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Between Crucifix and Lance

Indian-White Relations in California, 1769-1848

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UNA MENTIRA

¡Basta ya! (Enough!) This “new” western history began to irritate Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo the more he read. Working in his study at *Lachryma Montis* (tear of the mountain), the two-story, Victorian “Boston House” located outside the plaza of Sonoma, which he had laid out, Vallejo, like a modern reviewer, read carefully the historical text before him, evaluating it in light of his own expertise. Unlike a modern reviewer, however, Mariano had played a prominent role in some of the past recounted in George Tinkham’s *A History of Stockton* (1880), and Vallejo knew firsthand many of the people and incidents described.

As he read, Vallejo grew progressively frustrated at both Tinkham’s inaccuracies and at the American’s preference for recounting the deeds of Anglo “pioneers,” those who in his words “made the wilderness blossom like the rose, and the desert bring forth the fruits of the earth”—as though Mariano and his compatriots had not done likewise. “[O]f their achievements [mainly American],” Tinkham continued in celebratory tones, “I now write that their works may be known and honored.”¹ Vallejo, at least, would not allow this “new” western history to pass unchallenged. At issue was the political and cultural memory of the Spanish/Mexican colony of Alta California, into which Vallejo had been born, versus that of the rebaptized state of California within the American federal union, about which Tinkham wrote. Vallejo knew an older Spanish and Mexican history and tried to tell it.² Where Tinkham had written that “the Californians [Californios] then wore moccasins made of smoked elk and deer skins, prepared by the Indian squaws of the trappers,” in the margin Vallejo wrote a single word, “mentira” (lie!).

If this distortion of the truth is true of the state’s early historians, how can I, even farther removed from the events, write an account of Indian-white relations in California from the beginning of effective Spanish colonization in 1769, to the



A patriarchal Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo relaxes on the veranda of his Gothic-revival house in Sonoma, probably in 1884. The leading Californio of his day, Vallejo began his military career as a fifteen-year-old cadet at the Monterey presidio, and six years later, in 1829, he commanded one of the largest military campaigns ever mounted in the province, crushing the Indian revolt led by the former mission neophyte Estanislao. In the course of a long lifetime, Vallejo achieved not only military power, but acquired vast landholdings that employed hundreds of Indians and made him one of the richest and most influential men in Mexican California. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30504.*

American conquest and subsequent onslaught of settlers/invasers from 1846 through 1850, without also writing a “lie”? One way to avoid that result is to recognize that our known stories of California’s history are frequently no more than the most recent telling by the conquerors of their own great deeds, to recognize that recovering a more accurate view of the past demands that we see it as a palimpsest, with other stories written before the current ones erased by subsequent writers. We must also be alert to Indian voices from the past. Although California Indians had no written language, and written documents are the core of any historical record, there yet have come down to us Indian views of their experiences in the era being studied.

One of these is the only known example of a Native American’s written history of the missionization of his people in California. Pablo Tac, an Indian born at Mission San Luis Rey and educated there in Spanish by the Franciscans, was sent to Europe to further his studies and to become a priest. He died before achieving his—or perhaps his religious mentor’s—goal, but at about age thirteen, he wrote his account of

the arrival of the Spanish among his people, whom the Europeans called Luiseños,³ and of the missionary activities of the Franciscan priests known as Fernandinos.⁴ Because his command of Spanish grammar was weak and because the priests undoubtedly made him write the account, it would be easy to dismiss Tac's document as childish and reflecting only Christian triumphalism. Such an approach, however, would blind us to the resistance to Spanish invasion that Tac smuggled into his version of events. For example, describing the first contact between a Fernandino and a chief of the *Quechnajuichom*, as Tac called his people in his native tongue, the Indian declared in his dialect, "What is it you seek here? Get out of our country!" Tac also concluded his narrative by describing an encounter between a Luiseño man and an armed Spanish soldier seeking to restore order after a ball game between Luiseños and Indians from Mission San Juan Capistrano had become unruly. The Luiseño challenged the Spaniard by saying, "Raise your saber and I will eat you." Both of these Indian statements, Tac tells us, were made in the original language of *Quechla*, his Indian territory, meaning that the Spanish could not understand them.⁵ Thanks to Tac, however, we can.

Mindful of the way in which Native Americans often, even today, shift to Indian language to convey feelings that cannot be expressed in the dominant language shared by Indian and non-Indian groups, we can understand the powerful opposition to Spanish invasion Luiseños communicated both in precontact and late mission times.⁶ Moreover, in recounting daily life at the mission, Tac inserted a trickster tale involving a mission Indian boy who enters the Fernandino's forbidden garden to eat figs, is discovered by the Indian gardener, and then transforms himself into a raven.⁷ Whatever else may have happened to Tac in the course of his European-style education begun in California, continued in Mexico, and ended in Italy, where he wrote his history, Tac had not lost his Indian identity or his peoples' sense of outrage at Spanish occupation. A more accurate history of Indian-white relations, then, must include the stories and the messages behind the stories of people like Tac and Vallejo.

FRONTIER PROCESSES

By recognizing that California history is a palimpsest, by listening to the voices of Vallejo and Tac, among others, we can avoid Tinkham's narrowness. To avoid *una mentira* is more difficult because all of the considered events occurred in an ever-shifting cultural frontier, and we must think about frontiers in ways different from the received popular wisdom. Instead of regarding a frontier as an ever-moving line, it is more useful and accurate to think of a frontier as a series of simultaneous processes.

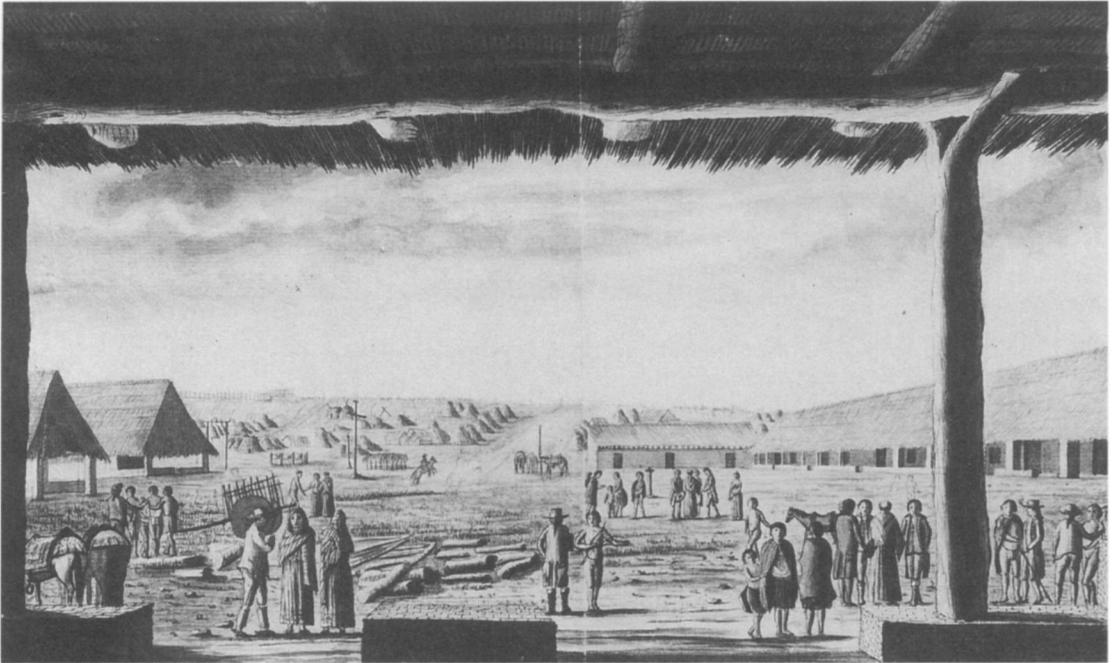
William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, distinguished historians of the

space now called the American West and fully cognizant that many different peoples contended for power in that space, have proposed six simultaneous processes for analyzing frontiers in North America that move us beyond old paradigms. Those processes are species-shifting, boundary-setting, state-forming, land-taking, market-making, and self-shaping.⁸ The simultaneity of these processes is particularly pertinent to our inquiry and helps to explain how, by focusing on only one aspect of the frontier, contrasting views of the past have been ignored.

Species-shifting the authors define as “the movement of alien organisms into ecosystems from which they were once absent . . . the nonhuman invaders that accompanied Old World migrants: strange crops, new weeds, tame animals, and—worst of all—lethal microorganisms.”⁹ In the California experience, Spanish colonists, soldiers, and priests introduced European horses, cattle, mules, sheep, and pigs, which ate Indian foods such as acorns and delicate indigenous grasses, and replaced them with coarser European varieties through seeds borne in animal hooves, fur, and excrement.¹⁰ Because California Indians had no large domesticated animals, these new, tame beasts disrupted native proto-agriculture and hunting and gathering. Since the new grasses and weeds the animals dispersed proved less edible to Indians, native diet began to suffer as soon as the first Spaniards turned their horses and cattle loose to forage.¹¹

Because Spaniards failed to recognize and honor Indian cultivation, they settled where they pleased without regard to native concerns. At San Diego, Padre Junípero Serra moved his first mission into a cultivated field between two Diegueño (Kumeyaay) villages, building over an Indian food source and overlapping onto indigenous human settlements as well. Initially, Indians resisted this encroachment by shooting arrows into cattle at night, killing the beasts when possible, otherwise disabling them, and infuriating the Spanish, who never seemed to appreciate the reason for Indian opposition.¹²

Even more tragic were the results of the introduction of Old World microorganisms. California natives, like other New World peoples, had been separated from the ancient disease pools in Europe, Africa, and Asia for so long that they had lost all immunity to their infections. Thus when Europeans entered the New World, in various stages of exploration and expansion, they unwittingly unleashed disease microbes into what demographers call “virgin soil,” and the resulting wildfire-like spread of contagion, called “virgin soil epidemics,” decimated American Indian populations by the millions in both North and South America.¹³ In California, disease intensified human destruction in a nearly incalculable way because of the further ravages of syphilis. The Spanish introduced syphilis both directly, through sexual congress, and indirectly, through their earlier introduction of this venereal infection among the Baja California Indians, some of whom accompanied the Spanish in northern colonization. Death by syphilis is almost impossible to diagnose clinically,



Native Californians mingle with Hispanic colonists and explorers in the courtyard of Mission San Carlos, while in the background stands the Indian *rancheria*, or village, in a drawing made in 1791 by José Cardero, an artist with the Malaspina expedition. Europeans inadvertently introduced a variety of deadly diseases to the native population, which spread especially quickly in the missions, with their confined living quarters and generally unsanitary conditions. *Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid. Photograph courtesy Iris Engstrand.*

and without the benefit of modern autopsy in colonial California, thousands of deaths from this early killer passed unrecorded, misattributed to some other cause.¹⁴

By the time of California's colonization, syphilis had long been endemic in Europe, but the Indians were vulnerable. Many of their cultural and medical activities—scarification for tattooing, and bleeding of the sick—also inadvertently contributed to disease spread. In the missions, uninfected children sleeping with infected parents could have contracted the disease while nursing or by touching the mission blanket or dress or pants infected by a bleeding host. Nearly all observations on the health of mission Indians remarked on the prevalence of venereal disease and lamented its effects.

But eighteenth- and nineteenth-century observers did not know how sinister syphilis, and its fellow-traveler, gonorrhea, could be, especially in causing stillbirths, birth defects, and infertility. In addition to painful bone inflammation, cranial palsies, and damage to liver, spleen, lungs, stomach, pancreas, and kidneys, eight out of nine children born with congenital syphilis would also have suffered from anemia,

and six would have had jaundice; these last two conditions would have resulted in weakness, lassitude, and loss of appetite.¹⁵ Thus, some of the alleged indolence of California Indians noted by Spanish and foreign observers probably had its root in newly introduced diseases.

In colonial California, many syphilitic mothers' pregnancies ended in miscarriage or spontaneous abortion.¹⁶ Along with other colonial practices, such as taking many women from tribal villages into missions, pueblos, and ranchos, venereal disease contributed mightily to the family disorganization and population decline that devastated many coastal Indian groups. Venereal disease also, ironically, conflicted with Franciscan expectations for female Indian behavior. If a woman suffered a miscarriage or if she did not conceive, priests, upon learning of these conditions, prescribed a dire punishment. The woman, after being flogged and having her head shaved, would be forced to dress in sackcloth, cover herself with ashes, and carry a wooden image of a child or doll, painted red if abortion were suspected, as she went about her daily duties. At Sunday Mass she stood before the mission church to receive the taunts and jeers of churchgoers, including other Indians.¹⁷ Such punishment, which could last months, was designed to make Indian women exercise a European-mandated control over their bodies that many of them lacked because of European-introduced illness.

This friction between Spanish priests and Indian women also raises another of the frontier processes we are considering, *boundary-setting*. Missionization created boundaries between baptized Indians, called neophytes, and the unbaptized, called gentiles, by which the Spanish meant pagans. When some Indians began living the new life of Christians, the concept of priest-defined sin, frequently accompanied by physical correction when detected, defined another boundary between those Indians who conformed their behavior to priestly expectations and those who did not.

In the theory of Spanish colonial enterprise, Indians were the raw material of another process as well, *state-forming*.¹⁸ Indians were to become the labor force in a new Spanish world, created in Alta California, by being drawn voluntarily into the missions, where they would be converted to Christianity, baptized as neophytes into the new faith, and taught the rules of religion, language, and law.¹⁹ After ten years of tutelage to make mission Indians into good Spanish subjects, they were to receive the mission lands held in trust for them by the padres and to form pueblos. This plan was designed to give Spain effective settlements on its northern frontier and to hold the territory against foreign encroachment. The prominence of mission and padre over presidio and soldier in Alta California, particularly in governing relations with Indians, went against recent Spanish frontier policy and stemmed from royal financial shortages. Paradoxically, according to borderlands historian David Weber, the missions in Alta California became "the dominant Spanish institution in an era when government officials sought to minimize their influence."²⁰

For Spanish state-forming to succeed, Indians and colonists needed to know their boundaries and how to live according to the expectations of Crown and cross. Such transformation for Indians was particularly difficult, since it demanded radical cultural change even as another frontier process, *land-taking*, deprived them of their resource base. What Europeans called “settlement” meant land taking, and land taking meant violence.²¹ Personal ownership and control of land by individual Europeans differed sharply from Indian tribal approaches to land-use, and as Europeans, and later Americans, acquired more and more property, Indians lost access to their sources of survival. It is this difference in approaching the land—tribal, communal sharing bounded by river and creek drainages versus Spanish and Mexican grants of extensive acreage to individuals and subsequent American subdivision into personal plots—that caused most of the Indian-white conflict in early California. Neither Spanish colonizer nor American settler found “empty” land in California; each had to fight the Indians for it. In winning the initial struggle, Spain imprinted settlement patterns along the coast. Americans later displaced Mexican, Spanish, and Indian patterns.

When Indians met intruders in California, trade usually ensued, and *market-making* accompanied the other simultaneous frontier processes.²² Even under Spanish conquest, Indians, both neophytes and unmissionized gentiles, traded labor, services, and products desired by the Spanish in return for beads, axes, cloth, and other material goods. Gentiles who worked building Spanish presidios or serving settler families continued their freedom from mission rule, but entered the market through direct trade. Those within the missions, or working in Spanish settlements under colonial control, were drawn indirectly into the world market through their largely uncompensated labor, as well as through occasional trading. In the region beyond Hispanic settlement, Indians traded goods such as salmon, animal skins, and horses, mules, and cattle, often stolen from Spanish settlements, for firearms, iron objects, beads, and other European material goods, and thus gentiles, too, gradually entered the world market far beyond California. Changing markets reflected changing Indian coping strategies for competing in those markets, a theme for later discussion.

Self-shaping, our final frontier process, refers to the way individuals refashioned themselves to meet new conditions.²³ An adventurer from Switzerland, John Sutter dramatically exemplifies the concept. Sutter arrived in Mexican California posing as a well-financed entrepreneur with impressive foreign references, most of them obtained by falsehood. No one then in California knew that he was a financial deadbeat, a deserter of wife and family, and a clever prevaricator.²⁴ Sutter became powerful, temporarily wealthy, and a major player in expanding the Mexican frontier. His many roles, some of which will be considered later in more detail, flamboyantly demonstrate one man’s capacity to reshape himself many times over.

On a less visible scale, others in the Spanish-Indian frontier shaped themselves—

played roles—to suit their circumstances. The Spanish sovereigns' intentions toward the Indian were, as Herbert E. Bolton, the dean of borderlands historians, wrote, "to convert him, to civilize [sic] him, and to exploit him. . . . It was soon found that if the savage were to be converted, or disciplined, or exploited, he must be put under control."²⁵ Hence, Indians became neophytes and worked at priest-assigned tasks. Some Indians did so through genuine transformation, but others did so only reluctantly and temporarily. A thirty-five-year-old Christian Indian at Mission San Juan Capistrano (Juaneño), for example, dying of European disease, renounced his baptism and Christian religion on his deathbed. Padre Gerónimo Boscana asked the neophyte to confess his sins before meeting his god. "I will not," replied the Indian vehemently. "If I have been deceived whilst living," he continued, "I do not wish to die in the delusion!"²⁶ To Boscana, this was the action of an apostate.

Shape-shifting among Indians did not proceed in any simple or single direction. During the large Chumash uprising in 1824 in the Santa Barbara area missions, for example, an unnamed neophyte caught in a chapel surrounded by armed Spaniards firing upon it, spied a crucifix. Disregarding the Spanish-taught polite speech to be used by Indians in addressing their superiors, including the Christian god, this neophyte used the familiar *tú* form, and spoke to the god on the crucifix as an equal. "Now I will know if you are god almighty as the padre says. Carrying you completely hidden so that no one will see you, I am going alone to fight against all of the soldiers. If they don't kill me or shoot me, I will serve you well until I die."²⁷

The armed Indian concealed the crucifix under his shirt, then fled the church. Once outside he emptied his quiver at the soldiers and returned, walking at a normal pace, to the chapel. Despite the shots fired at him he remained untouched. Afterward, he fulfilled his vow by working as sacristan at the mission until he died. This instance of Indian self-shaping occurred during one of the largest rebellions in California mission history, one in which Indians from missions La Purísima, Santa Inés, and Santa Barbara challenged Spanish and Franciscan authority; this personal incident within the collective episode raises the larger issue of Indian resistance to the missions.

MISSIONS AND RESISTANCE

In the last twenty years, scholars have amassed impressive detail about Indian resistance to the missions, yet such knowledge has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in our conceptual understanding of it.²⁸ This anomaly seems caused by the tendency of recent mission critics to focus almost exclusively on the material exploitation of the Indian, at the expense of the christianization and civilization components of Bolton's triad.

Anthropologist James Scott, however, in studying colonized peoples, proposes to

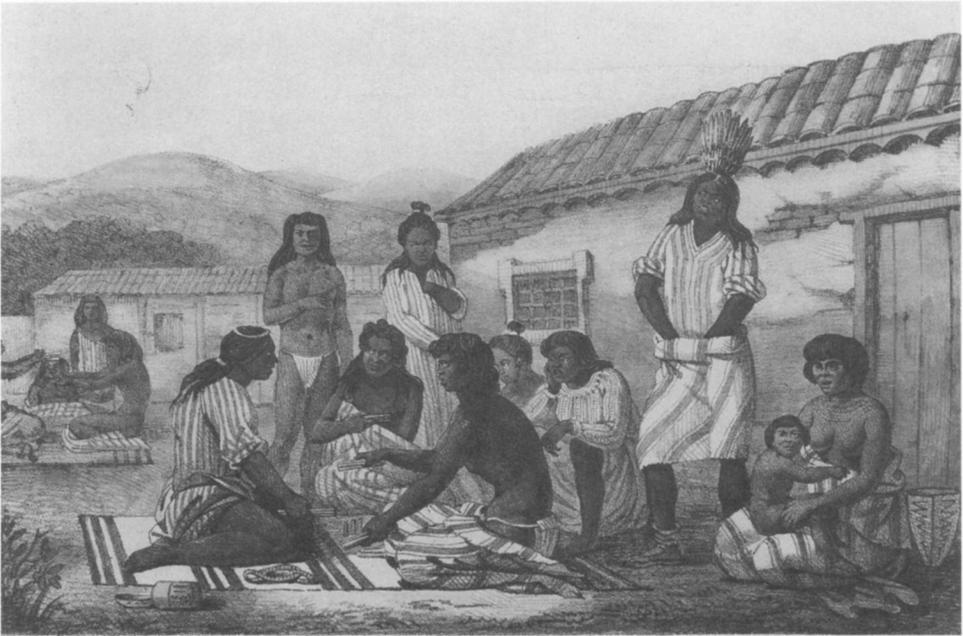
emphasize "the issues of dignity and autonomy, which have typically been seen as secondary to material exploitation."²⁹ In a situation of dominance by involuntary subordination, Scott argues, elites create a public record that usually serves as the official story of the relationship between rulers and subordinates. This public record encompasses three areas: an imposed division of labor; a specification of public rituals of hierarchy, deference, speech, punishment, and humiliation; and an ideological justification for inequalities flowing from the dominant group's religious beliefs and political world view. Spanish colonization and dominance over native peoples of Alta California demonstrates the validity of many of Scott's insights.

An uprising, such as the 1824 Chumash rebellion, was portrayed as aberrant in the official explanation of events in California because it challenged the notion of smooth Spanish control of the colony and its people. Since elites leave the written documents of their rule, and present the view of subordinates, if at all, within the dominant tale, the elite view is often mistaken for the totality of experience by others. From the elite perspective, only bloody, violent acts constitute resistance, and because such acts are portrayed as rare, they constitute the only real, but infrequent, opposition to foreign power.

Scott contends, to the contrary, that subordinate groups respond to the public record of elites by creating a hidden story of their own. However, since many subordinate groups lack a written language, and many are illiterate in the dominant tongue, and since their acts must be conducted in secrecy, it is difficult for the outside observer to detect the hidden story. Moreover, according to Scott, the creation of the hidden story is site-specific, meaning that in California one would need to study carefully the elite-written documents and histories of all twenty-one missions to reconstruct the many hidden native stories.

Nevertheless, Scott argues, the hidden story is present in the public transcript but in disguised form. The hidden story is frequently conveyed in rumors, folktales, trickster stories, wish-fulfillment, gambling, gossip, and a host of other indicators of opposition to domination that it is incumbent on us to recognize. Thus, from the hidden story, cryptically contained within the public record, we can see the wish-fulfilling language of the original Luiseños in Tac's history of their missionization and the transformation of the neophyte trickster who became a raven. In the Juaneño neophyte's renunciation of his baptism lies the hidden affirmation of Indian culture, which the priest who told the tale saw as Indian apostasy. And in the Chumash neophyte's disregarding foreign-imposed deferential speech, and the asymmetrical power relationship it entailed, we can see a deal-maker negotiating with the Christian god as an equal, rather than a divine act of intervention to help sustain the mission system.

That the hidden story of mission Indian resistance is long should not surprise us given the anomalous position of the Indian within that institution. Proselytized by



Indian neophytes at Mission Dolores wager on a game of chance in a lithograph based on a watercolor made in 1816 by the expeditionary artist Louis Choris. Widely popular among native men, gambling was invariably prohibited by the Franciscans, and the practice of the custom at the missions was both a source of entertainment and a form of everyday rebellion against Hispanic authority. From Louis Choris, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1822). Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30509.

missionaries offering gifts of beads, and later, food, with the threat of Spanish arms nearby, and beset by new diseases their shamans or doctors could not heal, California Indians faced a bewildering offering of European spiritual and material culture and were torn between trying to sustain existing Indian ways or joining the new. As Vallejo saw it, Spaniards offered Indians the crucifix or the lance, leaving them, in the words of an Indian leader, “no room to choose between Christ and death.”³⁰

“Most [Indian] individuals,” anthropologist Randall Milliken wrote in an important study of the San Francisco Bay area missions with applicability to the entire system, “struggled with mixed feelings, hatred and respect, in a terrible, internally destructive attempt to cope with external change beyond their control. . . . Day in day out . . . ambivalent people struggled with a choice to join the mission. They could make the choice to reject the mission life ways a thousand days in a row, but they were allowed to make the choice to join a mission community only once.”³¹ When Indians voluntarily joined the missions, symbolized by baptism following eight or more days of religious instruction, they were not permitted to change their minds.³²

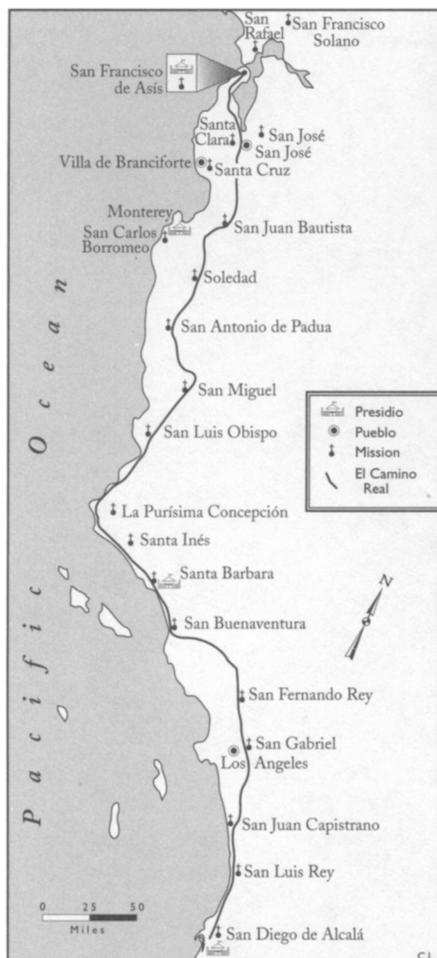
Baptized Indians became legal wards, children subservient to their priests/fathers at the mission to which they were assigned. Mission Indians lost personal freedom and could travel about only with a pass signed by a priest. California historian and State Librarian Kevin Starr called it “churchly captivity.”³³

In the missions, Indians were subjected to a hierarchy and a subordination by gender previously unknown. “In the Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia,” Tac wrote, “the Fernandino Father is like a King, having his pages, Alcaldes [Indian officials and overseers], Mayordomos [Spanish overseers], Musicians, [and] Soldiers.”³⁴ *Alcaldes* had particular responsibility to get other Indians to work in every activity needed to sustain the mission, including farming, herding, gardening, adobe-making, carpentry, blacksmithing, tallow-making, hide-skinning and tanning, weaving, corn-grinding, and food preparation. *Alcaldes* were masters of the Spanish language and of the European sense of time, since, regulated by clock and sundial, the daily tasks were announced by the sound of the bell. The bell tolled for religious and secular purposes, but each toll reinforced for the Indians a time-consciousness and a sense of timely performance of duty unknown to them before colonization.

Priests taught Indians patriarchy and, in the process, lowered the status of Indian women within Indian culture. Such devaluation was further compounded by the shameful rape of Indian women by Spanish and Mexican soldiers and settlers. Angry Indian men were killed for their opposition to the rape of tribal women.³⁵ Partly to protect them from soldiers, priests in the missions had unmarried Indian women above the age of seven locked together at night in a room known as the *monjería* (nunnery) to preserve their chastity. Female separation from the extended family must have been emotionally painful. Confining them in a group, moreover, spread infectious disease, making them more vulnerable to microbes than men. All of these changes created tension and required personal adjustment, profoundly difficult for some, less so for others.

In the public record, priests equated baptism with conversion and viewed moral backsliding, along with the failure of many neophytes to learn Spanish, as indications of the innately limited moral and intellectual capacity of their charges.³⁶ To the Franciscans, baptism was supposed to symbolize the Indians’ rejection of native religion, accompanied by the unconditional acceptance of Christianity. From the Indians’ perspective, however, conversion was a process of some indeterminate length subsequent to, rather than signified by, baptism.³⁷ Over time, this process involved tension between nominal and effective conversion—if effective conversion occurred at all—and we can glimpse it through the priestly concern over sin.³⁸

Viewed from the perspective of the hidden story, Indian “sin” constituted resistance. Sin affirmed Indian culture through reiteration of aboriginal social and sexual practices that the priests proscribed and for which observed sinners were physically punished. These corrections included flogging, being hobbled with irons, or



Spanish missions, presidios, and pueblos to 1824.

being placed in stocks. In their preoccupation with Indian sin, priests blinded themselves to something more fundamental and important: Indian resistance and the continuation of native culture within the mission compound.

Indians learned ways to camouflage their resistance. Franciscan dedication to the ritual of the Stations of the Cross prompted them to have Indians paint a fourteen-scene set at Mission San Fernando. Historian George Harwood Phillips, in a controversial study, has argued that the faces of Jesus' tormentors along the *via dolorosa*, while artistically crude, are the only ones with recognizable features, and they are Indian. Phillips thinks that these portrayed Indians are *alcaldes*, the Indian overseers.³⁹ If such protest is hidden in authorized graphic renderings, what might be present in clandestine drawings?

Art historian Norman Neuerburg contends that graffiti, unauthorized graphic works by Indians in the missions, which he calls "abusive," must have been "found in



The murals in the church of Mission San Miguel were executed about 1820 by the Spaniard Estevan Munrás, who was assisted in his labors by mission Indians. Subsequent to completing the painted decorations, which were intended to suggest an elegant and ornate ecclesiastical architecture, neophytes surreptitiously incised native designs into the walls, one of numerous forms of Indian resistance to a conquering culture. *Photograph by Anthony Kirk.*

most, if not all, of the missions." Neuerburg has found them at only five missions because the priests tended to whitewash them when they were discovered. Yet he has found these Indian-made symbols at the earliest level of whitewash, indicating that this form of resistance began at the earliest stages of church building.⁴⁰ "These abusive drawings are either painted or scratched," Neuerburg continued. "They are the equivalents, on mission walls, of [precolonial] pictographs and petroglyphs of which they are really a continuation." Although not all the symbols can be deciphered, at Mission San Juan Capistrano there appear to be at least two depictions of the Totbet, a human figure wearing a headdress and a skirt, the primary Juaneño god.⁴¹ Did Juaneños continue to practice their religion in the Christian compound, and if so, when, if ever, did they stop?

At Mission San Miguel, Indian graffiti entered the church proper, where, according to Neuerburg, "the number of scratched designs is enormous. . . . Presumably, all the Indian ones were done while the Indians were seated on the floor, quite possibly during mass. Most are concentrated in the area of the choir loft itself, the area beneath it, and surprisingly, opposite the pulpit."⁴² Even if, these inscriptions were no more than doodling, which seems doubtful, they suggest that the Indian churchgoer's attention was not always on the Christian ritual.

Emphasizing material exploitation of Indians means subtly accepting missionization on exclusively priestly terms, and uncritically accepting the public record. Certainly the missionaries wanted to accept as many Indians as they could feed, but such was not always the case.⁴³ When Indians chose to enter the missions in large numbers, as did the Miwok and Costanoan (Ohlone) of the San Francisco Bay area in 1794 and 1795 and the Chumash of the central coast in 1803 and 1804, for example, the priests were overwhelmed by what they took to be the success of their preaching and the will of their god.

The Indian population of Mission San Francisco increased by 75 percent from October 1794 to May 1795 (628 to 1,095), and at Mission Santa Clara in the same period it grew by 83 percent (852 to 1,558).⁴⁴ A decade later, 25 percent of all Chumash baptized in the mission era entered the compounds of Santa Barbara, Santa Inés, and La Purísima.⁴⁵ In each case Indians made a tactical decision about coping with the Spanish by entering their missions, and in each case they disoriented their colonizers, who could neither feed nor manage their numbers for some months or years to come.

Such disorienting behavior testifies to the complexity of Indian response to the missions. Once inside the compound, the sheer numbers ensured at least temporary cultural perpetuation.⁴⁶ To guarantee sufficient food, priests often had to give them frequent passes to leave the missions and to hunt and gather in the traditional manner. Simultaneously, however, the massing made Indians more susceptible to disease. At the simplest level, proximity to the Spanish permitted more Indians to observe and plot against the colonizers.

Even before such large-scale ingress, Indians conspired to overturn the missions. In 1785, in Gabrielino (Kumi·vit) territory, for example, the gentile female shaman and leader Toypurina, with assistance inside the mission from neophyte Nicolas José, led a pan-tribal movement against Mission San Gabriel designed to expel the Spanish. After scaling the walls and entering the quadrangle, Toypurina and her attacking party were surrounded and disarmed by Spanish soldiers already alerted to the plot. At her trial she allegedly denounced the Spanish and declared her purpose was to drive the foreigners from her land. Sentenced to banishment to Monterey, and threatened with death by her former allies, she accepted baptism and received the Christian name Regina Josefa. At Monterey she married a presidio soldier, bore him four children, and died ten years later of European-introduced disease.⁴⁷ Other large-scale rebellions by neophytes and nearby gentiles led to the murder of priests and annihilation of missions at San Diego in 1775 and along the Colorado River in 1781.⁴⁸

Even beyond the famous, full-fledged uprisings, a strong current of Indian resistance ran through the entire mission period. In 1801, for instance, before the dramatic Chumash influx two years later and perhaps the cause of that influx, during the course of an epidemic of pneumonia and pleurisy, a female neophyte at Mission Santa Barbara had a dream. The Chumash god Chupu appeared to her with a warning: all gentiles must refuse baptism or they would die, and all neophytes must renounce their baptism and give offerings to Chupu, or they too would die. Neophytes were to wash their heads with a special water called "tears of the sun" to cancel the Christian holy water. Almost all neophytes, including *alcaldes*, came to visit her, bringing beads and seeds as offerings and undergoing the new ritual. The conspiracy extended to all Chumash settlements of the channel and mountains before the priests discovered it. How they suppressed the movement is unknown, but certainly the woman was made to recant publicly.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, this incident instilled suspicion and no little fear in Franciscan hearts. In both instances at San Gabriel and Santa Barbara, it appears that women leaders saw more clearly than others exactly what their gender would lose in the 'new social order of Spanish "civilization."

ALCALDES: RESISTANCE AND ACCOMMODATION

Women could not be *alcaldes* in the Franciscan missions, and this office became progressively more important as the missions persisted, grew, and became more complex communities. As suggested by Phillips's interpretation of the Stations of the Cross, the *alcalde's* position was anomalous, part Indian, part Spaniard, with a wide degree of power over subordinates that could be used or abused for personal advantage. Conventional thinking has been that priests generally chose the *alcades*, deliberately seeking to undermine traditional Indian village chiefs' authority by selecting

new men who were approved by a vote among mission Indians. These newly elected officials were rank accommodationists who gave little thought to the people from whom they had come. *Alcaldes*, in this view, represented a sharp break from the tribal kinship groups of pre-contact days. Historian Steven Hackel, in his important study of *alcaldes* at Mission San Carlos Borromeo from 1770 to 1833, disputes the conventional view. He finds that the political accommodation at the mission depended not so much on personalities as on functions and that the duties of village chiefs resembled those of mission Indian officials. Both, for example, "performed police duties, were responsible for the economic stability of the Indian group, had proven military skills, and enjoyed similar advantages of office."⁵⁰

A strong convergence, therefore, existed between precolonial Indian and Spanish office. Moreover, half of the mission Indian officials in the fifty years of study came from high-status Indian families, thus conserving some elements of traditional Indian leadership. Yet the remaining 50 percent of officials whose extended families could not be found in the mission registers leaves room for the type of individuals described in the conventional view. Indian officials, then, were probably of two types: those with traditional ties to the Indians they served based on kinship and prior status, and the new men. Both types could, and in some instances did, abuse their office, depending on Spanish or Indian perspective.

During the 1824 Chumash uprising, *alcaldes* played significant insurgent roles. Those Indians who occupied La Purísima for a month, reinforced by other neophyte fugitives and gentiles from the interior region called the *tulares* (reeds), sought an armed confrontation with the Spanish. Certainly the neophyte who struck a deal with the Christian god during the fight at La Purísima faced great odds with gritty determination. Spanish arms prevailed, however, reinforced with muskets clandestinely supplied by the Russians from their distant colony at Ross.⁵¹ This proved the first instance in which competing imperial powers cooperated to vanquish native resistance in California, a resistance sustained and led by native mission officials.

Alcaldes from Santa Barbara took their followers to the *tulares* of the southern San Joaquin Valley, where all reverted to Indian cultural practices and made camp with the Yokuts. Only after pursuit by Spanish soldiers, accompanied by Franciscans as peacemakers, and following several violent skirmishes, did these *alcaldes* shift shape to accommodate a reality they could not change, and bring their people back.⁵² Andrés Sagimomatsse had been the most prominent of the *alcaldes*, going from trusted aide of the Franciscans to Indian insurgent and back again, seeking to cope with the changing pressures of his position. The Chumash flight to the interior during the 1824 uprising both reflected and contributed to a process of neophyte fugitivism and cooperation with gentiles that began to intensify from the 1820s onward. The general purpose of such flight was not individual freedom per se but joint action, combining neophyte knowledge of the foreigners with gentile military force, to raid the

Spanish/Mexican settlements to seize livestock and supplies and to revenge themselves on the settlers.

Many factors were contributing to this process by the 1820s, most notably the spread among the Indians of a previously unknown common language (Spanish), the acquisition of horses by the natives, particularly the gentiles, and the enlargement of market opportunities provided by other outsiders among interior Indians. This coincided with political and military instability among the Spanish-speaking elites in California and was intensified by demands by leaders in Mexico that the Indians be emancipated from the missions. In short, Indians progressively used Spanish as their lingua franca for joint actions both in trading and raiding, while colonials, divided by struggles over political rule, presented a weakened common front against Indian depredation just as Indians began to be freed from the missions. A series of Mexican decisions in the 1820s would culminate in total neophyte emancipation through secularization of the missions from 1834 to 1836.⁵³ Beset by these multiple changes, mission Indian officials experienced a role crisis.

The most dramatic of the insurgent *alcaldes*, and perhaps the most tragic, proved to be Estanislao of Mission San José. Estanislao seems to have been born of high-status among the Lakisamni Yokuts of the northern San Joaquin Valley about 1800, and brought to the mission for baptism at an early age. He rose in the mission hierarchy, and Padre Narciso Durán eventually made him an *alcalde*. With the release of selected married neophytes under the orders of Governor José María Echeandía in 1826, dissatisfaction among remaining Indians at Mission San José mushroomed. In the fall of 1828, Estanislao and many other neophytes, while on a pass to visit relatives in the interior, simply stayed. Estanislao sent a defiant warning to Padre Durán that the Indians were in rebellion, that "they have no fear of the soldiers because they, the soldiers, are few in number, are very young, and do not shoot well."⁵⁴ Other neophyte fugitives from missions San Juan Bautista and Santa Cruz, the latter led by *alcalde* Cipriano, joined Estanislao at his cluster of Lakisamni villages along a tributary of the San Joaquin River, and a pan-Indian movement of gentiles and neophytes of some magnitude now challenged Mexican authority.

Californios mounted two expeditions against Estanislao, and he defeated both. The rebellious villages lay in an extended, dense thicket, and, by using breastworks and trenches covered with vines and trees, Estanislao denied Europeans the advantage of their horses, muskets, and cannon. Through taunts and challenges to their *machismo*, Estanislao lured the soldiers into the thicket for hand-to-hand combat. Mexican dead were mutilated and their body parts paraded in defiance. As Estanislao's reputation among Indians grew, his followers increased to nearly one thousand ex-neophyte and gentile warriors. Since throughout California about 22,000 Indians remained in the missions, and the colonial population numbered only a few thousand, Estanislao's success and continued defiance aggravated white fear and demanded action.

In retaliation, in May 1829, the California government massed its meager northern military forces and sent them under twenty-two-year-old Lieutenant Mariano G. Vallejo to attack Estanislao. After three days of relentless fighting, Vallejo won. Estanislao, however, with many of his followers, disappeared. Despite atrocities committed by his soldiers and Indian auxiliaries seeking revenge against their enemies, Vallejo returned a hero because he had accomplished what no one else had. But Vallejo found new frustration when he learned that Estanislao secretly had returned to Mission San José, and Padre Durán had secured the governor's pardon for him. Upon his return, Estanislao refashioned himself once again, becoming a skilled hunter of fugitive neophytes until smallpox killed him four years later.

Following his "victory" over Estanislao, Vallejo rose to greater prominence with a land grant eventually comprising 66,000 acres, called the Rancho Petaluma, and with a military post at Sonoma carrying an assignment to secure the northern frontier against both Indians and Russians. To help him succeed, the Mexican government also gave Vallejo the right to introduce colonists to his lands. Vallejo's most important white ally proved to be George Yount, a widower and former trapper and trader, who had grown up on the Indian frontier in southern Missouri. Yount early earned a reputation as an exceptional marksman. Yount's childhood—as he recalled it, living in "constant danger, with continual privations, the rifle always in my hand as soon as I could hold it, and ever on the alert against scouting enemy"—prepared him well for his role in California with Vallejo.⁵⁵ Vallejo laid out the plaza of Sonoma, some forty miles north of San Francisco, in 1835. This followed on the establishment of missions San Rafael (1819) on the Marin peninsula and San Francisco Solano (1824) at Sonoma, all of which were designed to counter possible southward movement of the Russians from their northern California coastal outpost.

MEXICAN FRONTIER CONCERNS

By the time of Vallejo's northern venture, Russians were hunting sea otter as far south as Monterey. In 1811, after months of negotiations with local Coast Indians to secure their permission, the Russian-American Fur Company had established a colony eighteen miles north of Bodega Bay and called it Rus, after an old name for Russia (later translated as "Ross" by Americans).⁵⁶ The company pursued a twofold purpose in California, hunting sea otter for their pelts for the international market and producing food in this milder climate to supply its other hunting operations at Kodiak and Sitka. Russians, their Aleut assistants, and the native Pomo felled trees to build a large log stockade, and in the cleared land cultivated grain and cereals and raised cattle. The population varied from two hundred to four hundred depending on the otter-hunting season, which lasted from December through March. Russians



Inhabitant of Rumiantsev Bay, a watercolor executed in 1818 by the expeditionary artist Mikhail Tikhanov, portrays a young Indian woman, probably Coast Miwok or Kashaya Pomo, at the Russian settlement at Bodega Bay, some twenty-five miles south of the colony at Ross. Unlike the Spanish and Mexicans, the Russians lived generally in more amiable accord with the native peoples of California. The woman's handsome decorative necklaces and ornamented basket suggest she had achieved high social standing or had recently been given in marriage. *Courtesy Art Research Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia. Photograph courtesy Anchorage Museum of History and Art.*

acted as officers, supervisors of hunting parties, mechanics, tanners, craftsmen, and farm and cattle overseers. Aleuts hunted and fished; local Indians worked as agricultural laborers, vaqueros, and servants.

Missionaries traded illegally with the Russians, who regularly brought goods down to San Francisco by boat along with Aleuts, their sea going *baidarkas* (kayaks), and Russian supervisors. While Russians and Aleuts occasionally defected when in Spanish/Mexican territory, it seemed to at least one observer that the natives fared better at Ross than did their missionized brethren to the south. According to Otto von Kotzebue, "the inhabitants of Ross live in the greatest concord with the Indians, who repair, in considerable numbers, to the fortress, and work as day labourers, for wages. At night they usually remain outside the palisades. They willingly give their daughters in marriage to Russians and Aleutians; and from these unions ties of relationship have arisen which strengthen the good understanding between them."⁵⁷

Russians thus brought the local Indians into a local market, and through it native agricultural labor contributed to the international fur trade. At Ross, Indians spent their money on materials provided by the company; and Indians responded to the sound of a bell to report for work details. Religious proselytizing at Ross, however, was low key, and Indians who wanted baptism had to ask. Spanish and Mexican settlers worried that Russian treatment of Indians at Ross set a potentially dangerous example for mission Indians.

Meanwhile, to counteract the Russian threat to the Mexican colony, Vallejo and Yount, along with their own Miwok allies led by chiefs Solano and Jota, battled hostile Indians while following the Roman principle of divide and rule. Vallejo and Solano campaigned vigorously against the Indians below Ross, who were raiding the missions and ranchos around Sonoma. But Vallejo also continued to trade with the Russians.⁵⁸

In late 1837, Vallejo sent a detachment of men to Ross to purchase cloth and leather goods for his troops at Sonoma. In addition to these products, they also brought back smallpox. Indian California had remained unaffected by this disease until 1828, when it arrived through San Francisco Bay and ravaged some communities south of the bay and spread slightly inland. In contrast, the epidemic of 1837–1839 spread quickly throughout the valleys of Sonoma, the Russian River, Petaluma, Santa Rosa, and Sacramento as far north as the slopes of Mount Shasta. Vallejo knew enough about medicine to move the Mission San Francisco Solano Indian population to a distant spot for quarantine, but nonetheless they "died daily like bugs."⁵⁹ Smallpox devastated the Indian population, killing perhaps 60 percent of the gentiles in the north of Vallejo's territory but, incredibly, never reaching the south. The disease reduced the company of Vallejo's personal Indian guard by half.⁶⁰

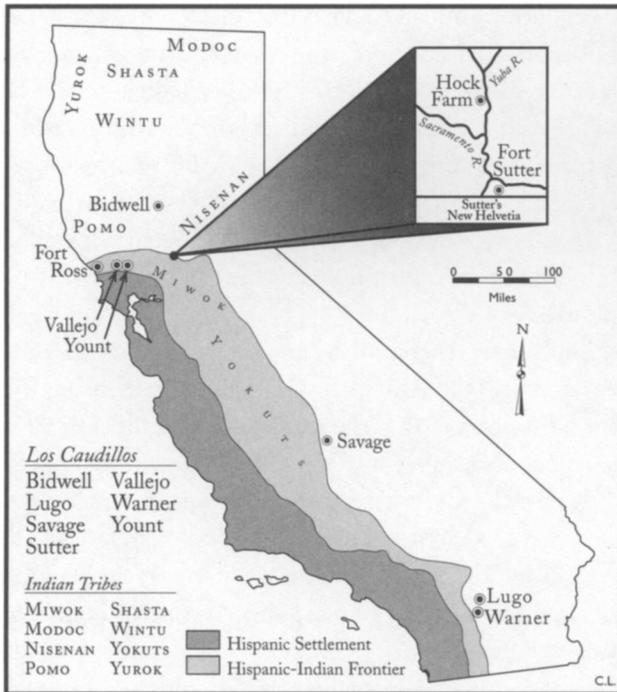
Such decimation in areas of recent or established Hispanic settlement, caused by species-shifting, was paralleled by another virgin soil epidemic among the Indians of

the *tulares* of the San Joaquin Valley in the early 1830s, this one by malaria. Fur traders and trappers coming south from the Pacific Northwest undoubtedly brought the disease with them into the great Central Valley in 1833, and mosquitoes spread it among the Indians. J. J. Warner, with the Ewing Young expedition of 1832–1833, observed dense Indian settlements in the interior upon his entrance in 1832. “The banks of the Sacramento River,” he wrote, “in its whole course through the valley, were studded with Indian villages,” many containing fifty to one hundred dwellings. “On our return, late in the summer of 1833,” Warner continued, “we found the valleys depopulated.”⁶¹ In another reminiscence, Warner detailed his observations, noting that, as the dead became too numerous to bury, the survivors burned the corpses until, losing strength even for this, the barely living fled their villages singly or in small clusters to die in the open near a spring or beneath a tree. “Around the naked villages,” wrote Warner, “graves and the ashes of funeral pyres, the skeletons and swollen bodies told a tale of death such as no written record had ever revealed.”⁶² Demographer Sherburne F. Cook later estimated that this epidemic killed at least twenty thousand Indians.⁶³

Destruction of interior Indians by disease did not mean permanent weakening of Indian resistance to colonization, however, because secularization of the coastal missions accelerated mission Indian flight to the great valley. Former *alcaldes* and neophytes combined with survivors among the gentiles to intensify raiding of mission and rancho settlements in the 1830s, particularly for livestock. The horse had radically transformed Indian life, especially among the gentiles, because the horse changed everything. Sedentary life eroded as native peoples became mobile. New-found mobility encouraged encroachment on previously unavailable food sources, either among neighboring tribes or colonials, and thus warfare escalated. And, as the market for saddle-broken horses for the New Mexican trade increased, so did Indian assaults on Californio herds. Toward the decade’s end, Mexican officials in California began to take action to expand the frontier, to check Indian depredations, and to monitor more closely and curtail if possible the increasing intrusion of foreigners.

CALIFORNIA CAUDILLOS

By the 1830s and 1840s, powerful men operated on the interior edge of Spanish/Mexican settlement in California, men who expanded that frontier at the expense of Indians living there. These men primarily exploited Indian labor to produce goods and render services for themselves that stimulated the simple domestic economy and, over time, brought Indians and themselves into the more complex European market economy. Regardless of their original nationality, such men functioned in a Spanish/Mexican culture to carve out personal fiefdoms in the wilderness. Their independent enterprises, no matter how much they might wish to appear as self-



Hispanic and Anglo influences on California's interior Indians, 1820s to 1850s.

sufficient, nevertheless were linked to the larger society by economic, military, and political ties. For some, the ties also included family.

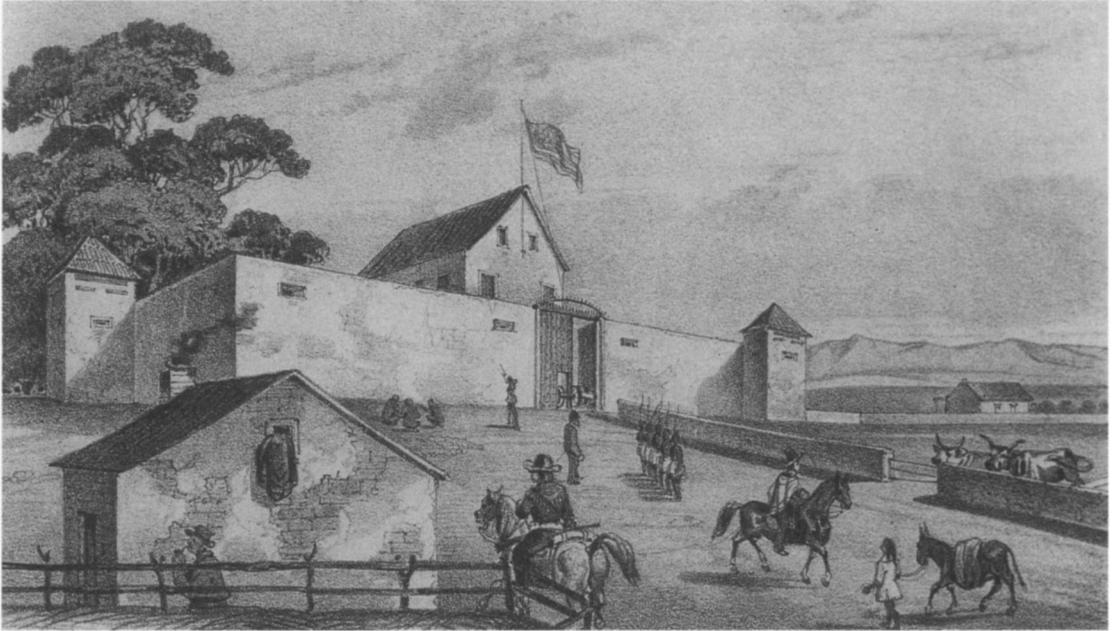
Geographically, these men acted as individual vanguards in an arc running from present-day Sonoma to Sacramento, down the great valley named for the San Joaquin River, and from the Cajon Pass to northeastern San Diego County. From north to south, these men were: Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, George C. Yount, John Bidwell, John August Sutter, James D. Savage, José del Carmen Lugo, and Jonathan Turnbull (J. J.) Warner. All knew and used the Spanish language, along with some Indian dialects from their areas of operation; all but one also spoke English. Employing the precept of divide and conquer, these men made alliances with one group of Indians to combat another. For their own part, Indians made those alliances to use the white man's power to augment their own in order to adjust to a rapidly changing world.

A group portrait of general traits, allowing for individual variations, would reveal men of some cunning and ruthlessness, cruelty in dealing with Indians, boldness in striking out into uncharted terrain, strong desire for personal wealth, and an uneven record of business success. They were also military powers and sexual conquistadores. In searching for an appropriate Spanish term for these warlords of California, *caudillo* (man-on-horseback) seems right. A *caudillo* is a man who seeks to dominate

the space he occupies socially, sexually, politically, and economically; a leader who acts as though his word is law, his authority absolute, even if the reality of his situation belies his assumptions. In later Mexican California, with official institutions and power structures weakening, these *caudillos* proved critical in holding the frontier against Indian depredations from the interior and in extending Hispanic rule beyond the zone of effective occupation. Their role heretofore has been unappreciated because the later influx of American settlers accompanying the Gold Rush pulled some of the *caudillos* effectively into the new political orbit, drastically limited their old power, and provided several reversals of fortune.

One of these frontier lords, John Sutter, recently has been reconsidered by historians in the context of the larger history of the American West, thereby ignoring the Mexican character of much of his behavior and the Mexican context in which he operated.⁶⁴ Sutter achieved status and lands not because his initial deceitful representations had been believed, but because the California governor wanted someone to check Vallejo's power, and Sutter, a Swiss émigré and an outsider, seemed a likely choice. Moreover, Sutter chose to locate in 1839 near the confluence of the American and the Sacramento rivers, at a point accessible to navigation from San Francisco and by land through the great valley or over the Sierra Nevada. Vallejo knew the reasons for Sutter's governmental favors—a 44,000-acre land grant and civil military authority nearly equal to his own—resented them, and became even more outraged when Sutter acquired the Russian improvements at Ross to add to his operation at Sutter's Fort.⁶⁵

At his fort, Sutter envisioned a "New Helvetia," his own empire, where, he was fond of declaiming, "I, Sutter, am the law."⁶⁶ Sutter favored acculturating Indians. He used the Russian bells to teach Nisenan, Miwok, and Yokuts the European calendar, sense of time, and work rhythms that Franciscans and Russians had taught coastal peoples. "The Indians I did not marry or bury," he wrote, "I was everything [to]: patriarch, priest, father & judge."⁶⁷ Sutter eliminated polygamy among the Indians who worked for him and lived on his vast holdings, and he taught them the precepts of patriarchy. In this way he followed the practices of Vallejo and Yount. On his own 22,000-acre Chico Rancheria, ninety miles north of New Helvetia, John Bidwell, Sutter's former employee, taught the same precepts to Maidu, Wintun, and Yana.⁶⁸ In the south, J. J. Warner made the same efforts among the Cupeño on his 48,000-acre ranch northeast of San Diego.⁶⁹ James Savage, on the other hand, found many Indian practices compatible, even desirable. As a boy in Illinois with a flare for learning languages and as one who "never refused a dare,"⁷⁰ Savage grew into a tall, handsome, vigorous young man and made his way to California in the mid-1840s. He served in the California Battalion during the Bear Flag Revolt and later worked with James W. Marshall in building Sutter's mill. In working for Sutter, he learned how to use Indian labor. Savage then drifted down into the great valley, learning



Sutter's Fort as depicted in a lithograph based on a drawing by the American naval officer and amateur artist Joseph Warren Revere, who arrived in California early in the Mexican-American War. Like other powerful frontier men in California, John Sutter maintained complex relations with the Indians he employed at his fortified feudal empire in the Sacramento Valley, protecting them as well as exploiting them. From Joseph Warren Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California* (New York, 1849). Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30530.

Indian dialects as he went, impressing Indians with his physical prowess, and earning the nickname *El rey buero* (the blonde king), which he refashioned into *El rey tularaño* (king of the tulare Indians).⁷¹

In his new role Savage married at least five Indian women from different tribes and formed alliances with Indian leaders such as José Juárez of the Chowchilla Yokuts. Through these kinship networks and alliances, Savage, just like all the other *caudillos*, drew Indians to him as laborers, food-gatherers, and personal soldiers. He created trading posts on the Fresno and Mariposa rivers and encouraged Indians to bring him anything to exchange for clothing, food, and beads. In this trade he learned of and became the first to exploit the southern mining district of the California gold fields with Indian labor. Bidwell employed similar tactics in securing Indian labor to locate and extract mineral wealth for him in the central mining district. In contrast to Sutter, who failed to make anything lasting from the gold findings on his holdings, both Savage and Bidwell amassed significant wealth in gold from the labor of their Indians.

After 1846, the number of American settlers in the interior steadily increased, and Savage discovered through one of his wives that many of his former Indian friends, dismayed by this influx, were conspiring to expel whites. When in a series of depredations Indians burned his trading posts, Savage retaliated by raising a white company of soldiers, and, with some of his Indian allies, he punished those Indians who dared oppose him. The 1851 conflict, known as the Mariposa War, reestablished Savage's power. As an unintended consequence of hostilities, whites "discovered" Yosemite Valley, the allure of which meant the end of effective Indian occupation of it.

Savage's difficulties were mirrored by those of Lugo and Warner farther south. Those *caudillos* made alliances with Cahuilla and Cupeño chiefs, such as Antonio Garra and Manuelito, to curb horse and mule theft by other Indians. Such rustling fed an ever-growing trade with New Mexican rustlers and made life on the southern California frontier hazardous. But with the American takeover, former allies became adversaries, as white encroachment invariably meant Indian loss.⁷²

As American emigrants to California increased in the 1840s, especially when the lure of gold overcame the natural apprehension that followed the Donner Party tragedy, wayfarers entered overland by crossing the Sierra, traversing Cajon Pass, or trekking from the Colorado River. Sojourners and settlers found respite and refreshment north at Sutter's Fort and south at Warner's Ranch. The emphasis placed by historians on Sutter's Fort as the gateway to California overlooks the fact that Santa Fe traders, with their large retinues, and many American emigrants routinely passed through Warner's Ranch, so that in the late Mexican and early American period tens of thousands had stopped there.⁷³

In coping with the American takeover, the *caudillos* played important, albeit brief, roles in continuing to manage Indian labor. Based on their frontier knowledge and their paternalism, they sought to protect Indians from what they regarded as abusive treatment by Americans, while still maintaining, sometimes harshly, their own privileged access to Indian workers.

Vallejo and Bidwell, who secured their standing in American California in part by working in the new state legislature, took the most important actions on behalf of Indians, but their work had long-range, unanticipated negative consequences. The "Act for the Government and Protection of Indians," enacted in 1850 and later expanded, permitted three unpleasant means of labor control. Indians arrested for vagrancy or any other minor offense could be hired out for up to four months by any white man who could pay their bail. Whites could also obtain Indian children legally as servants, and Indian adults could be hired as indentured servants. Abuses under the law led to virtual Indian slavery. Not until the Civil War, and following the Emancipation Proclamation, was the California law repealed, since it countered Union policy.⁷⁴ The *caudillos'* ambiguous legacy thus left California Indians still subordinate in their native land.



A publicity photograph taken for the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce in the early twentieth century testifies to the popular image of the California missions that evolved in the decades following publication, in 1884, of Helen Hunt Jackson's great novel, *Ramona*. A romantic conception of an imaginary Spanish aristocracy—of music, dance, and colorful costumes—supplanted the hard reality of mission life, a life of hardship and drudgery in which thousands of Indians fell victim to foreign diseases and died in virtual confinement. Ironically, the only American Indian evident in the tableau is a Great Plains warrior with a feathered headdress. *Courtesy California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

REMEMBERING THE PAST

For over a century, California's colonial past has been remembered largely through its missions. Helen Hunt Jackson, through her novel *Ramona* (1884), and Charles Fletcher Lummis, through his writings in the magazines *Land of Sunshine* and *Out West*, along with his promotion of mission restoration, helped to sell a romantic image of Spanish California that captured the popular imagination. Pageants, elaborately staged and costumed, became the rage in southern California early in the twentieth century, with John Steven McGroarty's "Mission Play" performed thousands of times adjacent to Mission San Gabriel, and "Ramona" performed as a pageant and reenacted even today at Hemet.⁷⁵

Such portrayals of a glorious, arcadian past, one in which, according to Kevin Starr, “grateful Indians, happy as peasants in an Italian opera, knelt dutifully before the Franciscans to receive the baptism of a superior culture, while in the background the angelus tolled from a swallow-guarded campanile and a choir of friars intoned the *Te Deum*,” have produced enduring, stereotypical images in popular consciousness.⁷⁶ Scholarship produced by Franciscans and their sympathizers, primarily geared since the 1930s to support a campaign to canonize California mission founder Junípero Serra, built upon these popular images.⁷⁷

Such uncritical studies of missionaries belong to a tradition that David Weber has called “Christophilic Triumphalism.”⁷⁸ It rests upon an assumption of European superiority, forgetting, as Weber points out, that “Franciscans did not succeed unless Indians cooperated, and Indians only cooperated when they believed that they had something to gain from the new religion and the material benefits that accompanied it, or too much to lose from resisting it.”⁷⁹

Christophilic Triumphalists have had their critics, however, and, beginning in the 1940s, psychologist and demographer Sherburne F. Cook initiated a sustained examination of the missions from an Indian perspective.⁸⁰ Cook focused on the reduction of Indian population caused by missionization and accompanying European diseases. Postulating the number of California Indians at contact as 310,000, Cook calculated a decline from 1770 to 1830 of about 21 percent, or 65,000 people. In the missions, the decline was far more precipitous. Cook estimated that approximately 72,000 Indians had been in the missionized zone in 1770, but only 18,000 remained in 1830, prior to secularization, meaning a decline of 75 percent. Although violence contributed, decline came primarily from the unintended introduction of disease.⁸¹

Both Indian and non-Indian scholars and activists have recently made the mission Indian death rate the center of a progressively more critical and one-sided version of mission history. In this telling, missionaries have become monsters, and nothing positive came from the Spanish experience. Some have even directly and wrongly accused the Franciscans of genocide, comparing Serra to Adolf Hitler and the missions to Nazi death camps, thereby confusing results with intent. I have called this school of writing “Christophilic Nihilism,” since it is reminiscent of Christophilic Triumphalism, but in the opposite direction.⁸²

Despite the contemporary polarization of much writing about the missions, it is now possible to detect the beginnings of a “new school” of historiography, one that, at least nominally, seeks to move beyond the old pro- and anti-mission dichotomy. These scholars seek to incorporate new social history, demography, cultural anthropology, ecological science, ethnohistory, and comparison to other colonial situations so that previously excluded Indian voices can be heard. In the process, these researchers have discovered new sources and innovative methods for analyzing them.⁸³

In applying some of these new approaches in this chapter, I hope to demonstrate that a richer, more interesting, and more inclusive history of colonial California awaits.

NOTES

1. George H. Tinkham, *A History of Stockton* (San Francisco: W. M. Hunton, 1880), iv, with marginal comments by Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo on pp. 60 and 63, copy located at the Huntington Library, San Marino. A superior new biography of Vallejo, focusing on his middle years, is Alan Rosenus, *General M. G. Vallejo and the Advent of the Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

2. Mariano G. Vallejo, "Historical and Personal Memoirs Relating to Alta California," 5 vols., ms, given to Hubert Howe Bancroft, April 10, 1875, translated by Earl R. Hewitt, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

3. I use the long-standing names for Indian groups, since most general readers are more familiar with them than with the more precise names anthropologists now employ. Where appropriate, however, I note newer names in parentheses.

4. Pablo Tac, "Studio grammaticali sulla lingua della California, ca. 1835," mss., Mezzofanti, Caps. III, I, Biblioteca Comunale dell' Archiginnasio, Bologna, Italy, Huntington Library. Minna and Gordon Hewes, eds., "Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey: A Record of California Mission Life Written By Pablo Tac, An Indian Neophyte (Rome, ca. 1835)," *The Americas* 9 (July 1952): 87-106, is a generally fine and accessible English translation of a published Italian version. Where I differ from their translation, I cite the Italian title at the Huntington Library.

5. Hewes and Hewes, "Indian Life and Customs," 94, 106.

6. Keith Basso, *Portraits of "the Whiteman": Linguistic Play and Cultural Symbols Among the Western Apache* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 8-12.

7. Tac, "Studio grammaticali," page following 862, in which Tac uses "*cuervo*," and it is more accurate within Luiseño folklore to translate this as "raven" rather than as "crow."

8. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, "Becoming West: Toward a New Meaning for Western History," in William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, eds., *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), 3-27.

9. *Ibid.*, 11.

10. Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

11. Thomas C. Blackburn and M. Kat Anderson, eds., *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1993), presents fifteen essays published over the twenty years prior to publication, which demonstrate that California Indians in many ways were the functional equivalent of what anthropologists call "food producers." I have used the older term "proto-agriculture," as it is more familiar to general readers.

12. Florence C. Shippek, "California Indian Reactions to the Franciscans," *The Americas* 41 (1985): 480-92.

13. Alfred W. Crosby, "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 33 (April 1976): 289-99.

14. My discussion, unless otherwise noted, comes from James A. Sandos, "An Aphonic Cry: Syphilis and Gonorrhea Among the California Mission Indians," ms., part of a book in progress on the California missions.

15. David Ingall and Daniel Musher, "Syphilis," in Jack S. Remington and Jerome O. Klein, eds., *Infectious Diseases of the Fetus and Newborn Infant*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1983), 335-74.

16. *Ibid.*, 345, notes this as a potential contemporary outcome, but historically it would have been more common. Moreover, a mother also infected with gonorrhea, or with gonorrhea alone, would have a progressively greater likelihood of spontaneous abortion as the scarring of her fallopian tubes gradually obstructed them.

17. [Mariano] Guadalupe Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days in Alta California," *The Century Magazine* 41 (December 1890): 186; Hugo Reid, "New Era in Mission Affairs," in Robert Heizer, ed., *The Indians of Los Angeles County: Hugo Reid's Letters of 1852* (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum Papers, No. 21, 1968), 87; Edward D. Castillo, trans. and ed., "An Indian Account of the Decline and Collapse of Mexico's Hegemony Over the Missionized Indians of California," *American Indian Quarterly* 12 (Fall 1989): 397-98. Hugo Reid, a Scot married to a high-status Gabriellino woman, and Lorenzo Asisara, a former mission Santa Cruz neophyte, along with Vallejo, constituted a knowledgeable spectrum of observers.

18. Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin, "Becoming West," 16.

19. The notion, first advanced by Sherburne F. Cook, that the Spanish military forcibly rounded up gentiles and brought them to the missions to be baptized—the "forced-conversion" thesis—has been shown to be wrong, based on Cook's incorrect translation of the Spanish term *emprensa*. See Francis F. Guest, "An Examination of the Thesis of S. F. Cook on the Forced Conversion of Indians in the California Missions," *Southern California Quarterly* 61 (1979): 1-77. Unfortunately, other scholars have continued to repeat Cook's error. See Ed D. Castillo, "The Native Response to the Colonization of Alta California," in *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 1, *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West*, David Hurst Thomas, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 379.

20. David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 264.

21. Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin, "Becoming West," 14-15.

22. *Ibid.*, 12-13.

23. *Ibid.*, 18.

24. Iris H. W. Engstrand, "John Sutter: A Biographical Examination," in Kenneth N. Owens, ed., *John Sutter and a Wider West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 76-92.

25. Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies," *American Historical Review* 12 (October 1917): 44-45.

26. Gerónimo Boscana, *Chinigchinich: Historical Account of the Belief, Usages, Customs and Extravagancies of the Indians of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano Called the Acagchemem Tribe*, Alfred Robinson, trans., John P. Harrinton, anno. (Banning: Malki Museum Press, 1978), 80.

27. Antonio María Osio, *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California*, Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, trans., (Madison: University of Wisconsin

Press, 1996), 68. This is, in general, an excellently translated and superbly annotated edition of an important early California manuscript published now for the first time. My translation follows theirs, but with differences. The copy of the original version of Osio's account that I used, entitled "Cronica de los acontecimientos ocurridos en California desde 1815 hasta 1846," p. 78, copiado por Gulielmo B. Chase, 1876, and called the Doyle version, after John Doyle for whom it was made, is at the Huntington Library. Although the Doyle copy is corrupt in spots, this account is not and accurately reflects the *tú* rather than the *usted* usage first provided in the original.

28. No one has done more over the last two decades to bring forward data on Indian resistance than Edward D. Castillo, a descendant of missionized Indians (Cahuilla-Luiseño). See his: "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 8, California (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 99-127, henceforth *HBNAI*, 8; *Native American Perspectives on the Hispanic Colonization of Alta California* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991); "Neophyte Resistance and Accommodation in the Missions of California," in *The Spanish Missionary Heritage of the United States* (San Antonio: National Parks Service, 1993), 60-75. Additional works by Castillo are cited in other notes. George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769-1849* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), argues that Indians in the interior after 1810 engaged in "defensive resistance" to the Spanish and after 1830, initiated "active resistance." Phillips does not clearly define these concepts, nor does he apply them to mission Indians. See the review of Phillips's book by James A. Sandos in *American Indian Quarterly* 18 (Spring 1994): 266-67. Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 73-86, try to distinguish among primary and secondary, passive and active, resistance, but, as they indicate on page 73 in discussing primary and secondary, "there was no clear discontinuity between the two forms of resistance." On the conceptual problems plaguing analysis of mission Indian resistance see James A. Sandos, "Neophyte Resistance in the Alta California Missions," in Timothy J. O'Keefe, ed., *Columbus, Confrontation, Christianity: The European-American Encounter Revisited* (Palo Alto: Forbes Mill Press, 1994), 170-78.

29. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University press, 1990), xi and passim.

30. Vallejo, "Historical and Personal Memoirs," I, 15.

31. Randall Milliken, "An Ethnohistory of the Indian People of the San Francisco Bay Area from 1770 to 1810" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1991), 2, 23. Milliken's dissertation has been published as *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810* (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1995).

32. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), I, 590 ff.

33. Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 58.

34. Tac, "Studio grammaticali," 64-65.

35. Antonia I. Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California," in Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera, eds., *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 15-33.

36. Failure to learn a new language, or feigning such ignorance, is an old trick of resistance, one that caused Eric Hobsbawm to claim that "the refusal to understand is a form of class struggle." Quoted in Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 133, n. 46.

37. James A. Sandos, "Christianization Among the Chumash: An Ethnohistoric Approach," *American Indian Quarterly* 15 (Winter 1991): 65-89.

38. Sandos, "Neophyte Resistance," 173.

39. George Harwood Phillips, "Indian Paintings for Mission San Fernando: An Historical Interpretation," *Journal of California Anthropology* 3 (Summer 1976): 96-114. Ed Castillo, "The Other Side of the 'Christian Curtain': California Indians and the Missionaries," *The Californians* 10 (Sept/Oct 1992): 8-17, commented on the paintings, following Phillips, and drew a harsh letter from art historian Norman Neuerberg; see *The Californians* 11 (Sept/Oct 1993): 4, 50.

40. Norman Neuerberg, "Indians As Artists In California before and after Contact with the Europeans," in Román Piña Homs, ed., *Les Illes Balears i Amèrica* (Palma: Congrès Internacional d'Estudis Històrics, 1992), 43-60, quoted at 47. This is a "much revised version" of Georgia Lee and Norman Neuerberg, "The Alta California Indians as Artists before and after Contact," in *Columbian Consequences*, I, 467-80. See also Norman Neuerberg, "Indian Pictographs at Mission San Juan Capistrano," *The Masterkey* 56 (1982): 55-58.

41. Neuerberg, "Indians As Artists," 47. Boscana, *Chinigchinich*, facing 58.

42. Neuerberg, "Indians As Artists," 48.

43. Much of the fuel for the argument that Franciscans carefully balanced baptisms against food resources can be found in the work of anthropologists Gary Coombs and Fred Plog. See their "Chumash Baptism: An Ecological Perspective," in Lowell John Bean and Thomas F. King, eds., *?Antap: California Indian Political and Economic Organization* (Ranona, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1974), 137-53; and "The Conversion of the Chumash Indians: An Ecological Interpretation," *Human Ecology* 5 (1977): 309-28. The evidence does not support their thesis. See Sandos, "Christianization Among the Chumash," 68-70.

44. Milliken, "An Ethnohistory of the Indian People," 202-206.

45. Calculation derived from John R. Johnson, "Chumash Social Organization: An Ethnohistoric Perspective" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1988), 88.

46. An important topic, which space does not permit covering, is the examination of abortion and infanticide as acts of resistance.

47. Edward D. Castillo, "Gender Status Decline, Resistance, and Accommodation among Female Neophytes in the Missions of California: A San Gabriel Case Study," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 18 (1994): 67-93, especially 78-81.

48. Edwin A. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve: First Governor of California* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1971), 70, 121-29.

49. Sandos, "Christianization Among the Chumash," 73-74; Robert F. Heizer, "A California Messianic Movement of 1801 Among the Chumash," *American Anthropologist* New Series 43 (1941): 128-29.

50. Steven Hackel, "Indian-Spanish Relations in Alta California: Mission San Carlos Borromeo, 1770-1833" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1994), 202 and passim.

51. *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832*, trans. and anno. by Basil Dmytryshyn and E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976), 130.

52. In addition to the fight the Chumash waged at La Purísima and the flight to the tu-

lares, other Chumash took Mission Santa Barbara's two ocean-going plank canoes (*tomols*) and fled to the Channel Islands. Yet others among those who fled initially to the tulares went farther inland into what is now Kern County in the area later called Walker Pass, where they fused Spanish and traditional ways to form a new culture. See James A. Sandos, "Levantamiento!: The 1824 Chumash Uprising Reconsidered," *Southern California Quarterly* 67 (Summer 1985): 109-33. See also Sandos, "Christianization Among the Chumash," 76-86.

53. Phillips, *Indians and Intruders*, 65-106, which also incorporates his earlier work on Indians and secularization; C. Alan Hutchinson, "The Mexican Government and the Missions of Upper California, 1821-1835," *The Americas* 21 (April 1965): 335-62; Manuel Servin, "The Secularization of the California Missions: A Reappraisal," *Southern California Quarterly* 47 (June 1965): 133-49.

54. My reconstruction of Estanislao's revolt is derived from: Sherburne F. Cook, "Expeditions to the Interior of California: Central Valley, 1820-1840," *Anthropological Records* 20 (1962): 168-80, 205-206; Osio, *The History of Alta California*, 89-94; Richard J. Orsi, "Estanislao's Rebellion, 1829," in Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orsi, *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 53-68; Rosenus, *General M. G. Vallejo*, 11-12.

55. George C. Yount, "Memoirs," ms., Huntington Library; Rosenus, *General M. G. Vallejo*, 13-14.

56. Unless otherwise specified, my reconstruction of Fort Ross comes, inter alia, from: *Colonial Russian America*, 106-34; [no author given], "The Russian Colonies in California: A Russian Version," E. O. Essig, "The Russian Settlement at Ross," and Adele Ogden, "Russian Sea-Otter and Seal Hunting on the California Coast, 1803-1841," all from the *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* 12 (September 1933): 189-239; Robert A. Thompson, *The Russian Settlement in California Known as Fort Ross* (Santa Rosa: Sonoma Democrat Publishing Co., 1896), 1-34.

57. Otto von Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World in the Years 1823, 1824, 1825, and 1826*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), II, 123-24.

58. Vallejo, "Historical and Personal Memoirs," I, 4-5, passim; Transcript of the Proceedings in Land Commission Case Number 243, George C. Yount, Claimant, vs. the United States, Defendant, for the Place Named "Caymus," Case 32nd in District Court, 1852, Huntington Library; hereinafter Proceedings of California Land Cases, followed by the district court case number.

59. Sherburne F. Cook, "Smallpox in Spanish and Mexican California, 1770-1845," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 12 (February 1939): 182, 184-87.

60. *Ibid.*, 185, n. 45; Joseph Warren Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California Including a Description of the Gold Region and an Account of the Voyage around Cape Horn* (New York: CCS Francis and Co., 1849), 119, reports that Vallejo told him that half of the Indians living in the Sonoma Valley died in a single year from this epidemic.

61. Warner, quoted in Sherburne F. Cook, "The Epidemic of 1830-1833 in California and Oregon," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 3 (1955): 318.

62. J. J. Warner, "The Indian Pestilence in 1833," *Los Angeles Daily Star*, August 23, 1874, reprinted in the *Kern County Weekly Courier*, August 29, 1874, both newspapers in the California Section of the California State Library. Warner frequently used the initials J. J. after

Juan José, the names he adopted in becoming a Mexican citizen, replacing his christened names Jonathan Turnbull.

63. Cook, "The Epidemic of 1830-1833," 322. Throughout his essay, Cook assesses the data carefully and holds to conservative estimates. Phillips, *Indians and Intruders*, 94-95, 181 n. 4, thinks that Cook's figures are too high because the disease did not spread into the Tulare Valley.

64. Owens, ed., *John A. Sutter and a Wider West*, presents essays by historians Howard R. Lamar, Albert L. Hurtado, Iris H. W. Engstrand, Richard White, and Patricia Nelson Limerick.

65. Vallejo had hoped to acquire the Russian improvements (they could not sell the land, Russians argued, because they leased it from the Indians, ignoring the Spanish land claim altogether) by waiting for the asking price to drop. Sutter, however, did not wait and accepted the Russian terms.

66. Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, trans, ed., anno., *A Pioneer at Sutter's Fort, 1846-1850: The Adventures of Heinrich Lienhard* (Los Angeles: The Calafia Society, 1941), 77.

67. John A. Sutter, "Personal Reminiscences of General John Augustus Sutter," ms., 22, Bancroft Library.

68. Dorothy Hill, *The Indians of Chico Rancheria* (Sacramento: State of California Resources Agency, Department of Parks and Recreation, 1978), 1-7. See also Annie K. Bidwell, *Rancho Chico Indians*, Dorothy Hill, ed. (Chico: Bidwell Mansion Cooperating Association, 1980).

69. Lorrin L. Morrison, *Warner: The Man and the Ranch* (Los Angeles: Published by the Author, 1962), 20-22. Warner also bought four Indians from the Mojave as house servants.

70. "Princeton Woman Furnishes Much Historical Data on Life of James Savage," Princeton, Illinois, *Bureau County Record*, July 17, 1929, clipping in the file "Material Relating to James D. Savage," compiled by Lilbourne Winchell, Bancroft Library.

71. In addition to the Winchell file, I have drawn my picture of Savage from Annie R. Mitchell, *Jim Savage and the Tulareño Indians* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1957); Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 112-42; and various newspaper clippings and fragments, especially about the Mariposa Indian War, from the John G. Marvin Scrapbook, Huntington Library. Mitchell, p. 34, gives the names of two of Savage's wives as Ho-mut and Ee-ki-no, but without tribal affiliation.

72. George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 47-165; "José del Carmen Lugo, Life of a Rancher," Helen Pruitt Beattie, trans., *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 32 (September 1950): 185-236; Roy Elmer Whitehead, *Lugo: A Chronicle of Early California* (Redlands: San Bernardino County Museum Association, 1978), 130-376; George William Beattie, "San Bernardino Valley before the Americans Came," *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* 12 (June 1933): 11-124.

73. "Crumbs of '49," Journal of Benjamin Butler Harris, Part 1, Huntington Library; Morrison, *Warner: The Man and the Ranch*, 39, claims that over a thirty-year period "more than 200,000 people entered and left California through the valley [Warner's]."

74. Robert F. Heizer and Alan J. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 39-58, 212-17, for text of act and amendments; Rosenus, *General M. G. Vallejo*, 211.

75. See the extended discussion in David Hurst Thomas, "Harvesting Ramona's Garden: Life in California's Mythical Mission Past," in *Columbian Consequences*, Vol. 3, *The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective*, David Hurst Thomas, ed., (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 119-57.

76. Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 58.

77. James A. Sandos, "Junípero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record," *The American Historical Review* 93 (December 1988): 1253-69; and "Junípero Serra, Canonization, and the California Indian Controversy," *The Journal of Religious History* 15 (June 1989): 311-29, summarize both the literature and the process of sainthood through 1988.

78. David J. Weber, "Blood of Martyrs, Blood of Indians: Toward a More Balanced View of Spanish Missions in Seventeenth Century North America," in *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 2, *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, David Hurst Thomas, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 429-48, reprinted in O'Keefe, *Columbus, Confrontation, Christianity*, 128-50.

79. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 115.

80. Cook published a series of studies in the 1940s in the scholarly journal *Ibero Americana*, which were gathered together and reprinted after his death as Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

81. Sherburne F. Cook, "Historical Demography," *HBNAI*, 8, pp. 91-98, is the culmination of much of his earlier work. Although he died in 1974, and volume 8 appeared in 1978, Cook's last-minute revisions continued to appear long after his death. Sherburne F. Cook and Cesare R. Marino, "Roman Catholic Missions in California and the Southwest," *HBNAI*, Vol. 4, *History of Indian-White Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 472-80, gives figures of 83,000 Indians baptized, with 17,000 remaining in the missions in 1832, meaning a decline of 79.5 percent. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 1, follows Cook's earlier figures. Much contemporary Indian population work seeks to refine Cook's mission figures while ignoring the non-missionized Indians. See John R. Johnson, "Mission Registers as Anthropological Questionnaires: Understanding the Limitations of the Data," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 12 (1988): 9-30, which discusses those doing mission population research to 1988, and his "Chumash Social Organization"; Milliken, "An Ethnohistory of the Indian People," and *A Time of Little Choice*; Hackel, "Indian-Spanish Relations in Alta California"; Robert Jackson, *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687-1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994); Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization*. For an extreme statement of the anti-mission school, see Rupert and Jeannette Henry Costo, eds., *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987).

82. Sandos, "Neophyte Resistance in the Alta California Missions," 171-72, 178, n. 8.

83. See the works cited in this essay, and others, by (in alphabetical order): Rose Marie Beebe, Thomas Blackburn, Antonia Castañeda, Edward Castillo, Iris Engstrand, Steven Hackel, Albert Hurtado, Robert Jackson, John Johnson, Randall Milliken, Richard Orsi, George Phillips, Alan Rosenus, Robert Senkewicz, David Hurst Thomas, and David Weber. See also Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); and William McCawley, *The First Angelenos: The Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles* (Banning, Calif.: Malki Museum Press/Ballena Press Co-operative Publication, 1996).