and economic practices, the undermining of Native spiritual leaders, and sexual assaults perpetrated by colonists against Native women (Carrico 1997; Hackel 2003). Later in the Mission Period, the leaders of organized rebellions, such as the Chumash Revolt of 1824, had spent considerable time in the missions or were in other ways familiar with the colonial regime (Jackson and Castillo 1995).

Discussed in the second section (II.C.2), another way that Native people resisted the mission system was to stay out of its orbit. While it is impossible to come to precise numbers, a substantial contingent of Native Californians managed to avoid baptism, at least during the early years before the Spanish established military and political control over Alta California (Shoup and Milliken 1999). Others who had received the rite of baptism and found mission life wanting developed ways to exit the missions, either on approved paseos or simply by fleeing (Cook 1976a; Schneider and Panich 2014). These combined practices led to the formation of a range of refuge sites across the province, with interior San Joaquin Valley serving as a particularly troublesome region for Spanish, and later Mexican, authorities. From there, mounted raiding parties organized forays into the missionized zone to steal livestock, while the colonists sent punitive expeditions to capture mission fugitives and punish the communities that harbored them (Cook 1976a; Phillips 1993). While the missions were disastrous for Indigenous communities, these patterns of avoidance and fugitivism invite scholars to consider a wider range of places that reflect the ways that Native Californians experienced the Mission Period (Panich and Schneider 2015; Schneider 2021a).

II.C.1 – Major Historically Documented Rebellions

Native uprisings were a fact of life in Alta California, beginning immediately upon the Spanish arrival and continuing throughout the Mission Period despite the presence of soldiers and the mission system's rigid controls. Major rebellions or revolts required coordination in secrecy across sometimes large sectors of the Indigenous population inside and outside the missions. They included local uprisings, large-scale revolt, assassination, and mass flight resulting in extreme punishments or retaliation led by Native people from both inside and outside of the missions.

The Kumeyaay Revolt, 1775

Founded in 1769, the San Diego mission and nearby presidio faced Kumeyaay resistance from the beginning. Only one hundred people had been baptized in the five years between 1769 and the end of 1774, and tensions were high as Franciscans began a concerted effort at proselytization. In May 1775, for example, soldiers Julián Murillo and Luis López rode near the Kumeyaay villages north of the mission and traveled eastward. As they passed through different territories, villagers continuously came out and some threw stones. By the time of the revolt complaints against the Spanish were mounting and included rape of Native women by soldiers (reported by Father Jayme), with at least one victim also murdered, the destruction of certain village lands by cattle, threats against food supplies, and disease (Carrico 1997, 2008).

On November 5, 1775, shortly after midnight, warriors from multiple villages attacked the mission, burning it, shooting Father Jayme with an arrow and then beating him to death, and killing a carpenter and a blacksmith from Mexico before fleeing to the interior. The military estimated that between 600 and 1,000 people were directly involved. Violent military retaliation ensued as soldiers roved through

regional villages, entered in force, and singled out people they considered leaders of the attack. The revolt set back establishment of the mission system, if only temporarily, necessitating the rebuilding of Mission San Diego and delaying construction of Mission San Juan Capistrano (Carrico 1997, 2008).

While the rebels' exact motivations were not recorded, the revolt can be seen as a specific response to the growing Spanish presence and all that it entailed. The rebellion also took place from within a deeper history of alliances and shared political visions. Rather than a general revolt against the Spanish, only fifteen of the twenty-five closest villages around the mission took part, all southern Kumeyaay/Tipai. These villages were connected through marriage and kinship relations. As Carrico (1997:10) emphasizes: "These rebel leaders recruited from their own ranks, relied upon traditional alliances, and sought redress for grievances experienced by their particular sib and clans, rather than some form of an early West Coast pan-Indian movement…"

The Quechan Revolt, 1781

Though on the fringes of Spanish California, the Quechan Revolt arguably had the most far-reaching consequences of the major historically documented rebellions. It began on July 17, 1781, when a unified group of Quechan, Mojave, and Halchidhoma destroyed two hybrid mission-presidio-settlements on the Colorado River founded less than a year prior. After a decade developing a relationship with the Spanish, Quechan people resented the pressures settlers imposed on their land and food supplies. The revolt lasted a week, resulting in the deaths of over one hundred Spanish settlers and soldiers and four missionaries, and the enslavement of Spanish survivors. It brought about the expulsion of the Spanish from the region and left local Tribes in control. It effectively closed off the only practical overland route from Sonora, Mexico for the duration of the Mission Period, restricting supplies and settlers to travel by sea to reach Alta California (Sandos 2004:75; Zappia 2014:69-74). The Quechan revolt has also been considered a factor in creating the paseo system. In 1783, Governor Neve "ordered… that no Indian nor other resident shall leave his place of habitation without official license" so they could be monitored and identified (Milliken 1995:95).

Conspiring for Revolt at Mission San Gabriel, 1785

There were several preempted attempts to attack Mission San Gabriel; the most well-known was in October 1785. Native people at the mission and up to eight Tongva villages from the surrounding area participated, but the mission guard had been tipped off and on the night of the attack twenty-one rebels were arrested before any action was taken. Four leaders were identified and interrogated. The plan had been initiated by Nicolás José, a baptized Tongva man from Sibapet who had obtained ascribed status in the mission community. He likely served as alcalde but had also suffered significant losses, including a son and two wives. He had been involved in another unsuccessful plot against the mission six years prior. Nicolás José had approached Toypurina, an influential unbaptized woman from Japchivit with status in the local community (often called a shaman or religious/spiritual leader in descriptions of the revolt) and urged her to contact other village captains from the surrounding area to participate. Temejasaquichí, leader of Juvit, then went to the mission on behalf of Toypurina to encourage the baptized Native people living there to join the rebellion (Hackel 2003).

In his testimony, Nicolás José complained about the prohibition against dance preventing him from performing mourning ceremonies. Toypurina stated that she was angry with the Spanish settlers and the Indians who had moved to the mission in her land. Temejasaquichí testified that he only participated in the attack at the request of Nicolás José and Toypurina. Alijivit, leader of Jajamovit and the fourth person interrogated, stated that he participated in the plan to see if the warriors would be brave in battle as they claimed they would be (Hackel 2003:655). Nicolás José and Toypurina were both exiled and Temejasaquichí and Alijivit were freed with a warning, although by the time their sentences were received, they had served two and a half years in jail (Hackel 2003; Jackson and Castillo 1995:76-77; Sandos 2004:4-5, 2007).

Assassination of Father Quintana at Mission Santa Cruz, 1812

The best documented case of missionary assassination is that of Father Andrés Quintana at Mission Santa Cruz in 1812. When the attack took place, Quintana had just beaten two men nearly to death with a metal tipped whip. It was a well-planned act by a coalition of Indigenous people against a vicious missionary whose forms of punishment exceeded the norm, concealed by the mission community. The "conspirators... were almost all local Awaswas-speaking Tribal members, people who had been at the mission since the early days" though an interlinked group of other Ohlone speakers formed part of the planning (Rizzo-Martinez 2022:111). Quintana's death was first thought to be from natural causes, with the assassination plot only discovered two years later when a guard overheard an argument about it. Sixteen men were tried and nine convicted as guilty; seven died at the presidio, four before their sentences were handed down. As told by Lorenzo Asisara, whose father was involved, the wife of one of these men also played a central role in the plot and remained undetected, perhaps because of sexist views of women's roles (Rizzo-Martinez 2022:109-119, Table 19).

The Chumash War, 1824

The Chumash War of 1824 was the largest organized revolt in California during the Mission Period (Beebee and Senkewicz 2001:324-235). Most Chumash-speaking people were somehow affiliated with the mission system by the 1820s and Yokuts conscription had intensified during the 1810s (Beebee and Senkewicz 2001:323; Haas 2014:40-42). The revolt took place about two years after official news arrived from Mexico about the country's independence from Spain, promising changes for Indigenous people's legal equality as citizens. The changes in government seemed to have brought a marked decrease in Yokuts affiliation to the missions (Haas 2014:116). Yet emancipation and secularization had yet to take place, which may have contributed to the tense atmosphere. Rumors were flying that soldiers were going to kill all the Native people or be killed by them (Beebee and Senkewicz 2001:323).

Multiple leaders at Missions Santa Inés, La Purísima, and Santa Bárbara planned the revolt over several months, sending beads and other gifts to Yokuts villages in the San Joaquin Valley requesting support. The initial plan may have been a simultaneous attack on all three missions but began a day early at Santa Inés in response to the whipping of a Native man from La Purísima visiting a relative imprisoned there. On February 21, 1824, the Santa Inés Chumash attacked soldiers and set fire to many mission buildings. The next day troops arrived from the Santa Bárbara Presidio and burned down adobe houses in the mission ranchería where the rebels were encamped, flushing them out. The Santa Inés rebels then retreated to Mission La Purísima where resident Native people had also taken up arms. Up to nineteen

Ineseños and one Mexican soldier died in the initial battle at Santa Inés (Beebee and Senkewicz 2001:323-325; Haas 2014:116-121; Kimbro and Costello 2009:31).

At the start of the revolt a messenger was sent from Mission Santa Inés to Mission Santa Bárbara where Chumash Alcalde Andrés Sagimomatsee issued a general call to arms and sent three Yokuts men to get help from Yokuts villages where they already had established relationships (Castillo 1989; Haas 2014:120-121). Many Santa Bárbara residents fled to safety, particularly women and children, while those remaining armed themselves. A battle ensued with troops from the Santa Bárbara Presidio resulting in at least two Chumash killed and four soldiers wounded (Cook 1962:53-54). Sagimomatsee and his followers fled to safety. Over 1,000 people from Mission Santa Bárbara sought refuge in Yokuts territory, and some fifty Chumash returned to their homelands on Santa Cruz Island (Haas 2014:116; Kimbro and Costello 2009:31).

The La Purísima rebels, led by the charismatic baptized Native Pacomio, welcomed the population from Santa Inés who brought canons, more arms, and bows and arrows. One Chumash and four settlers were killed during the takeover of La Purísima. The Native people remaining at La Purísima fortified the mission against inevitable retaliation and then held control of the mission for nearly a month (Haas 2014:120; Kimbro and Costello 2009:31). In March, military reinforcements retook La Purísima after a morning of intense firing with 16 Chumash killed and many wounded. One soldier also died, and three others were wounded. The Chumash surrendered. Eight Chumash were sentenced to eight years' imprisonment, four leaders received ten-year imprisonment sentences followed by exile, and seven others were executed for the murder of the four settlers. After four months, the government pardoned the Chumash rebels who had fled, most of whom returned to the missions (Haas 2014:125; Kimbro and Costello 2009:31).

The Estanislao Revolt, 1828-1829

Despite the onset of emancipation for certain Native individuals in 1826, tensions still ran high in many California missions. In the San Francisco Bay area, raiders from the Central Valley—predominantly Yokuts speakers—had for decades taken a heavy toll on mission livestock and by 1827 were in contact with American fur trappers who likely stoked their resistance to the then-Mexican colonial enterprise (Sandos and Sandos 2014). A year later, hundreds of Yokuts people fled Missions San José and Santa Clara under the leadership of Estanislao and Cipriano, both of whom had attained leadership positions in their respective missions. The massive exodus threatened a regional uprising, and the rebels built a protected village in the tule marshlands along the San Joaquin River. Over the next year, colonial authorities sent the military, Indian auxiliaries, and armed settlers to put down the insurrection (Phillips 1993:78-82). Eventually, the rebels were defeated in a bloody battle. Given his status as a former alcalde at Mission San José, Estanislao managed to negotiate a pardon, and many of those who fled returned to the two missions (Shoup and Milliken 1999:92).

Revolt in the Final Years of the Mission Period

With emancipation and secularization, many Native Californians abandoned the missions in the 1830s. Organized rebellions were rare in Alta California during this time. In the San Francisco Bay Area, a Native uprising shook Mission Santa Clara as late as 1839 led by a rebel named Yozcolo, who likely

fought in the Estanislao Revolt a decade earlier (Berger 1948:330). Though few details survive, accounts suggest that Yozcolo freed the young women living at the mission monjerío and fled to the hills between Santa Clara Valley and the coast. There, soldiers and auxiliaries from Santa Clara defeated Yozcolo and his warriors. In a gruesome warning against further rebellions, colonial authorities displayed his severed head outside the mission church (Flores Santis 2014:71-72; Phillips 1993:112-13).

II.C.2 – Avoidance of Mission Conscription and Refuge Locations

Throughout the colonial period, Native Californians viewed entry into the mission system as a last resort, only moving there when no other viable options existed. In addition to outright rebellion, Native people voted with their feet to resist missionary colonialism in Alta California. Some individuals and families managed to avoid entry into the mission system altogether, while others fled after receiving baptism. The colonial landscape was dotted with Native refuge sites that ranged from intentionally concealed hideaways to large villages where unbaptized Native people openly harbored mission fugitives, sometimes at great risk to their own life and liberty. Below, some of the broad trends in the avoidance of conscription, mission fugitivism, and refuge sites from across the region are detailed. More information on Native landscapes beyond the missions can be found in I.C.1.

Patterns of Avoidance

It is clear from historical records and Native oral narratives that most Indigenous Californians were hesitant to enter the mission system. This is not surprising given the realities of forced relocation, stringent labor demands, cultural suppression, and even sexual assault. Patterns of mission conscription—based on the Franciscan policies of reducción and congregación—were regionally and chronologically variable. Native avoidance of the missions can be seen as a response to these shifting policies, though it is important to view their choices within culturally significant practices and worldviews rather than simply reactionary.

For example, in the San Francisco Bay region, sacramental registers indicate that many Ohlone and Miwok families initially kept their distance from the newly established missions. Initial baptisms at Mission Santa Clara only took place several months after the mission's founding and even then they were all young children suffering from illness in their own villages. Indeed, few Native people lived at Santa Clara and the nearby Mission San Francisco de Asís in the early years—the late 1770s and early 1780s—as the regional landscape still offered geographical distance and political independence from Spanish control (Panich 2020; Shoup and Milliken 1999). Yet, the physical geography and tightly packed socio-political landscapes of the region constrained Indigenous options over time, especially as more missions were established throughout central California and their reach grew wider (Byrd et al. 2018).

Most Central Valley Tribes—including those speaking Yokuts and Miwok languages—were not subject to active conscription to the coastal missions for a full generation after the arrival of the Spanish, nor did they venture westward to voluntarily join the mission communities. It was only after local populations plummeted due to disease and the conditions of colonialism that significant numbers of Yokuts speakers began to appear in the baptismal records of the missions of San Francisco and Monterey Bays. The first baptisms of individuals from Yokuts communities occurred in the early nineteenth century, with Plains

and Sierra Miwok appearing even later at certain missions (Hackel 2005; Milliken 2008; Milliken et al. 2009; Peelo 2010; Rizzo-Martinez 2022).

Similar patterns prevailed farther south where the Spanish were slow to enter the core of Chumash territory, allowing local Tribes to resist incorporation into the colonial sphere. Even after the establishment of Missions Santa Bárbara and La Purísima, many interior Chumash, and even some coastal communities, were able to remain in their ancestral villages into the late 1790s (Haas 2014:15-17; Johnson 2018:133-134). Tongva people in the Los Angeles Basin similarly maintained autonomous villages well into the Mission Period. At the Tongva Mission Period village of Guaspet in the Ballona wetlands of Los Angeles County (CA-LAN-62 and CA-LAN-211), archaeologists have documented extensive deposits that offer evidence of feasting, mourning, and other aspects of daily life for Native people who chose to keep their distance from Missions San Gabriel and San Fernando Rey (Douglass et al. 2016; Douglass et al. 2018; Reddy 2015; Reddy and Douglass 2018). In far southern California, Kumeyaay and Payómkawichum Tribes developed distinct relationships with Missions San Diego and San Luis Rey. These two missions instituted modified forms of reducción, in which only a portion of the baptized Native population resided in the mission complexes at any one time, while the remainder lived in outlying villages. This situation provided local Native people more opportunities to avoid baptism and maintain connections to homelands, gathering areas, and sacred sites (Jackson 1994:34, 80; Lightfoot 2005:65).

Fugitivism and Manipulation of the Paseo System

Despite the colonial ideal of confinement, Native Californians rejected the idea that the sacrament of baptism tied them eternally to a particular mission community. Native people demanded that the Franciscans allow them to return periodically to their homelands, leading to a system of approved leaves called paseo. While it was in some ways a compromise between Native and colonial interests, many Native Californians appear to have manipulated the paseo system for a number of purposes. In several cases, such as the area between Point Conception and the Santa Maria River in Chumash territory, Native people left the missions to continue traditional subsistence practices (Spanne 2011). In other instances, documentary evidence, including sacramental registers, demonstrates how Native Californians successfully synchronized paseos with childbirth, death and mortuary rites, marriage, and other traditional practices that were prohibited in the mission (Newell 2009). At Mission San Francisco, for instance, a group of Saclans (Bay Miwok) left on paseo in April 1795, and ultimately fled farther into the interior. They were discovered several weeks later at a dance house where they repulsed an effort to return them to the mission (Milliken 1995:138-140).

Thousands of others simply walked away from the missions in flagrant violation of Franciscan authority. Systematic research by Cook (1976a:57-64), for example, suggests that as many as 4,060 Native Californians—some ten percent of all individuals baptized—were listed as fugitives by colonial officials by the year 1817. Of those, Cook estimates that roughly four in ten never returned (see Archibald 1978:178 for similar analysis). More recent research indicates that in some cases, the rate of fugitivism was even higher. Analysis of Mission Santa Cruz, for example, demonstrates that nearly thirty percent of the Native population had fled by 1797 (Rizzo-Martinez 2022:86). Given the conditions of mission life, it is not difficult to imagine the fugitives' motivations, and contemporary testimony is especially

damning. During an investigation into the mass abandonment of Mission San Francisco in 1795 (following the Saclan escape mentioned above), colonists and Native people spoke of harsh labor demands, cruel punishments, sickness, and death at the mission as reasons to flee (Milliken 1995:143-145). Native people also maintained strong connections to their homelands, a fact that the missionaries recognized and ultimately failed to accept (Lightfoot 2005:64-65).

Regardless of how they left the missions, there is no doubt that Native Californians returned to culturally meaningful landscapes. Sacramental data from the San Francisco Bay region reveal how Indigenous people used the paseo system and rampant fugitivism to ensure that they could die and be mourned in culturally appropriate ways. At Mission Santa Clara, for example, the deaths of some 668 Ohlone and Yokuts individuals were recorded as having taken place away from the mission, often in their ancestral villages (e.g., "afuera en sus respectivas rancherías de gentiles" [outside in their respective gentile villages]). This figure represents nearly nine percent of all Native people whose deaths the Franciscans recorded at Mission Santa Clara. Though only isolated cases were explicitly linked to the practice of paseo, many records nonetheless give important insights into Native preferences, including the perpetuation of cremation (Panich 2015; Peelo et al. 2018b). Similarly strong patterns exist for other nearby missions. At Mission San Francisco de Asís, roughly 300 Native people died in their ancestral homelands over the course of the Spanish Period (Newell 2009:151-152). At Mission San José, scores of individuals were similarly listed as dying outside the mission, many of whom were laid to rest in Native villages or elsewhere in the hinterlands (e.g., "en el monte" [on the mountain]; Panich 2020).

Native Californians also actively resisted the expansion of Spanish settlements into their homelands. For example, the founding of Mission San José in June 1797, just thirteen miles north of Mission Santa Clara, was challenged by nearby Tribes. Led by the Saclans farther to the north, they threatened the new mission's inhabitants (mainly brought from Mission Santa Clara) with violence and warned Native communities closer to the new outpost to expect reprisals if they helped in its construction (Milliken 1995, 2002). This was then followed by a violent summer of concerted efforts by Spanish soldiers to exert their control over east San Francisco Bay lands near their new mission, to capture Ohlone and Bay Miwok runaways from Missions San Francisco and Santa Clara, and to punish those still living in independent villages in the region that had given them refuge. Just to the south, Tribal oral narratives relate how Native people kept an eye out for Spanish expeditions. For example, in 1930, Amah Mutsun elder Maria Ascención Solórsano described how "the Indians had signals there in the high mountains for notifying the other Indians if the Spanish were coming" (Rizzo-Martinez 2022:83).

Sites of Refuge

Where did these fugitives go? Secular pueblos and even early ranchos offered some Native Californians a respite from life "under the bell" (e.g., Douglass et al. 2018; Reddy and Douglass 2018). There is no doubt that certain families and individuals did find opportunities in these less controlled colonial settings, but even these options likely required compromise in the realms of cultural expression and individual autonomy. Native people who wanted to remain at a further remove from the Spanish—and later Mexican—colonial system, banded together in various ways to create a constellation of refuge sites throughout Alta California (**Figure 10**).

At one end of the spectrum were individual sites where particular families or small affiliated communities concealed themselves in Indigenous hinterlands. In Marin County, for example, Coast Miwok people continued to use important shell mound sites during the Mission Period (Schneider 2015a, 2021a). A range of other sites have also been identified in the greater San Francisco Bay region that Native Californians used during mission times; some may have been sites of refuge (Byrd et al. 2018; Panich and Schneider 2019). In the eastern extent of Chumash territory, archaeologists have documented a cluster of Mission Period site components in the San Emigdio Mountains—dated in part through glass beads and temporally diagnostic *Olivella* shell beads—that existed in the far hinterlands of Missions San Buenaventura, Santa Bárbara, and Santa Ynez. There, Emigdiano Chumash people avoiding conscription into the missions continued to live in the settlement of Tashlipun, which had roots going back centuries. Nearby, however, two other Mission Period sites have different material patterns and appear to represent a contingent of mission fugitives, who may have stayed in the area on a temporary basis so as not to wear out their welcome. The bead assemblages, in particular, suggest that these sites were visited by individuals originally from coastal Chumash communities (Bernard and Robinson 2018; Bernard et al. 2014). These sites, which were also connected to the vast refuge zone of the San Joaquin Valley—discussed in more detail below—speak to the complex social dynamics of the communities resisting missionization.

Islands also offered geographical remove from the pressures of colonialism, particularly those considered to be "remote" in the eyes of Euro-American colonists. Though Chumash and Tongva people remained connected to many of the Channel Islands during the colonial period, San Clemente Island—the southernmost of the eight islands—stands out in its greater distance from colonial establishments. At more than forty-five miles from the nearest point on the mainland, San Clemente was peripheral to the Spanish and Mexican colonial systems but central to Indigenous cultural developments. This importance is demonstrated by an array of sites with clearly post-contact materials, including beads, metal objects, and food remains, as well as a suite of associated radiocarbon dates (Ruby and Whitaker 2019). Indeed, some researchers believe that San Clemente Island may have played an important role in the spread of the Chinigchinich religion during the 1790s and its practice perhaps as late as the mid-nineteenth century. Its exact origins are unclear, but there exists robust archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence for the importance of this religion in remote locations. Like refuge sites in the San Francisco Bay area, Indigenous people practicing the Chinigchinich religion on San Clemente Island may have actively avoided the incorporation of Spanish goods, such as glass beads, in their ritual practices. Whether they were mission fugitives or unbaptized holdouts, these patterns suggest a broader rejection of Euro-American lifeways and the Spanish colonial enterprise on the part of Native people (Johnson 2006; Lepowski 2004; Rareshide 2016; Ruby and Whitaker 2019).

Perhaps the biggest refuge zone was the San Joaquin Valley where Native people maintained numerous autonomous communities throughout the Spanish and Mexican Periods. There, individuals and families from diverse Tribal backgrounds made lives for themselves among the tule marshlands. Some were Yokuts or Miwok speakers who refused to join the missions. Others were baptized in the coastal missions but returned to their homelands as fugitives or after manipulating the paseo system (Cook 1960, 1962; Phillips 1993:32-64). Archaeologist Robert Heizer (1941:120), for example, noted that the colonial-era tulares were home to dynamic Native communities "led by former neophytes who had

renounced Christianity and returned to their old homes, consolidated with other similar remnants and withdrew beyond the reach of the Spanish military to defensible, inaccessible retreats."

Many such communities launched raids against Franciscan establishments and other colonial outposts. Native vaqueros who had escaped the missions brought experience with horse handling, while some leaders of raiding parties were even former mission alcaldes whose knowledge of the mission system no doubt proved a vital asset (Panich 2017; Phillips 1993:78-79). The Spanish launched regular punitive expeditions into San Joaquin Valley, and Native raiding parties remained a constant threat (Arkush 2011:66, and see Cook 1960, 1962). Fearing that the Central Valley would become a region where mounted Indigenous raiders could flourish outside of colonial control, many Franciscans advocated founding additional missions in San Joaquin Valley; they were never constructed (Cutter 1995:171; Hackel 2005:338-339). Indeed, Father President Mariano Payeras likely expressed the thoughts of other Franciscans when he characterized the region's mixture of unbaptized Native people and fugitives from the missions as "a republic of Hell and a diabolical union" of Indigenous foes of the missions (Cutter 1995:149).

To date, archaeological evidence of these important refuge communities is most visible in large-scale excavations of Indigenous villages. In the northern San Joaquin Valley and nearby Sacramento River Delta, for example, archaeologists have focused on glass beads that point to connections between the interior region and coastal missions, with one site in the Lodi-Stockton area yielding as many as 15,000 glass beads (Bennyhoff 1977; Schenck 1926; Schenck and Dawson 1929). Several Native village sites throughout southern and central California also contain needle-drilled *Olivella* beads (Class H) indicative of the late Mission Period (Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987). Viewed together with more recent archaeological studies in the broader region (e.g., Wiberg 2005), it is clear that rampant fugitivism and patterns of raiding led to the distribution of introduced material culture into the Central Valley even as colonial presence in the region was minimal. As suggested in other studies, Yokuts raiders and traders based in their valley refuge served to convey diverse materials along the length of the San Joaquin Valley and back and forth across the colonial frontier (Arkush 1993).

Further evidence for the dynamic social worlds of the San Joaquin Valley refuge zone comes from its southern reaches. At one site in Kern County (CA-KER-64), early archaeological work documented a cemetery that appears to have been used from precontact times into the 1860s based on an array of traditional and introduced material culture (Walker 1947). The site may represent the village of Tulamniu, known for harboring large numbers of Native people fleeing Mission La Purísima in the early nineteenth century (Bernard et al. 2014:157; Honig 2003:56; Phillips 1993:59-60). Another site in the area (CA-KER-74) yielded similar materials from the same general time range (Riddell 1951). There, Native people deposited glass beads and religious medallions from the missions alongside various types of *Olivella* and clamshell beads as well as numerous *Haliotis* pendants. The burial of Catholic religious items in autonomous interior villages openly hostile to the mission system is noteworthy, perhaps suggesting that Native people incorporated them into existing ideas about power and the supernatural (Robinson 2013).

Refuge sites, however, did not always prevent violence perpetrated by colonists against Native people. Numerous historical accounts detail punitive expeditions sent by Spanish and Mexican authorities

against the Tribes of San Joaquin Valley and surrounding regions (Cook 1960, 1962). Native oral traditions have also provided additional details regarding certain events, such as the massacre at Orestimba Narrows of Native women and children who refused be taken to Mission San Juan Bautista (Lopez 2015). In southern California, a multiethnic community of Native people from various Tribal backgrounds lived at the village of Puhú, in present-day Orange County, into the 1830s. There, settlers massacred the village population whom they accused of stealing horses, though little archaeological evidence exists for the presence of domesticated livestock at the site (Acebo 2020; Tomczyk and Acebo 2021). Despite the violence inflicted on Native communities by Euro-American settlers, many Mission Period refuge sites have remained important to Native Californian communities to this day, ranging from mission system facilities such as Pala in the south to the protected coves of Tomales Bay in the north (Gaughen 2011; Schneider 2021a).

A crucial point stemming from research on mission-era refuge sites throughout California is that archaeologists and historians must be open to the idea of finding Indigenous sites dating to the Mission Period or even later. As the research above demonstrates, post-contact Native sites can be identified historically and in the field through multiple lines of evidence, including historical maps, archival documents, Tribal narratives, temporally diagnostic artifacts, and chronometric dates from archaeological materials (Byrd et al. 2017, 2018; Panich and Schneider 2019; Panich et al. 2018d; Schneider and Panich 2014). Rather than simply assuming that Native Californian communities disappeared after the onset of Euro-American colonialism, scholars, cultural resources teams, and agency personnel can review historical documents and archaeological findings more closely while working with Tribes to better account for a broader narrative of Indigenous persistence in colonial California.

F. ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Four property type categories are presented here that can assist with identification and significance evaluations of properties associated with Native Americans and the California Mission System. Categories are designed to be flexible to accommodate a wide range of potentially related properties. General examples for each of the four property type categories are identified in **Table 7**, without using specific National Register terminology (e.g., Function or Area of Significance) as related properties can vary considerably. Property types are directly related to the historic contexts provided in this MPDF, grouped thematically, spatially, and temporally. They may include all five property types—buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts—plus the Traditional Cultural Places overlay when a property reflects living people's traditional identities, such as the Pala asistencia (see Native Voices). Significance determinations are dependent more on associative attributes rather than particular physical characteristics. They are also dependent on critical input from Native people to "actively incorporate the[ir] values, concerns, and cultural frameworks" (Hanson et al. 2022:452).

PROPERTIES ASSOCIATED WITH NATIVE HINTERLANDS

Properties associated with Native hinterlands as defined by Schneider (2021a) and Interior Worlds defined by Zappia (2014) represent places where Native people continued to maintain ties to their homelands and the broader landscapes where they avoided missions, sought refuge, gathered natural resources, and maintained distant trade relationships. These properties may be located outside the direct sphere of mission and outlying mission system influence, away from colonial establishments. Indigenous hinterlands could also overlap in various ways with territories claimed by colonial interests. This category includes a range of potential properties from clandestinely visited sites to autonomous villages.

PROPERTIES ASSOCIATED DIRECTLY WITH ONE OF THE TWENTY-ONE MISSIONS

Fundamentally, missions were as much Native places as they were colonial settlements, with Native people making up the majority of mission populations and providing nearly all the mission labor, including mission construction. Native people also created their own spaces within and just outside the missions to express their identities and maintain traditional cultural practices. Mission-associated properties will be located in the casco and surrounding mission production complexes. These include architectural, industrial, agricultural, residential, and religious/sacred features.

PROPERTIES ASSOCIATED WITH AN OUTLYING PART OF THE MISSION SYSTEM

Presidios, pueblos, and mission outstations such as asistencias and estancias were part of, or related to, the larger mission system. Like the missions, these components were also places where Native people lived, labored, and otherwise experienced and interacted with colonialism. Aside from presidios and pueblos (and possibly private ranchos), outlying components may not have had much of a colonial presence. In some cases, they also supported significant Native populations that could rival those of the missions. Outstations were variously developed and might include a church, overseer's residence, granaries, and assorted other buildings and structures. Feature types will be similar to mission-related properties and may be more specialized or specific to the type of facility or outstation.

PROPERTIES ASSOCIATED WITH MEXICAN PERIOD EMANCIPATION AND SECULARIZATION OF THE MISSION SYSTEM

Properties in this category will post-date the onset of emancipation and secularization during the Mexican Period, although the exact timing will vary by location. While colonists obtained most mission lands and supplies, some Native people also obtained land grants, including ancestral or familial villages. Repeatedly, Native people made it clear they wanted to return to their homelands or take possession of the missions themselves that their ancestors helped build. Many emancipated Native people stayed near, or later returned to areas near, their missions, often establishing small farms through informal arrangements with missionaries or other colonists. They also found work on the growing number of private ranchos and in towns or lived as servants in non-Native households. Property subtypes or features include land grants given to Native people and private ranchos on former mission lands and other mission system-associated places where Native people continued to live and labor.

NATIONAL REGISTER SIGNIFICANCE AND REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Properties may be eligible under any or all four National Register criteria. In most cases, a related property will be significant under Criterion A for association with the pattern of events documented in the historic contexts, potentially in addition to one or more other criteria. The historic contexts presented in this document demonstrate that these events are exceptionally important in Native American and California history. Related properties will generally be significant at the local (specific Tribe/s, mission area, region) and/or state level. Associations with specific events may also be significant at the national level. In addition to Ethnic Heritage: Native American, properties may be eligible in areas of significance including, and not limited to, Agriculture, Architecture, Archaeology, Art, Commerce, Engineering, Exploration/Settlement, and Religion.

All related properties must date to the 1769-1848 period of significance, be directly associated with one or more historic contexts documented in the Native Americans and the California Mission System Multiple Property Documentation Form and retain sufficient integrity to convey their significance. The seven aspects of integrity are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Most commonly, related properties will have clear material evidence of Mission Period use (e.g., temporally diagnostic artifacts such as glass beads, metal artifacts, or pottery) and may be mentioned in documentary records. In some cases, refuge sites may have been used clandestinely and may only be identified through chronometric dating or other more subtle archaeological signals (e.g., changing patterns in the archaeological record; Hull 2022; Panich and Schneider 2019; Schneider 2015), oral histories, and/or Tribal consultation.

Thematically related properties are relatively rare and can tell unique stories specific to local Native communities, time, and place. Physical conditions of related properties and their settings can vary significantly, particularly given variations in the extent of urban development around former missions. Integrity may be independent of present physical conditions (especially for sites). The relative scarcity of a particular property type should be taken into account when evaluating its significance and integrity. Registration requirements are discussed further by National Register Criteria below.

Criterion A: Properties that are associated with events that have made significant contribution to the broad patterns of history
Under Criterion A, properties may be significant for specific associations or for association with numerous historic events and people for the cumulative importance of those events and individuals to Native American communities. Properties eligible under Criterion A should retain integrity of location (meeting Criteria Consideration B requirements), feeling, and association. If the property is a site without standing buildings or structures or archaeological evidence, it should also retain sufficient integrity of setting (e.g., parts of the landscape). Design, materials, and workmanship are secondary, and can enhance the overall integrity of a property.

Criterion B: Properties that are associated with the lives of persons significant in the past
Properties eligible under Criterion B will have been lived in or used by one or more significant persons during the period in which they achieved significance. If multiple properties are associated with a significant individual, the properties must be compared to determine which best represent the person's historic contributions. The historic contexts provided in this MPDF discuss some specific, significant Native individuals and many more may be identified. Individuals may include community leaders, religious leaders, activists/warriors, doctors/healers, artists, artisans/craft specialists, culture bearers, and more. As under Criterion A, retention of integrity of location, feeling, and association, and sometimes setting, may be more important than integrity of design, workmanship, and materials.

Criterion C: Properties that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represent the work of a master; possess high artistic values; or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction
Mission Period art and architecture has distinct forms (influenced in part by California's native environment and Native Peoples e.g., siting, layout, building materials, stylistic elements), with architecture in particular highlighted in many of the original National Register listings of California missions and other Mission Period properties (Appendix A). While styles of art and architecture are not the focus of this MPDF, related properties may be eligible under Criterion C, for example, when built by Native Americans or exhibiting Native American design features. Under Criterion C a property should retain enough physical character-defining features to convey significance related to type, period, method of construction, work of a master, or artistic value. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship may be more important than integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. The last component of Criterion C eligibility refers to districts that will usually also meet one or more additional criteria or another component of Criterion C.

Criterion D: Properties that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history
Integrity under Criterion D is mainly assessed by a property's potential to yield data that addresses important research questions. These would be related to the various MPDF themes focusing on Spanish colonization and subjugation, Native landscapes, social organization, persistence and adaptation, and rebellion and resistance. The most important aspects of integrity will typically be location, design, materials, and association. Depending on the type of property, workmanship can also be an important

aspect of integrity. Setting and feeling don't necessarily affect a property's ability to yield important information.

Table 7. General Property Type and Sub-Type/Feature Examples

Associated with Native Hinterlands	*Sub-Type/Feature Examples*
Sites of refuge and resistance	▪ Rock art sites with post-contact mission-related content (e.g., crosses) ▪ Procurement zones (e.g., obsidian quarries, gathering places for plants, shellfish) ▪ Older sites with intrusive Mission-Period burials indicating continued use or reuse ▪ Round houses/ceremonial houses ▪ Clandestine sites ▪ Autonomous village sites ▪ Cultural landscapes or landscape elements (e.g., cave, rock, river, ridgeline)
Associated with One of the 21 Missions	*Sub-Type/Feature Examples*
Industrial/Labor	▪ Borrow pits ▪ Quarries ▪ Workshops ▪ Kilns ▪ Hornos (mud adobe-built outdoor ovens) ▪ Tanning vats ▪ Grist mills
Agricultural/Labor	▪ Orchard walls and fences ▪ Corrals ▪ Threshing floors ▪ Granaries ▪ Other food-processing areas and features ▪ Irrigation systems and waterworks (e.g., reservoirs, canals) ▪ Kitchen gardens ▪ Vinyards ▪ Grazing fields ▪ Matanza sites
Residential/Domestic	▪ Adobe buildings (footings, walls, floors, features) ▪ Mission ranchería complexes ▪ Native style dwellings (housepits) ▪ Round houses/ceremonial houses ▪ Refuse features (family and communal) ▪ Non-features (midden)
Religious/Sacred	▪ Churches ▪ Church paintings ▪ Ceremonial features ▪ Cemeteries (historical importance) ▪ Mortuary features

Table 7. Property Type and Sub-Type/Feature Examples *continued*

Associated with an Outlying Part of the Mission System	*Sub-Type/Feature Examples*
Presidios and pueblos	▪ Sites of labor ▪ Sites of incarceration ▪ Residential sites
Mission outstations - sub-types/ features will be similar to mission-related properties	▪ Asistencias (outlying chapel) ▪ Estancias (ranching outpost) ▪ Visitas (outlying settlement) ▪ Parages (stopping place)
Ranchos	▪ Private Spanish land grants (approximately 30 during the Spanish Period; most were during the Mexican Period) ▪ Residential and labor-related properties
Other	▪ Coastal ship landings ▪ Travel routes
Associated with Mexican Period Emancipation and Secularization of the Mission System	*Sub-Type/Feature Examples*
Mexican Period private ranchos, especially split out of mission lands	▪ Sites of labor ▪ Native rancherías
Land grants given to Native people	▪ Traditional villages/lands
Continued use of missions and other mission system components	▪ Informal arrangements for Native farms on mission lands ▪ Native rancherías on mission lands ▪ "Free Indian" communities in and near pueblos

Note: Examples provided are non-exhaustive. Additional resources could represent relevant property types.

G. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The State of California.

H. SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

This study was designed to broaden the existing representation of the California mission system on the National Register by presenting historic contexts focusing on the lives and actions of Native Americans rather than European colonizers. It provides a framework and process for amended or new National Register nominations for the missions and all related property types using the expedited Multiple Property Submission approach. It can also be used in evaluating National Register eligibility under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended.

Existing related National Register listings do not adequately represent the experiences of Native Americans directly and indirectly impacted by the mission system. Their voices have not been adequately heard, their ideas of significance rarely considered, and their rebellion, persistence, and resilience seldom mentioned. Hanson et al. (2022:452) emphasize that: "working to produce multivocal historic context studies allows us to actively incorporate the values, concerns, and cultural frameworks of descendant communities that have historically been neglected in the production of national histories."

The Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) supported this project through a National Park Service grant and matching funding with the intent the project contribute to: (1) improving existing nominations; (2) increasing the number of nominations related to the California mission system and associated properties; and (3) ensuring full Native American participation in the nomination and evaluation processes.

COLLABORATION

The OHP contracted with Far Western and an expert team of contributing and advising scholars and coordinated a Native American Advisory Committee to collaboratively produce this document (see Native Voices and full list of participants at the end of this section). All participated in Zoom meetings to discuss goals and objectives. The contextual outline and theme topics were approved by all participants. The Advisory Committee stated what they wanted included and avoided, and the need for fair and balanced contexts. Their participation was variable in the form of interviews and submitted text or documents compiled for presentation by the Far Western team. Preparation of the MPDF relied heavily on contributors' expertise and prior work. Additional secondary source literature review (books, journal articles, Master's theses, and Ph.D. dissertations) and limited primary research using mission record databases were also conducted as needed. Several editors compiled and organized the many sections and undertook substantive, developmental, proof, and line editing. Drafts were reviewed and comments discussed and responded to as appropriate.

SCOPE

This MPDF was intended as a study supporting the significance of potential historic property types, rather than a survey of specific properties. The history and experiences of Native Americans associated with the California mission system are complex and varied and the quantity and quality of available scholarship also differs for different areas and property types. Thus, the historic contexts presented in this document are not comprehensive for each mission or affected Tribe. Instead, overviews of select subthemes relevant to the overall mission system and Native experiences during the Mission Period are explored as independent essays, with illustrative examples supporting each discussion. As there is a need

to know more about properties that can inform this topic, a thematic approach was determined most appropriate. This MPDF can also be amended to expand on the themes and property types presented or to include additional historic contexts, themes, or property types.

FUTURE RELATED PROPERTY SUBMISSIONS

Here examples of three avenues of research are offered—culture bearers and first-person accounts; mission birth, baptism, marriage, and death records; and archaeological research focusing on Native lives and places. These are all touched upon in the historic contexts and are germane to future studies and nominations of mission-related properties.

Native Californian Culture Bearers

The mission system diminished, but did not extinguish, the ability of Native communities to transfer traditional knowledge to the next generation. Culture bearers were able to pass on their beliefs, customs, values, and language to family or Tribal members or to Native or non-Native scholars. Cultural brokers and intermediaries were granted access to Indigenous ways of knowing the world and transmitted that knowledge to others (Kovach 2009; Nivens and Nevins 2012; Sarmento 2021; Silverstein 1998; Wilson 2008). For example, anthropologists documented culture, language, or ethnographic history at a specific point in time, continuing to transmit knowledge to modern Tribal members (Sarmento 2021). A handful of Native Californians left firsthand accounts of life in the missions—for example, Pablo Tac, a Payómkawichum Indian born in 1822 at Mission San Luis Rey (Haas 2011), and Lorenzo Asisara, an Ohlone born in 1819 at Mission Santa Cruz (Rizzo-Martinez 2022). Others recounted oral histories of their forebears who confronted the mission system.

Below are a few examples of historical culture bearers who today are recognized and honored by their Tribes as individuals whose knowledge played, and continues to play, an important role in revitalizing modern Indigenous cultures in California. All three worked with linguist and ethnographer John Peabody Harrington whose field notes are available online via the Smithsonian. Publications and records/notes of other ethnographers are also important references.

Maria Ascensión Solórsano, Mutsun Ohlone

Maria Ascensión Solórsano, Mutsun Ohlone, was a Culture Bearer for the AMTB. Ms. Solórsano was born near Mission San Juan Bautista sometime around 1855. She grew up with both of her parents, Miguel Solórsano and Barbara Sierra de Solórsano, who lived and worked at many local ranches in the Gilroy area (Golla 2011; Mills 1985: 82-85). Harrington consulted with her on Mutsun traditional knowledge and language from 1922 until her passing in 1930. Harrington described Solórsano's knowledge as "astonishing" (Mills 1985:83).

Isabel Meadows

Isabel Meadows spoke Rumsen Ohlone and Esselen, languages of the Monterey coastal region. She spent her youth conversing in Rumsen with María Omesia, who helped on Isabel Meadows' parents' ranch, eventually developing a large vocabulary in Rumsen and Esselen (Golla 2011; Mills 1985). She collaborated with Harrington on documenting the Carmel, Monterey, and Big Sur cultures. Ms.

Meadows worked with numerous people in her community to bear witness for their degree of Indian blood in the 1928 Bureau of Indian Affairs applications (Miranda 2013).

Maria Ysidora de Refugio Solares

Maria Ysidora de Refugio Solares was responsible for providing the bulk of Chumash linguistic and cultural information to John Peabody Harrington, including Ineseño Purisimeño, Barbareño, and various other Chumash dialects (Mills and Brickfield 1986). The Tribal community annually recognizes the birthdate of Ms. Solares and the enormous contributions she made through her work with Harrington and others. In 2007, the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Indians worked with Linguist Richard Applegate to produce the Samala-English dictionary, which used the work Solares imparted to Harrington (Applegate and Committee 2007).

Mission Sacramental Records

Sacramental records of the California Mission System hold a wealth of primary data regarding Native Californians whose baptisms, marriages, and deaths were recorded by Franciscan missionaries, and later priests. The original physical records are available for study at certain missions (accessibility varies) and have long been used by scholars of colonial California (e.g., Cook 1976a; Jackson 1994; Milliken 1995, 2010). Most of the early registers were saved in archives of the Catholic Church in California, where they continue to exist today. Microfilm copies of many of the original records are available at the Santa Barbara Mission Library. In recent decades, two databases have allowed users to more easily access and research the records.

California Mission Database

Includes records from all 21 missions plus Los Angeles Plaza Church (1770-1922):

- 95,493 baptisms
- 27,042 marriages
- 56,776 death records

Early California Population Project

Includes records from all 21 missions plus Los Angeles Plaza Church and Santa Barbara Presidio (1769-1850):

- ~101,000 baptisms
- ~27,000 marriages
- ~71,000 deaths

*Includes non-Natives and Baja Natives; records not complete in all cases

The Early California Population Project (ECPP) is an electronic version of original mission records developed by Steven Hackel (2006a, 2006b) and hosted online by the Huntington Library. “The design structure of the initial ECPP database emerged in the fall and spring of 1999-2000 through the combined efforts of Steven W. Hackel, John R. Johnson, and Randall T. Milliken” (Hackel 2006b:6). The ECPP includes transcribed information from existing sacramental records between 1769 and 1850. A comprehensive guide for users is available online (Hackel 2019 rev.)

The Contact-Period Native California Community Distribution Model (CDM), created by Randall Milliken and John Johnson, incorporates a database of sacramental records between 1770 and 1922 (California Mission Database), along with a digital atlas and Native community region monographs to “reconstruct California Indian community ethnogeography at the time of Spanish settlement” (Milliken et al. 2010:i). The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, houses Milliken’s research notes used in compiling

his database as well as his general ethnohistorical research of California Indian populations presented in the CDM. Access to his database is through Far Western Anthropological Research Group, Inc.

Milliken (1995; Milliken et al. 2010) and Hackel (2005), among others, have used these databases to develop general methods of family reconstitution that pull together information from different places in the sacramental registers—baptisms, marriages, and deaths—to understand individual and family histories. Quincy Newell (2009) used the sacramental registers from Mission San Francisco de Asís to create a richly textured account of Indigenous agency at that mission that provides a model of how to re-center Native people in historical and anthropological scholarship regarding the California missions. Other scholars have used the general idea of family reconstitution to explore patterns of status and kinship at specific mission sites (e.g., Cordero 2015; Peelo 2010; Peelo et al. 2018b).

The mission sacramental registers can also be used to understand Native life outside the mission system. For example, Milliken and others have long used baptismal records to develop population estimates and territorial boundaries of specific village communities named in the registers. These data can also provide information about the relative pace of entry of autonomous Native communities into the missions (Byrd and DeArmond 2018; Milliken 2006, 2008; Milliken et al. 2010). In some cases, baptismal records also demonstrate the persistence of specific Native communities well into the Mission Period, as suggested by the analysis of baptisms associated with Mission San Rafael conducted in a series of Coast Miwok villages along Tomales Bay in the late 1810s and early 1820s (Schneider and Panich 2019). In the same region, the seasonal nature of baptisms recorded at the Franciscan missions has helped illuminate the ways that Native Californians maintained aspects of their precontact mobility and subsistence patterns (Schneider 2015b).

Death records help to understand the immense toll the mission system took on Native communities. At the same time, they humanize that tragedy by providing names, ages, and other details about the tens of thousands of Native individuals who perished prematurely (Galvan and Medina 2018). Yet recently, scholars have also used mission death records to seek out instances where Native Californians managed to escape particular missions to die and be mourned on their own terms. To date, most such research has focused on the San Francisco Bay region, including examinations of Mission San Francisco de Asís (Newell 2009) and Mission Santa Clara (Panich 2015; Peelo et al. 2018b). In both cases, Franciscans recorded hundreds of Native individuals who died at specific places outside the missions, including instances where individuals were listed as dying in their home villages as fugitives or participants in the paseo system. Tellingly, many such entries in the death registers suggest that those who died away from the missions were cremated or otherwise mourned in traditional ways in direct contradiction of Catholic doctrine. By pointing to places that remained important to baptized Native people, these records may also help researchers unravel the complexities of Indigenous landscapes that persisted throughout the Mission Period (Panich and Schneider 2015).

Archaeology

In the 1990s, American archaeology began a shift in perspective that more explicitly linked colonial era sites to Indigenous histories (Lightfoot 1995; Rubertone 2000). Archaeological research into colonial California was a fundamental part of this movement, including investigations of Native Californian life at Fort Ross, various Franciscan mission sites, and Mexican era ranchos (e.g., Allen 1998; Lightfoot

2005; Silliman 2004). Rather than a story of Euro-American domination, recent archaeological research on colonial California clearly shows how Native people persevered despite all the mission system's adverse impacts. While there is no doubt that the missions posed many challenges—high mortality rates, cultural suppression, and limits on mobility, to name but a few of the most impactful—a careful reading of mission archaeology and ethnohistory reveals patterns of cultural persistence and landscape use that can help recalibrate understandings of Native Californian life during the Mission Period. In addition to book and journal publications (many included in the references cited), California's Office of Historic Preservation maintains the California Historic Resources Information System inventory that houses a wide range of documents and materials relating to historical resources, largely coming out of cultural resources management compliance work.

The missions were, at a fundamental demographic level, as much Native places as they were colonial settlements. Decades of archaeological research at mission sites offer ample empirical evidence for how Native Californians created their own spaces in which they maintained aspects of their traditional cultural practices. Although it remains somewhat underappreciated outside of archaeology, the past two decades have seen several major academic and cultural resource management projects at several mission sites (e.g., Santa Clara and La Purísima). They have produced large collections of lithics, marine shell, animal bone, and botanical remains that reveal the continuation of a range of Indigenous practices. Additionally, many of these materials can often be effectively linked to particular places on the landscape and offer insights into Native Californian mobility and economic connections under missionization (e.g., Allen 1998; Brown 2021; Hull and Douglass 2018; Panich et al. 2018a; Peelo et al. 2018a). Archaeological investigations at other colonial sites—presidios, pueblos, ranchos, and asistencias—also reveal insights into the lives of Native Californians.

Archaeologists are also leading the way in discovering and documenting a range of sites that offered Native people refuge and recourse during the Mission Period and its aftermath (Panich and Schneider 2015; Reddy 2015; Ruby and Whitaker 2019; Schneider 2015a, 2021a, 2021b). Some sites were likely visited clandestinely—perhaps to die and mourn—while others appear to have been substantial population centers existing in open defiance of colonial rule. These site types have the potential to fundamentally change how scholars and the public think about how Native Californians accommodated and resisted the mission system. Some methodological challenges remain. One is the low visibility of some Mission Period archaeological sites outside colonial centers like the missions. In some cases, index artifacts such as glass or shell beads, metal implements, or certain faunal or botanical remains, may provide tangible evidence that Native people used a particular site after the arrival of Europeans. Indeed, many artifacts can help narrow the temporal placement of sites even further through well-documented dates of production, as in the case of beads and phoenix buttons (Panich and Schneider 2015). At some sites, however, Native Californians may have intentionally avoided using colonial goods and non-native plants or animals (Schneider 2015a, 2015b), so archaeologists must be attentive to archaeological patterns that may fall outside existing—and largely commonsense—approaches to site recognition and recording. To that end, archaeologists in California are increasingly turning to chronometric dating methods, such as obsidian hydration and radiocarbon dating, to help identify Mission Period sites that have previously been recorded as purely "prehistoric" (Byrd et al. 2018; Panich and Schneider 2019; Schneider 2015a). Meaningful collaboration with local tribes is another critical aspect of this work,

helping to call attention to places on the landscape that have retained importance despite the impacts of missionization.

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GLOSSARY

Alcalde	A municipal official or magistrate; in mission contexts, the term referred to Native leaders elected by the Indigenous population of a particular mission
Alta California	Upper California; today part of the United States
AMTB	Amah Mutsun Tribal Band
Asistencia	An outlying chapel, often with other structures similar to a mission site; see outstations
Baja California	Lower California; peninsular part of Spanish and Mexican California; today part of Mexico
Californio	Non-Native settlers in California; see *gente de razón*
Campo Santo	Mission cemetery
Casco	The main quadrangle and immediate environs of a mission
Colonialism	When a foreign state or nation dominates a people by extending and maintaining political and social control through occupation of the subjugated people's territory, economic exploitation, and/or forced assimilation
Confesionario	A guide for priests taking confessions
Congregación	Congregation; the resettlement of dispersed Indigenous populations at mission sites; see *reducción*
Conscription	Compulsory enlistment for state service (typically used in reference to the military); used here to reference the process of baptizing and affiliating/relocating Native people to the missions; see recruitment
Calendar dates	Provided in Common Era (e.g., 1840); precontact dates correspond to calibrated radiocarbon years before present
Escolta	The mission guard; a small squad of soldiers assigned to protect a particular mission
Emancipation	A legal process by which baptized Native people were freed from the status of "neophyte" and an initial political step toward acknowledging Native people's political rights; provisional emancipation was initiated by the Mexican government in 1826 prior to mission secularization
Estancia	A ranching outpost, often associated with a particular mission; see outstations
FTBMI	Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians
Gente de razón	Literally, "people with reason;" as part of the colonial caste system, the phrase typically referred to colonists and largely excluded California Indians; see *Californio*
Gente libre	Free people
Gentile	An unbaptized Native person, typically living outside the mission system; here the term is avoided (used only in quotes) for condescending associations and instead Native people are described as baptized or unbaptized when relevant
Indian	Term used by Columbus to describe the people he met in the Americas when he thought he had reached India; has become part of the modern lexicon; here used interchangeably with Indigenous and Native people (individual people or a single community), or Peoples (several distinct groups)
Indio	Indian; a homogenized caste category applied to Indigenous people, ignoring the diversity and complexity of Indigenous identity
Indigenous	Earliest known inhabitants of a place, especially one colonized by another group; here used interchangeably with Indian and Native Peoples/people
Indigenous Hinterlands	Native homelands that existed at the margins of the Franciscan mission system (Schneider 2021a)

Informe	An informational report, usually provided annually, of the activities and holdings of a particular mission
Interior Worlds	Native places beyond the controlled landscapes of the missions, where some Native communities may have avoided sustained contact with Spanish colonists while simultaneously receiving introduced goods—and pathogens—that traveled along Indigenous exchange networks and social interaction spheres
Interrogatorio	Questionnaire sent out by the Spanish government in 1812 with answers submitted 1813–1815 by most missions (18 of 19 then in existence)
Jayunte	A separate dormitory for boys and unmarried men, part of the system to control Indigenous sexuality
Ladrillo	Ceramic floor tiles
Libertad	Liberty
Matanza	A slaughter of cattle or other livestock
Mayordomo	Labor foreman at a mission, typically *gente de razón*
Mission System Outstations	Include outlying mission facilities, e.g., *asistencias, visitas, parages, estancias, ranchos*; extended the missions' reach and facilitated agricultural production
Monjerío	A separate dormitory for girls and unmarried women, typically locked at night to control Indigenous sexuality
MPDF	Multiple Property Documentation Form
National Register	National Register of Historic Places
Native	Original inhabitants of a particular place; here used interchangeably with Indian and Indigenous Peoples/people; capitalized (lowercase refers to plants, animals, and the environment)
NAHC	Native American Heritage Commission
Native auxiliaries	Indian military supplement; also used for conscription and returning runaways
Neophyte	A baptized Native person, originating in the Spanish term *neófita/o*; it also represented the condition of *neófia*, or "unfreedom," as Native neophytes in California were subject to mission labor demands, punishments, and restrictions on movement; here the term is avoided, except in quotes and Advisory Committee contributions, for condescending associations and instead Native people are described as baptized or unbaptized when relevant
OHP	California Office of Historic Preservation
Padrón	An annual census for a particular mission
PBMI	Pala Band of Mission Indians
Parage	A stopping place, often with reliable water; see outstations
Paseo	A system of approved leaves for Native mission residents, usually for one or two weeks at a time
Poblador	A settler, typically *gente de razón*
Pulgas	Fleas
Precontact	A term used to identify the time before culture contact between Native Peoples and Europeans as a major turning point in the trajectory of Indigenous history; exact timing varied for different regions and Tribes
Presidio	Military garrison responsible for defending a defined part of the colony; Spanish presidios in Alta California were located at San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego
Pueblo	A town; the Spanish established three secular settlements in Alta California – San José, Los Angeles, and Branciforte (Santa Cruz), with others springing up after Mexican independence, e.g., Yerba Buena (San Francisco) and Sonoma
Ranchería	The Spanish term for an Indigenous settlement; in practice, it was used interchangeably to refer to autonomous village communities and Native neighborhoods attached to a particular mission
Rancho	Ranches; private landholdings, typically related to cattle raising; see outstations

Recruitment	"Recruitment" is often used to describe the process of baptizing and affiliating/relocating Native people to the missions; here its use is minimized, restricted to quotes, as it can be read to imply freedom of choice not necessarily experienced by Native people and does not reflect coercive and violent methods; see conscription
Reducción	Reduction; the Spanish policy of "reducing" the number of independent Indigenous communities through resettlement at mission sites; see *congregación*
Regidores	Indian Official; councilmen or community representatives; in mission contexts, *regidores* were elected by the Indigenous population of a particular mission
Secularization	A process by which the missions were removed from Franciscan control and converted to parish churches; mission land and property were intended to be redistributed to Native people, though in practice much of the mission wealth was co-opted by colonial elites
SHPO	State Historic Preservation Officer
Tribe	Used here broadly in reference to various forms of socio-political community organization of independent sovereign nations in ethnographic California; distinguished from linguistic groups; Tribelet is avoided as a demeaning term
Tulares	A term referring to the San Joaquin Valley based on the abundance of tule marshes in the region
Vaquero	Cowboy or ranch hand; in colonial California, most were Indigenous people
Visita	An outlying settlement, or mission outstation, of baptized Native people visited at intervals by a missionary; see outstations
Zanja (acequias)	An irrigation ditch

APPENDIX A:
National Register-Listed Properties Related to the California Mission System

Reference Number	Property Name	Category of Property	County	City	Street & Number	External Link	Listed Date	Area of Significance
Missions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
71000131	Mission San Jose	Building	Alameda	Fremont	Mission Blvd. at Washington Blvd.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858282	7/14/1971	Agriculture; Architecture; Religion; Social History
88002147	Mission San Fernando Rey de Convento Bldg	Building	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	15151 San Fernando Mission Blvd.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123859327	10/27/1988	Exploration/ Settlement; Architecture; Religion
71000158	San Gabriel Mission	Building	Los Angeles	San Gabriel	Junipero St. and W. Mission Dr.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123859484	5/6/1971	Architecture
66000214	Carmel Mission	Building	Monterey	Carmel	Rio Rd.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123857972	10/15/1966	Architecture; Religion
76000504	San Antonio de Padua Mission	Building	Monterey	Jolon	NW of Jolon off Del Venturi Rd.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123859964	4/26/1976	Native American; Hispanic; Architecture; Religion
14000344	Mission Nuestra Senora de la Soledad Historic District	District	Monterey	Soledad	36641 Fort Romie Rd.		6/27/2014	Exploration/ Settlement; Historic - Non-Aboriginal; Historic - Aboriginal; Hispanic; Native American; Religion; Architecture
71000170	Mission San Juan Capistrano	Building	Orange	San Juan Capistrano	Camino Capistrano and Ortega Hwy.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123860278	9/3/1971	Historic - Non-Aboriginal; Architecture; Religion

Reference Number	Property Name	Category of Property	County	City	Street & Number	External Link	Listed Date	Area of Significance
70000142	San Luis Rey Mission Church	Building	San Diego	Oceanside	4 mi. E of Oceanside on CA 76	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858040	4/15/1970	Architecture
70000144	San Diego Mission Church	Building	San Diego	San Diego	5 mi. E of Old Town San Diego on Friars Rd.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858036	4/15/1970	Exploration/ Settlement
72000251	Mission Dolores	Building	San Francisco	San Francisco	320 Dolores St.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123861214	3/16/1972	Exploration/ Settlement; Architecture
71000191	Mission San Miguel Arcangel	Building	San Luis Obispo	San Miguel	Address Restricted		7/14/1971	Architecture
70000147	La Purisima Mission	Building	Santa Barbara	Lompoc	4 mi. E of Lompoc, near jct. of CA 1 and 150		4/15/1970	Exploration/ Settlement
78000775	Mission de la Purisima Concepcion de Maria Santisima Site	Site	Santa Barbara	Lompoc	Bounded by Locust Ave., city limits, E and G Sts.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123861606	5/5/1978	Exploration/ Settlement; Architecture
66000237	Santa Barbara Mission	Building	Santa Barbara	Santa Barbara	2201 Laguna St.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858093	10/15/1966	Exploration/ Settlement; Architecture; Religion
99000630	Mission Santa Ines	District	Santa Barbara	Solvang	E side of Solvang, S of CA 246		1/20/1999	Architecture; Historic - Aboriginal; Hispanic; Native American; Religion; Social History
75000496	Mission San Buenaventura and Mission Compound Site	District	Ventura	San Buenaventura	Bounded by Poli St., Ventura and Santa Clara Aves., and Palm St.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123862350	4/10/1975	Prehistoric; Historic - Aboriginal; Historic - Non-Aboriginal; Religion

Reference Number	Property Name	Category of Property	County	City	Street & Number	External Link	Listed Date	Area of Significance
75000497	San Buenaventura Mission Aqueduct	Structure	Ventura	Ventura	234 Canada Larga Rd.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123862362	3/7/1975	Engineering
78000826	San Miguel Chapel Site	Site	Ventura	Ventura	Address Restricted		7/20/1978	Historic - Non-Aboriginal; Exploration/ Settlement; Religion
Presidios	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
66000216	Royal Presidio Chapel	Building	Monterey	Monterey	550 Church St.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123857980	10/15/1966	Exploration/ Settlement; Architecture
66000226	San Diego Presidio	Site	San Diego	San Diego	Presidio Park	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858038	10/15/1966	Exploration/ Settlement
66000232	Presidio	Building	San Francisco	San Francisco	Northern tip of San Francisco Peninsula on U.S. 101 and I-480	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858070	10/15/1966	Military; Exploration/ Settlement; Hispanic; Historic - Non-Aboriginal
73000455	Santa Barbara Presidio	District	Santa Barbara	Santa Barbara	Roughly bounded by Carrillo, Garden, De la Guerra and Anacapa Sts.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123861617	11/26/1973	Community Planning and Development; Historic - Aboriginal; Military; Architecture
Mission Outstations		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
93000391	Las Flores Estancia	Site	San Diego	Camp Pendleton	Jct. of Pulgas and Stuart Mesa Rds.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123860906	5/20/1993	Prehistoric; Historic - Aboriginal; Native American; Historic - Non-Aboriginal; Social History

Reference Number	Property Name	Category of Property	County	City	Street & Number	External Link	Listed Date	Area of Significance
76000525	Sanchez Adobe Park	District	San Mateo	Pacifica	Linda Mar Blvd., 1 mi. E of CA 1	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123861558	4/13/1976	Agriculture; Military; Politics/Government; Architecture
Ranchos and Adobes		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
80000798	Pacheco, Don Fernando, Adobe	Building	Contra Costa	Concord	3119 Grant St.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858555	6/6/1980	Exploration/ Settlement; Architecture
72000223	Moraga Adobe	Building	Contra Costa	Orinda	24 Adobe Lane	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858548	3/16/1972	Architecture
66000211	Pico, Romulo, Adobe	Building	Los Angeles	Mission Hills	10940 Sepulveda Blvd.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123859412	11/13/1966	Architecture
71000156	Palomares, Ygnacio, Adobe	Building	Los Angeles	Pomona	Corner of Arrow Hwy. and Orange Grove Ave.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123859384	3/24/1971	Architecture
73000404	Adobe Flores	Building	Los Angeles	South Pasadena	1804 Foothill St.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858907	6/18/1973	Military
73000409	Rancho Olompali	Site	Marin	Novato	Address Restricted		1/12/1973	Prehistoric; Landscape Architecture; Historic - Aboriginal; Historic - Non-Aboriginal; Military; Architecture
79000502	Los Coches Rancho	Site	Monterey	Soledad	1 mi, (1.6 km) S of Soledad on U.S. 101	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123859930	1/31/1979	Prehistoric; Historic - Aboriginal; Transportation; Architecture
76000505	Serrano, Jose, Adobe	Building	Orange	El Toro	21802 Serrano Rd.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123860338	5/24/1976	Prehistoric; Agriculture; Exploration/

Reference Number	Property Name	Category of Property	County	City	Street & Number	External Link	Listed Date	Area of Significance
75000450	Montanez Adobe	Building	Orange	San Juan Capistrano	31745 Los Rios St.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123860282	4/21/1975	Settlement; Architecture; Social History
78000731	Parra, Miguel, Adobe	Building	Orange	San Juan Capistrano	27832 Ortega Hwy.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123860310	9/11/1978	Historic - Aboriginal; Education; Architecture; Religion
82002222	Yorba, Domingo Adobe and Casa Manuel Garcia	Building	Orange	San Juan Capistrano	31781 Camino Capistrano	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123860374	2/4/1982	Exploration/ Settlement; Architecture
70000140	Anza House	Building	San Benito	San Juan Bautista	3rd and Franklin Sts.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858008	4/15/1970	Commerce; European; Exploration/ Settlement; Architecture
70000141	Castro, Jose, House	Building	San Benito	San Juan Bautista	S side of the Plaza	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858010	4/15/1970	Architecture
71000189	Dana Adobe	Building	San Luis Obispo	Nipomo	S end of Oak Glen Ave.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123861458	5/6/1971	Industry; Historic - Aboriginal; Agriculture; Transportation; Politics/Governmen t; Architecture; Communications; Social History
71000190	Caledonia Adobe	Building	San Luis Obispo	San Miguel	0.5 mi. S of 10th St.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123861451	7/14/1971	Architecture; Social History

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number APPENDIX A Page 202

Reference Number	Property Name	Category of Property	County	City	Street & Number	External Link	Listed Date	Area of Significance
70000148	Los Alamos Ranch House	Building	Santa Barbara	Los Alamos	3 mi. W of Los Alamos on old U.S. 101	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858088	4/15/1970	Exploration/ Settlement; Architecture
73000454	Peralta, Luis Maria, Adobe	Structure	Santa Clara	San Jose	184 W. St. John St.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123861760	10/15/1973	Military; Politics/Governmen t; Architecture
79000552	Branciforte Adobe	Building	Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	1351 N. Branciforte Ave.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123861840	1/31/1979	Prehistoric; Historic - Aboriginal; Exploration/ Settlement
76000531	Castro, Jose Joaquin, Adobe	Building	Santa Cruz	Watsonville	NW of Watsonville at 184 Old Adobe Rd.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123861845	12/12/1976	Agriculture; Exploration/ Settlement; Architecture
72000261	Pena Adobe	Building	Solano	Vacaville	2 mi. SW of Vacaville on I-80	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123862021	1/7/1972	Social History
70000151	Petaluma Adobe	Building	Sonoma	Petaluma	4 mi. E of Petaluma on Casa Grande Rd.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858121	4/15/1970	Agriculture; Exploration/ Settlement; Architecture
78000825	Simi Adobe-Strathearn House	Building	Ventura	Simi	137 Strathearn Pl.	https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123862367	5/19/1978	Agriculture; Exploration/ Settlement; Architecture

Note: *Identified through a search of National Register records available online (https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/database-research.htm). Additional related properties may be listed; address-restricted properties are not posted online and were not cross-referenced, including most properties listed as “prehistoric.”

APPENDIX B: Figures

Figure 1 A Model of Indigenous Californian Political Geography at the beginning of the Spanish Colonial Period

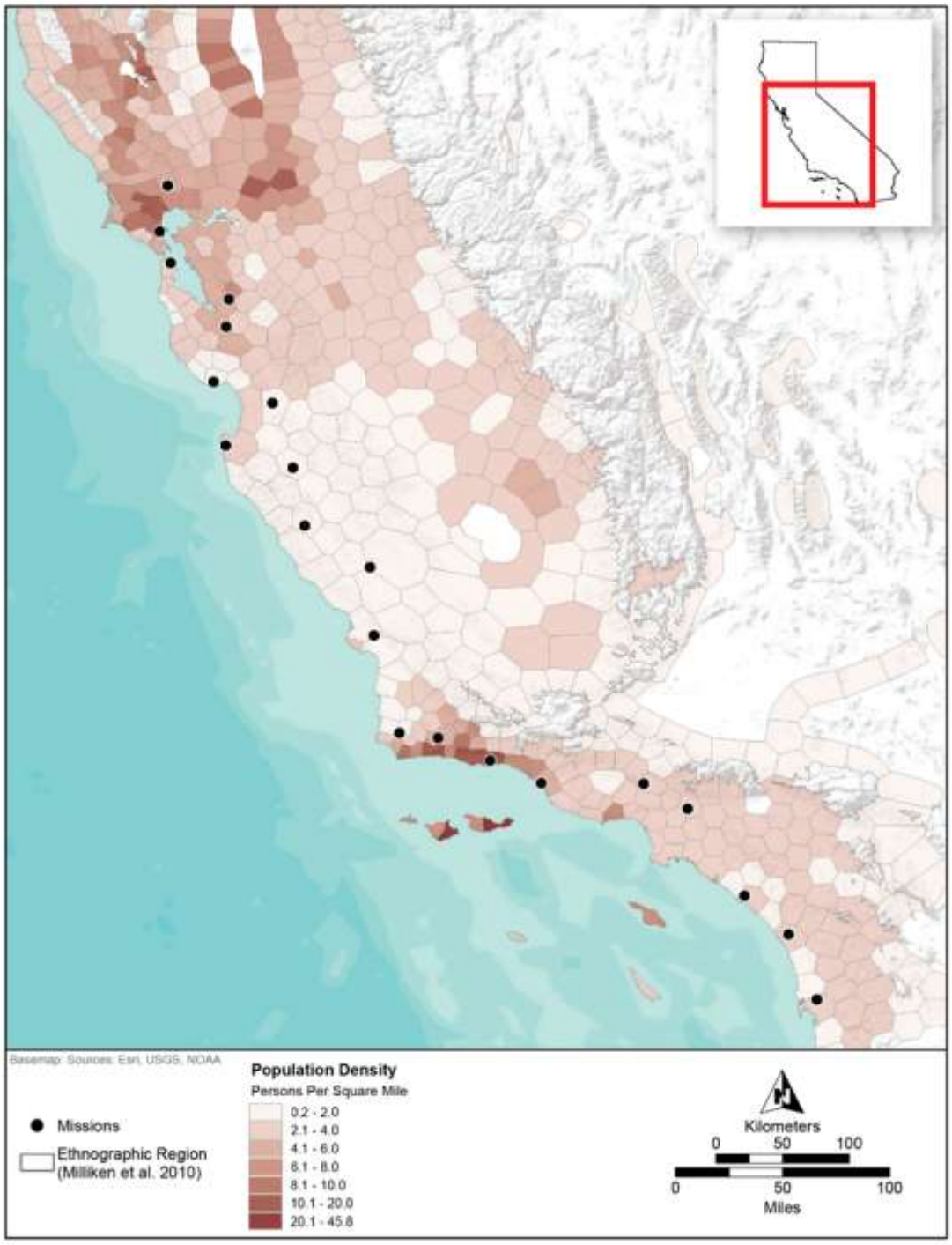


Figure 2 History of Native California Languages along the Pacific Ocean Front

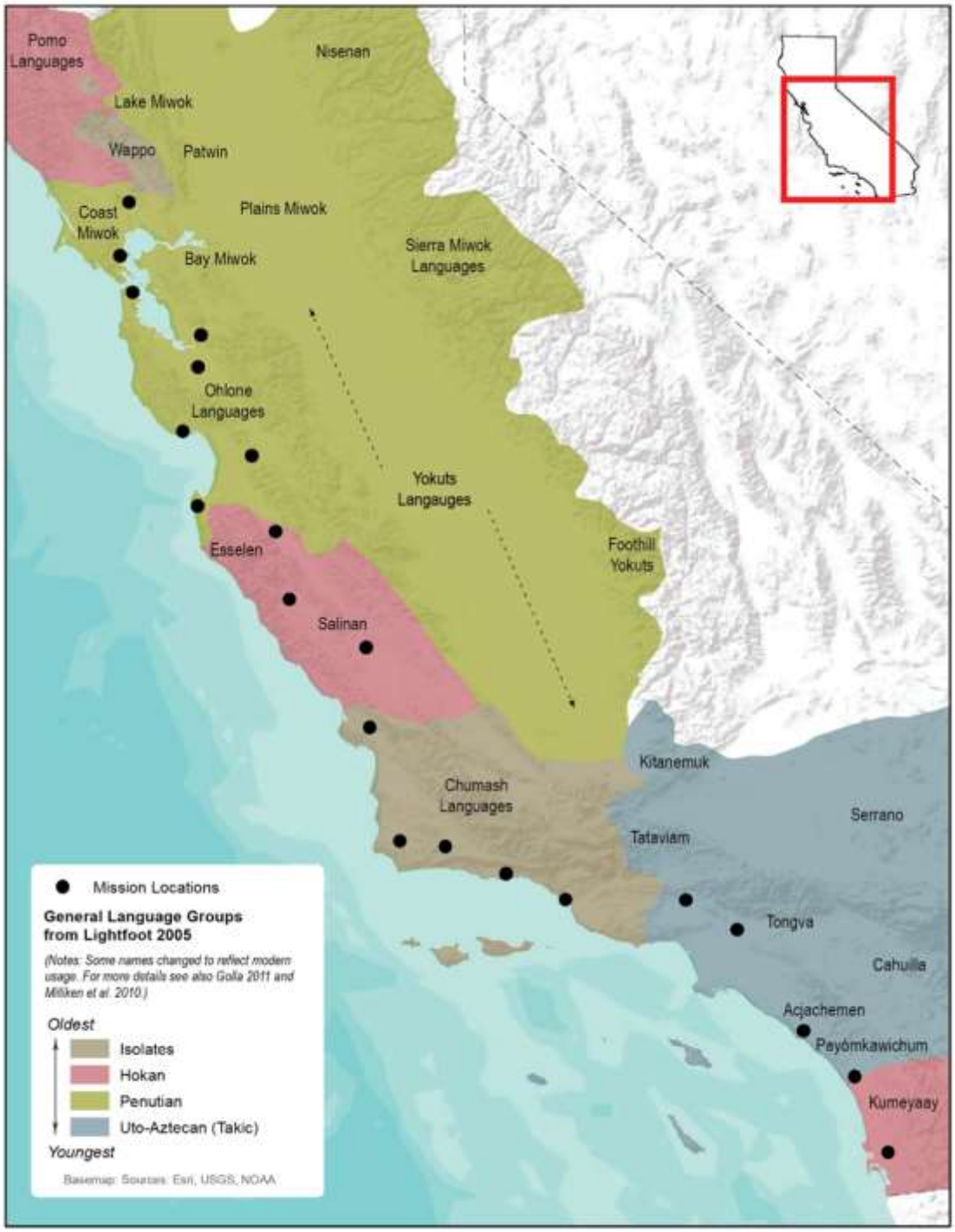


Figure 3 Multiple Property Documentation Form Advisory Committee Participants

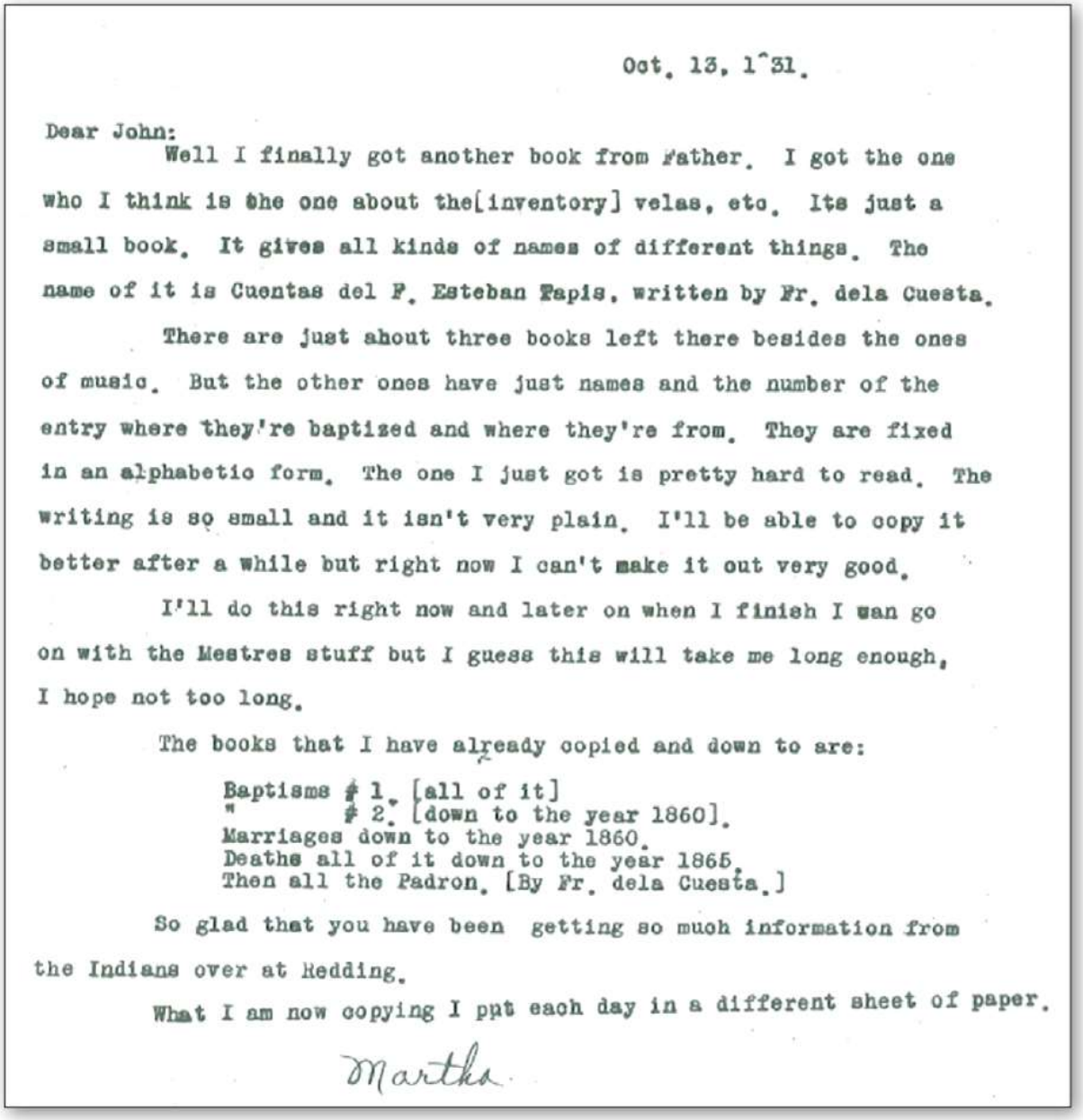
Figure 4 Ascensión Solórsano's younger daughter and her husband at the Sacred Cave near San Juan Bautista

Joseph Mondragon Sr. and Maria Mondragon at Cave (Photo by J. P. Harrington, courtesy of Edward Ketchum).

Figure 5 Cross on Pagan Hill

Photo by Steve Sutti, courtesy of Edward Ketchum.

Figure 6 Letter from Martha Herrera to Harrington about her research with Mission baptismal records



Oct. 13, 1^31.

Dear John:
Well I finally got another book from Father. I got the one who I think is the one about the[inventory] velas, etc. Its just a small book. It gives all kinds of names of different things. The name of it is Cuentas del P. Esteban Papis, written by Fr. dela Cuesta.

There are just about three books left there besides the ones of music. But the other ones have just names and the number of the entry where they're baptized and where they're from. They are fixed in an alphabetic form. The one I just got is pretty hard to read. The writing is so small and it isn't very plain. I'll be able to copy it better after a while but right now I can't make it out very good.

I'll do this right now and later on when I finish I wan go on with the Mestres stuff but I guess this will take me long enough, I hope not too long.

The books that I have already copied and down to are:

Baptisms # 1. [all of it]
" # 2. [down to the year 1860].
Marriages down to the year 1860.
Deaths all of it down to the year 1865.
Then all the Padron. [By Fr. dela Cuesta.]

So glad that you have been getting so much information from the Indians over at Redding.

What I am now copying I ppt each day in a different sheet of paper.

Martha

Courtesy of Marion Martinez.

Figure 7 Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians ancestral and historical territory

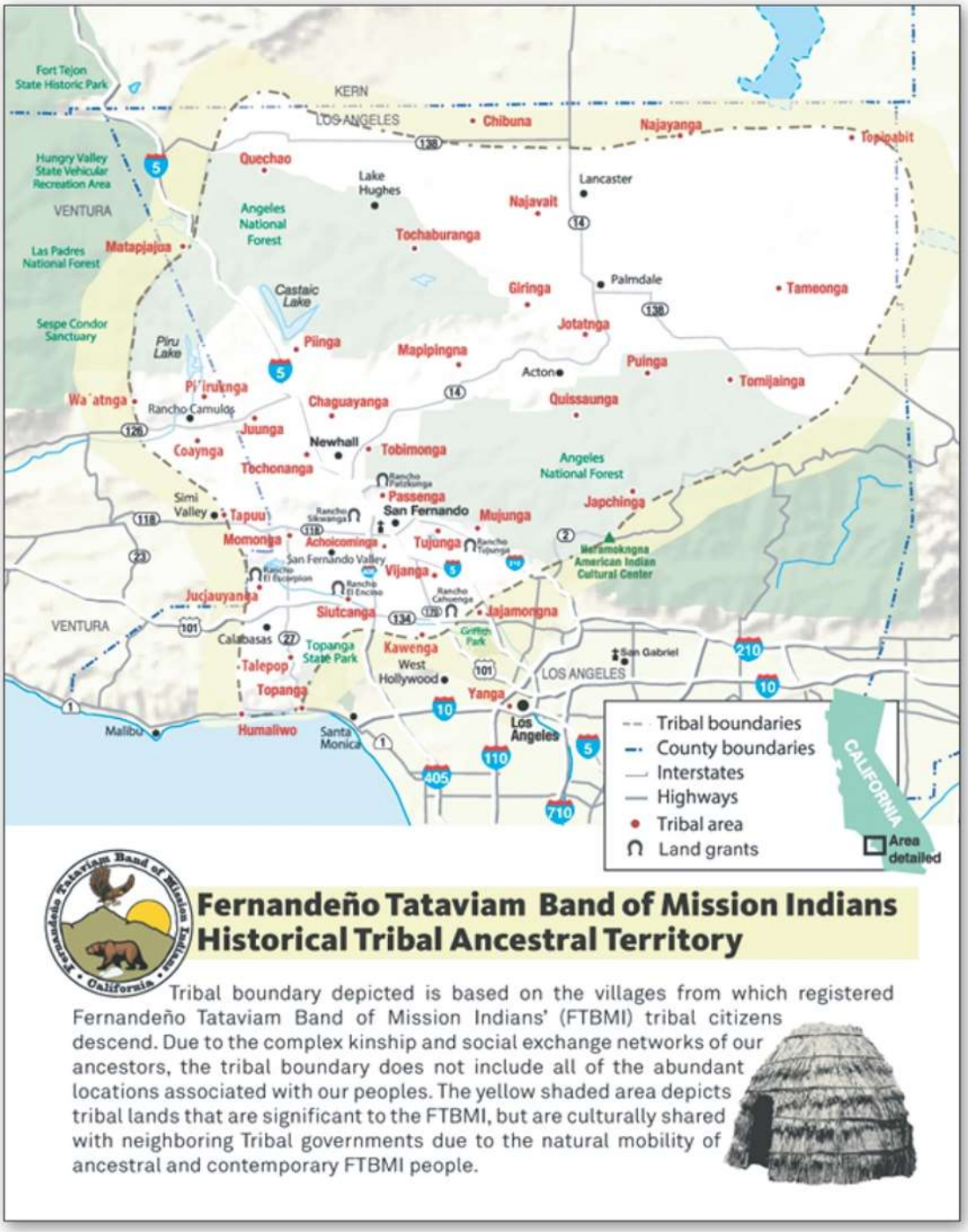


Figure 8 Extended zone of Mission conscription

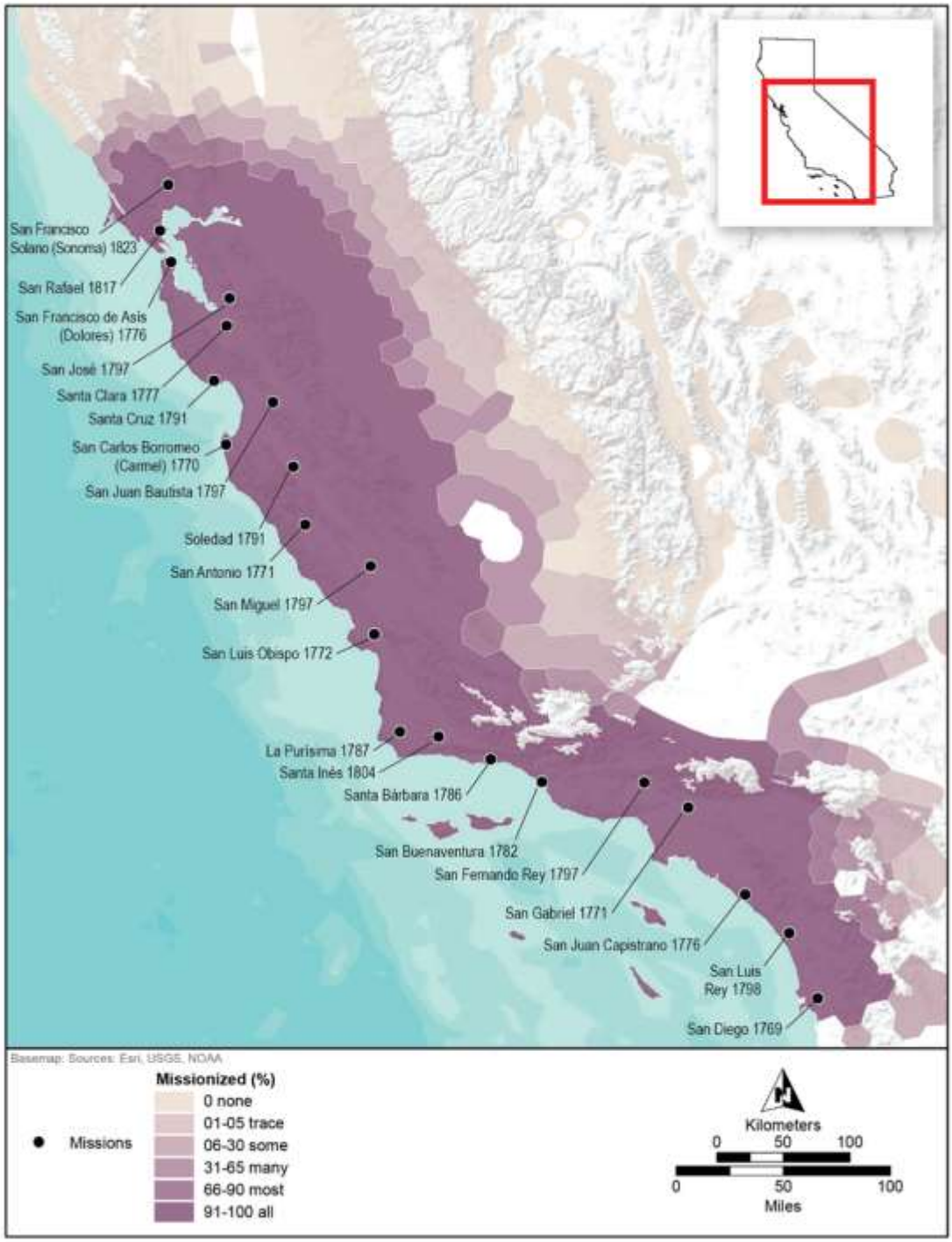


Figure 9 Cumulative Mission baptisms between 1790 and 1820

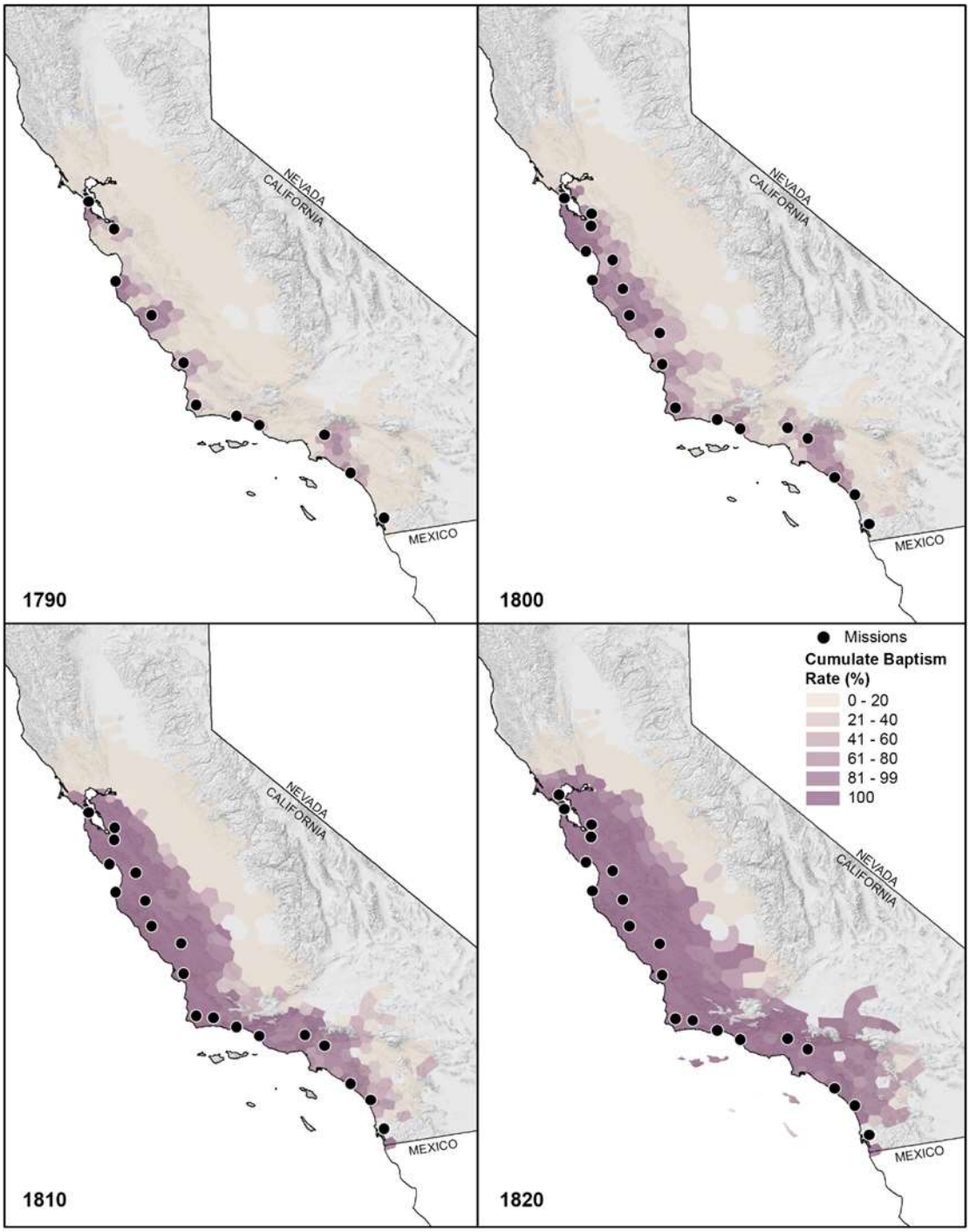


Figure 10 Mission and Indigenous landscapes

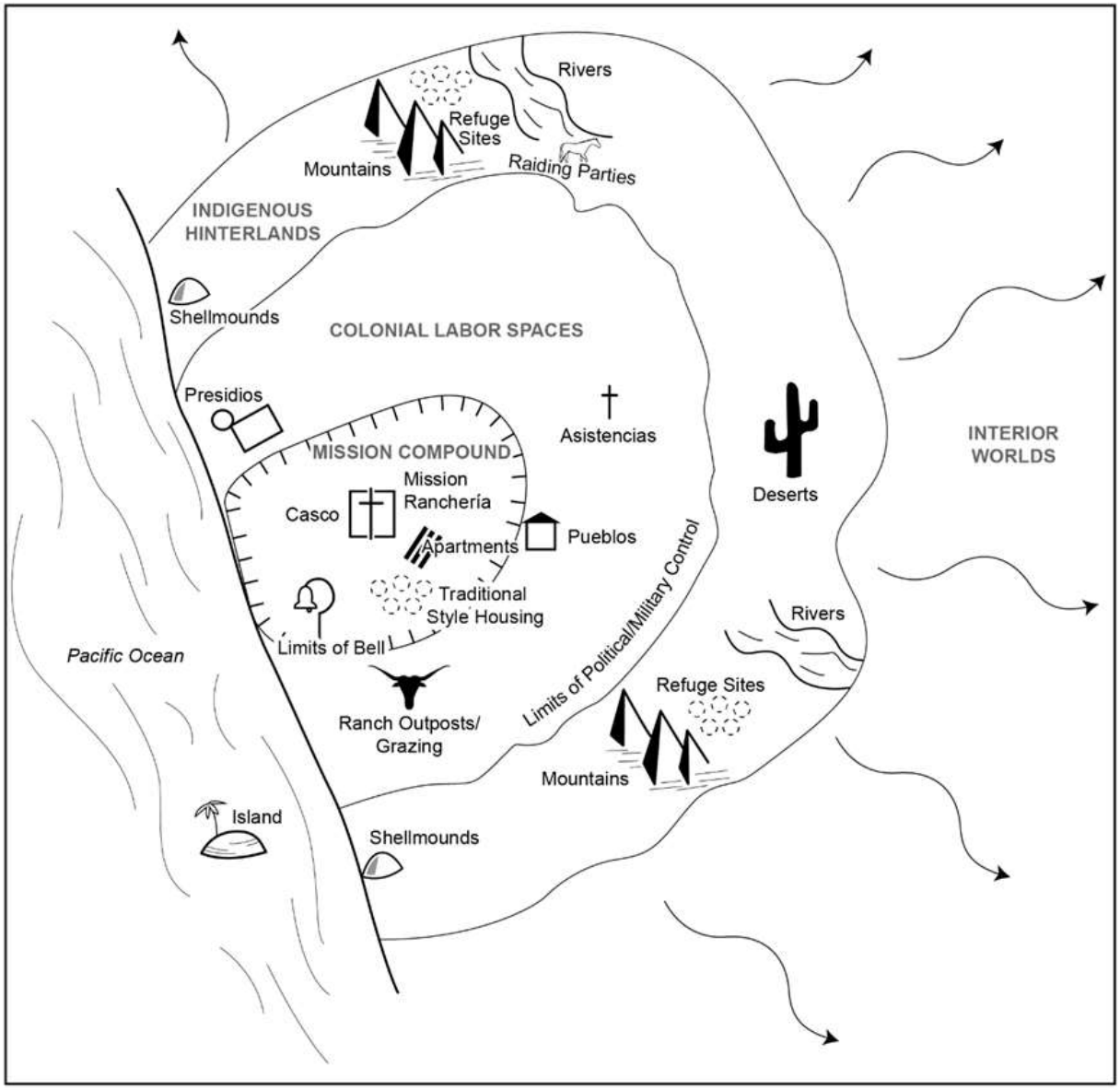
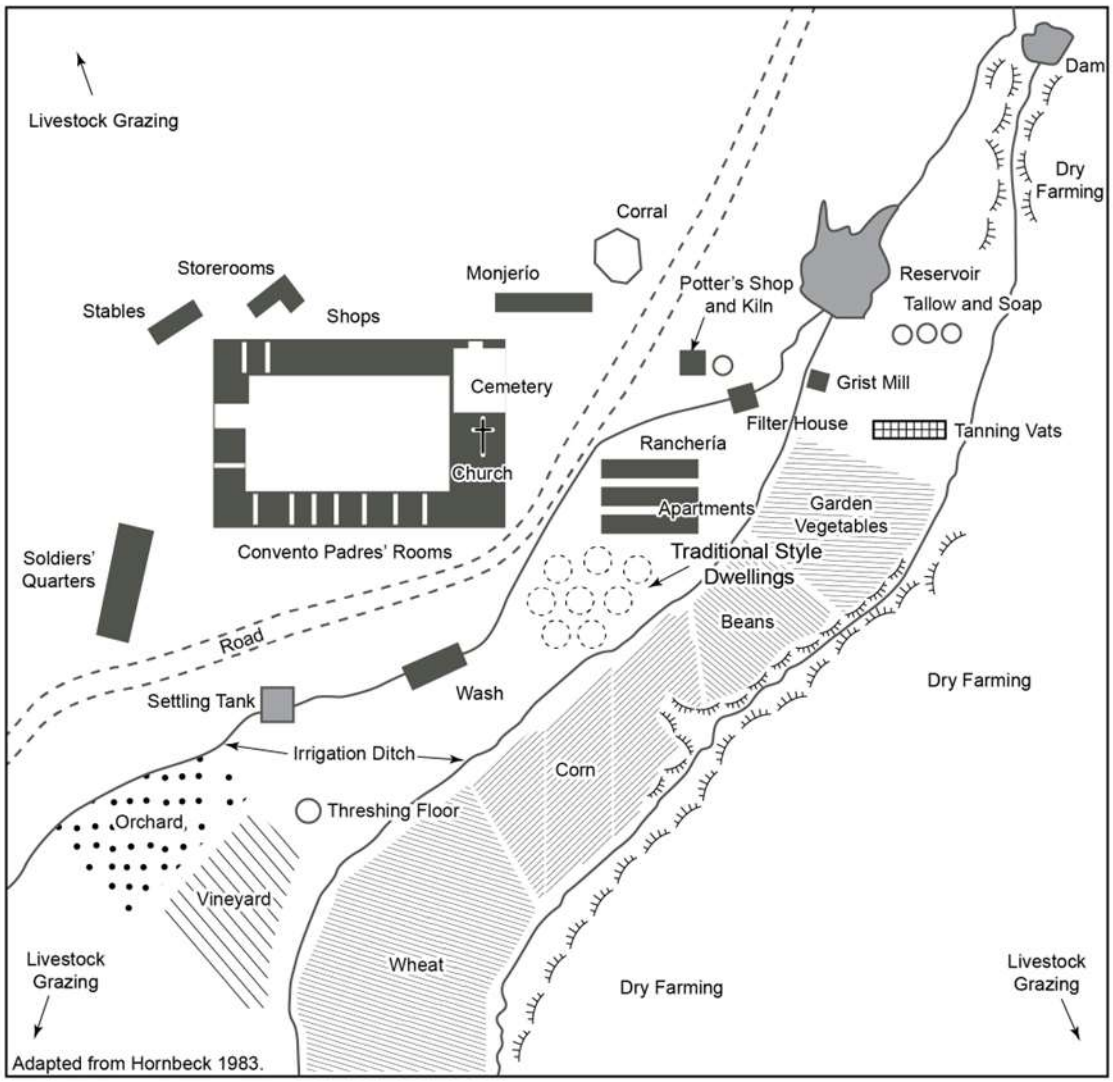


Figure 11 Generalized Mission Plan, circa 1820



APPENDIX C:
List of 212 Causen- (Sunol-) Area Ohlone Registered at Spanish Missions

Native Name	Spanish Name	Sex [1]	Baptism Age	Baptism Year	Year of Death	Age at Death	Years Survived after Baptism
Mission Santa Clara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jansignis	*Joaquina*	F	3	1795	1806	14	11
Chaucom	*Luparia*	F	5	1795	1804	14	9
Mission San Jose	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Talomis	*Agustina*	F	3	1797	1801	7	4
Gualit	*Alexo*	M	24	1797	1805	32	8
Housen	*Andrea*	F	40	1797	1811	54	14
Jaimucse	*Andres*	M	50	1797	1813	66	16
Sacnete	*Antonia*	F	25	1797	1801	29	4
Chuama	*Antonio*	M	9	1797	1800	12	3
Seriete	*Apolonia*	F	3	1797	1805	11	8
Yatcal	*Domingo*	M	40	1797	1802	45	5
Guounote	*Faustina*	F	11	1797	1799	13	2
Mosilontes	*Francisca*	F	8	1797	1800	11	3
Ullup	*Jacinto*	M	9	1797	1802	14	5
Tanoc	*Jose Francisco*	M	11	1797	1799	13	2
Moychol	*Juan*	M	2	1797	1840	45	43
Sacsu	*Leandro*	M	40	1797	1830	73	33
Usquite	*Magina*	F	30	1797	1799	32	2
Molola	*Mateo*	M	11	1797	1812	26	15
Oitiris	*Pablo*	M	3	1797	1826	32	29
Conuis	*Pedro*	M	2	1797	1803	8	6
Somocom	*Pedro Alcantara*	M	8	1797	1799	10	2
Tuseren	*Petra*	F	10	1797	1800	13	3
Siguate	*Serafina*	F	2	1797	1818	23	21
Lomet	*Adjuto*	M	18	1798	1818	38	20
Oguete	*Agueda*	F	3	1798	1804	9	6
Pultichi	*Albaro*	M	12	1798	1808	22	10
H(Ti)unta	*Ambrosio*	M	2	1798	1806	10	8
Tustuchupa	*Aniceto*	M	12	1798	-	-	na
Saipate	*Bernarda*	F	14	1798	1806	22	8
Tarchis	*Carlos*	M	3	1798	1817	22	19
Chauma	*Casimiro*	M	9	1798	1800	11	2
Onosio	*Dionisia*	F	4	1798	1802	8	4
Tuilen	*Dominga*	F	4	1798	1801	7	3
Tamacasi	*Eduarda*	F	1	1798	1840	43	42
Churic	*Estevan*	M	14	1798	1800	16	2
Chutacsi	*Felipe*	M	19	1798	1803	24	5
Tuibum	*Gregoria*	F	<1	1798	1828	30	30
Chusite	*Jacinta*	F	2	1798	1816	20	18
Caguate	*Joaquina*	F	2	1798	1810	14	12
Matasin	*Juan Dios -de*	M	4	1798	1826	32	28
Aguiogue	*Juana*	F	<1	1798	1805	7	7
Rurquete	*Paula*	F	2	1798	-	-	na
-	*Petronila*	F	2	1798	1816	20	18
Lomoyos	*Rafaela*	F	7	1798	1801	10	3
Tirmún	*Raymunda*	F	30	1798	1799	31	1
Yalsote	*Rosa Vitorio -de*	F	<1	1798	1801	3	3
Culpete	*Vicenta*	F	<1	1798	1802	4	4
Linchiste	*Ygnacio*	M	20	1798	1820	42	22
-	*Zeferina*	F	<1	1798	1801	3	3
Cheer	*Benigno*	M	26	1799	1808	35	9
Yoquenesi	*Candida*	F	5	1799	1802	8	3

NATIVE NAME	SPANISH NAME	SEX [1]	BAPTISM AGE	BAPTISM YEAR	YEAR OF DEATH	AGE AT DEATH	YEARS SURVIVED AFTER BAPTISM
MISSION SAN JOSE *cont.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samen	*Fulgencio*	M	15	1799	1801	17	2
Chellecni	*Simon*	M	26	1799	1802	29	3
-	*Ygnacia*	F	<1	1799	1801	2	2
Humules	*Ynes*	F	12	1799	1803	16	4
Ucsate	*Ysidora*	F	20	1799	1806	27	7
Chasamis	*Agustin*	M	14	1800	1826	40	26
Hoi(s)jate	*Bernardina*	F	50	1800	1801	51	1
Cumulan	*Bernardino*	M	50	1800	1810	60	10
Charán	*Catarina*	F	50	1800	1800	50	0
-	*Damaso*	M	<1	1800	1802	2	2
-	*Doda*	F	<1	1800	1804	4	4
Gichilette	*Dorotea*	F	66	1800	1802	68	2
Llems	*Fulgencia*	F	10	1800	1812	22	12
Llipquesi	*Gavina*	F	18	1800	1803	21	3
Jatcúicuz	*Gavino*	M	20	1800	1810	30	10
Otoss	*Genovefa*	F	<1	1800	1801	1	1
Guarssas	*Geronimo*	M	12	1800	1818	30	18
Tojos	*Gil*	M	2	1800	1801	3	1
Putiazte	*Gregorio*	M	11	1800	1814	25	14
Lichoe	*Guido*	M	2	1800	1826	28	26
Tilete	*Heduvige*	F	4	1800	1810	14	10
Chajtem	*Jovita*	F	4	1800	1806	10	6
Huijtess	*Justo*	M	10	1800	1802	12	2
Ssocó	*Lazaro*	M	24	1800	1804	28	4
Enjute	*Lina*	F	70	1800	1807	77	7
Aicicse	*Lino*	M	80	1800	1801	81	1
-	*Lucia*	F	40	1800	1805	45	5
Huettess	*Lucio*	M	40	1800	1803	43	3
-	*Mauro*	M	14	1800	1803	17	3
Jugacsi	*Nabor*	M	38	1800	1803	41	3
Zarim	*Ninfa*	F	<1	1800	1800	0	0
Ucgéss	*Quintin*	M	4	1800	1817	21	17
Mulich	*Roman*	M	18	1800	1822	40	22
-	*Romulo*	M	1	1800	-	-	na
-	*Romulo*	M	<1	1800	1800	0	0
Molohote	*Rufina*	F	42	1800	1810	52	10
Saquen	*Santos*	M	10	1800	1800	10	0
Chequete	*Tomasa*	F	16	1800	1802	18	2
Chonocsse	*Torquato*	M	13	1800	1801	14	1
Uñium	*Victora*	F	24	1800	1808	32	8
Saunin	*Yvon*	M	13	1800	-	-	na
Ligess	*Antonina*	F	22	1801	1819	40	18
Yuvelacsse	*Antonino*	M	34	1801	1826	59	25
-	*Antonio*	M	<1	1801	1801	0	0
Namssucsi	*Bibiana*	F	20	1801	1813	32	12
Yuquiz	*Bibiano*	M	24	1801	1821	44	20
Chucu	*Braulio*	M	50	1801	1807	56	6
Azlocla	*Casiana*	F	36	1801	1802	37	1
Huitulacsi	*Casiano*	M	36	1801	1805	40	4
Ssalpu	*Cipriana*	F	2	1801	1804	5	3
Rupuchac	*Cipriano*	M	6	1801	1802	7	1
Limcus	*Doroteo*	M	60	1801	1807	66	6
-	*Dula*	F	<1	1801	1801	0	0
Chomsem	*Fernanda*	F	56	1801	1802	57	1

NATIVE NAME	SPANISH NAME	SEX [1]	BAPTISM AGE	BAPTISM YEAR	YEAR OF DEATH	AGE AT DEATH	YEARS SURVIVED AFTER BAPTISM
MISSION SAN JOSE *cont.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chaloc	*Fernando*	M	56	1801	1803	58	2
Ssucuram	*Francisca Antonia*	F	36	1801	1801	36	0
-	*Francisca Antonia*	F	7	1801	1807	13	6
Yajmoone	*Francisco Antonio*	M	40	1801	1805	44	4
Ochelez	*Froylan*	M	50	1801	1802	51	1
Reyés	*Gaspar*	M	22	1801	1815	36	14
Echuate	*Gregoria*	F	30	1801	1815	44	14
Lauez	*Gregorio*	M	36	1801	1806	41	5
Sulech	*Heraclia*	F	14	1801	1806	19	5
Ssele	*Heraclio*	M	16	1801	1820	35	19
Ysscon	*Honorio*	M	13	1801	1841	53	40
Ucresua	*Jose Ygnacio*	M	50	1801	1817	66	16
Jojquin	*Josefa Ygnacia*	F	46	1801	1812	57	11
Huocnote	*Ladislaa*	F	18	1801	1806	23	5
Jules	*Ladislao*	M	40	1801	1807	46	6
Jocote	*Lauriana*	F	24	1801	1826	49	25
Ssutrume	*Leocadio*	M	18	1801	1838	55	37
Rurqueme	*Livina*	F	10	1801	1806	15	5
Quehuima[in]	*Luciana*	F	22	1801	1820	41	19
Huilless	*Luciano*	M	24	1801	-	-	na
Ssapilinte	*Lucrecia*	F	20	1801	1810	29	9
Lugess	*Mamerto*	M	14	1801	1810	23	9
Ogem	*Maria Antonia*	F	20	1801	1815	34	14
Cepnech	*Marino*	M	12	1801	1812	23	11
Pispicsi	*Martiniano*	M	20	1801	1807	26	6
Umsulua	*Materno*	M	18	1801	1810	27	9
Yuquicse	*Maximino*	M	10	1801	1803	12	2
Toquila[]	*Melchor*	M	30	1801	1835	64	34
J(t)ojtos	*Melchora*	F	26	1801	1804	29	3
Pispicsi	*Narciso*	M	60	1801	1805	64	4
Tizjom	*Neofita*	F	14	1801	1818	31	17
Ssoquei	*Nicanor*	M	24	1801	1825	48	24
Chucalla	*Nicasia*	F	20	1801	1813	32	12
Chismon	*Nicasio*	M	19	1801	1812	30	11
Ssacnem	*Nominanda*	F	20	1801	1803	22	2
Tojcem	*Octavia*	F	30	1801	1808	37	7
Ucutte	*Octavia*	F	8	1801	1803	10	2
Chojsim	*Octaviana*	F	60	1801	1801	60	0
Juluczu	*Odilon*	M	17	1801	1803	19	2
Tujuram	*Orencia*	F	30	1801	1806	35	5
Sonhite	*Paciana*	F	9	1801	1804	12	3
Pogillelle	*Paciano*	M	40	1801	1801	40	0
Purzucse	*Pelagio*	M	54	1801	1807	60	6
Ssoyame	*Quadrata*	F	46	1801	1809	54	8
Huosinespu	*Quadrato*	M	46	1801	1804	49	3
Ssacacsse	*Quintiliano*	M	36	1801	1802	37	1
Geyumate	*Quintina*	F	16	1801	1802	17	1
Caitim	*Quintina Antonia*	F	60	1801	1802	61	1
Ssojoune	*Quintino*	M	70	1801	1806	75	5
Cacnucse	*Quinto*	M	1	1801	1801	1	0
Caulli	*Quirico*	M	36	1801	1806	41	5
-	*Restituto*	M	<1	1801	1802	1	1
Yamurum	*Ricarda*	F	50	1801	1807	56	6
Caslule	*Ricardo*	M	50	1801	1805	54	4

Native Name	Spanish Name	Sex [1]	Baptism Age	Baptism Year	Year of Death	Age at Death	Years Survived after Baptism
Mission San Jose *cont.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Luimus a Nojois	*Roque*	M	66	1801	1802	67	1
Juriutte	*Rufa*	F	1	1801	1815	15	14
Ylues	*Sabino*	M	30	1801	-	-	na
Jalhete	*Salome*	F	50	1801	1803	52	2
Olates	*Salomon*	M	60	1801	1802	61	1
Yaquete	*Salomona*	F	50	1801	1801	50	0
Mallocsi	*Silvano*	M	18	1801	1806	23	5
Urssem	*Silveria*	F	19	1801	1817	35	16
Souete	*Silverio*	M	32	1801	1809	40	8
Ttuttuma[i]	*Telesfora*	F	36	1801	1803	38	2
Olobocse	*Telesforo*	M	50	1801	1811	60	10
Joctore	*Teodoro*	M	40	1801	1811	50	10
Ttupñem	*Teodosia*	F	50	1801	1801	50	0
Ussatte	*Teodosia*	F	50	1801	1801	50	0
Tilpacsi	*Teodosio*	M	50	1801	1817	66	16
Uxjate	*Timotea*	F	50	1801	1804	53	3
Retemtis	*Timoteo*	M	50	1801	1803	52	2
Ssupssate	*Tirso*	M	28	1801	1811	38	10
Choinom	*Ubalda*	F	40	1801	1809	48	8
Tañuca	*Ubaldo*	M	46	1801	1806	51	5
Lames	*Valeriana*	F	50	1801	1801	50	0
Chucu	*Valeriano*	M	50	1801	1804	53	3
Lamis	*Venusta*	F	4	1801	1803	6	2
-	*Verulo*	M	<1	1801	-	-	na
Toilem	*Victoria*	F	7	1801	1829	35	28
-	*Ynocencia*	F	9	1801	1808	16	7
Oittó	*Yreneo*	M	16	1801	1802	17	1
Lucupis	*Zosimo*	M	30	1801	1821	50	20
Petuere	*Ageo*	M	40	1802	1806	44	4
Güecute	*Celsa*	F	28	1802	1805	31	3
Juttuca	*Celso*	M	32	1802	1804	34	2
Cacnum	*Daria*	F	40	1802	1802	40	0
Sujanssia	*Dario*	M	42	1802	1802	42	0
Ssacssaque	*Delfino*	M	40	1802	-	-	na
Jupuya	*Job*	M	60	1802	1819	77	17
Opiom	*Modesta*	F	30	1802	1810	38	8
Ssiquil	*Pacomio*	M	70	1802	1802	70	0
Sachaue	*Pompeyo*	M	8	1802	1825	31	23
-	*Sulpicia*	F	<1	1802	1802	0	0
-	*Vigilio*	M	<1	1802	1803	1	1
Jauiyis	*Zetico*	M	1	1802	1804	3	2
-	*Zoylo*	M	<1	1802	1803	1	1
-	*Bernarda*	F	<1	1803	1804	1	1
Sonmoto	*Roque*	M	40	1803	1806	43	3
Peclessoa	*Adaucto*	M	20	1804	1818	34	14
-	*Clara*	F	<1	1804	1806	2	2
Jumquite	*Guida*	F	50	1804	1805	51	1
Chussupu	*Guido*	M	50	1804	1807	53	3
Unzam	*Maura*	F	30	1804	1808	34	4
Pojorez	*Odorico*	M	26	1804	1808	30	4
Ussam	*Sinforiana*	F	48	1804	1807	51	3
Ssassanoa	*Sinforiano*	M	50	1804	1811	57	7
Ttomnoÿs	*Lazaro*	M	40	1807	1810	43	3

Source: Millken (2010). [1] - M - male; F - female.