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NO SOMOS ANIMALES: INDIGENOUS SURVIVAL AND PERSEVERANCE
IN 19TH CENTURY SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA

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**Abstract: “No Somos Animales”: Indigenous Resistance and Perseverance
in Nineteenth Century Santa Cruz**

Martin A. Rizzo

This study sets out to answer the questions: who were the Indigenous people in the Santa Cruz region and how did they survive through the nineteenth century? Between 1770 and 1900, I argue, the linguistically and culturally diverse Ohlone and Yokuts tribes adapted to and expressed themselves politically and culturally over three distinct types of colonial encounters involving Spain, Mexico, and the U.S. They persevered through a variety of strategies developed through social, political, economic, and kinship networks that tied together Indigenous tribes, families, and individuals throughout the greater Bay Area. Survival tactics included organized attacks on the mission, the assassination of an abusive padre, flights of fugitives, poisonings, and arson. In some cases, strategies included collaboration with certain padres, tracking down of fugitives, service, labor, or musical performance. Indigenous politics informed each of these choices, as Indigenous individuals and families made decisions of vital importance within a context of immense loss and violent disruption.

This project examines Indigenous survival and persistence through different colonial circumstances. The dissertation begins with a look at local Indigenous landscape and the tribes that lived in the coastal mountain range and continues to explore the establishment of Mission Santa Cruz, relocation of local Indigenous tribes, and the Quiroste led attack on the new establishment (chapter 1). Between 1798 and 1810, the mission population expanded to include Mutsun speaking tribes and families from the east, forming new social, economic, political, and kinship relations (chapter 2). In 1812, a recently arrived female

Spiritual leader collaborated with a local kinship network to orchestrate the assassination of the sadistic Padre Quintana (chapter 3). Newly arrived Yokuts filled the leadership vacuum after the arrest of these conspirators, during a time of transition into Mexican political rule (chapter 4). Surviving Indigenous families expanded onto small plots of adjacent lands in the years following secularization in 1834 (chapter 5). In the American era after 1850, families struggled to survive despite genocidal policies and demographic eclipse (chapter 6). Throughout, Indigenous peoples relied on community and networks, drew on spiritual and cultural practices, and fought back to persevere through over a century of violent disruption.

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Introduction

In 1793, a pan-tribal Indigenous group attacked the newly founded Mission Santa Cruz. Nearly twenty years later, an Indigenous woman named Fausta helped to strategize and lead an assassination of an abusive padre. Rebellions, assassinations, fugitive flights, and poisonings; Santa Cruz Indigenous communities resisted and challenged colonial violence throughout the nineteenth century. Outside of the gaze of the missionary, soldier, or pioneer, Indigenous people gathered, sang their songs, prayed their prayers, sweat, and built community with other survivors. A diverse group of Indigenous tribes and families adapted to and expressed themselves politically and culturally through three distinct types of colonial encounters involving Spain, Mexico, and the U.S. They formed new alliances and expanded kinship networks, and relied upon traditional knowledge and practices to help ensure their survival and make sense of their rapidly changing world. This is a story of Indigenous resistance and leadership; revealing a dynamic world of Indigenous politics and negotiations. These diverse tribes, kinship networks, and families devised a variety of tactics to survive through this time of little choice.¹ This is a history of the many tribes, brought together by colonial disruption; a history of individuals and families who persevered through a time of incredible upheaval and loss.

At the time of initial Spanish colonial settlement in 1791, around fourteen hundred Indigenous people from seven independent tribes knew the region known today as Santa

¹ Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1995). Milliken's book is the most thorough study of San Francisco Bay Area Indigenous history, and serves as a starting point for my study. Milliken correctly characterized the Spanish colonial occupation of the region as "a time of little choice" for local Indigenous families.

Cruz County as their home. Over the next century, this area became home to people from over thirty-five autonomous tribes from throughout the larger Bay Area. This is tribes like the Uypi, Aptos, Sayanta, Chaloctaca, Tomoi, Sumus, Ausaima, Tejey, and Huocom, among others. These diverse tribes spoke one of three distinct linguistic groups—Awaswas Ohlone, Mutsun Ohlone, and Yokuts.² By the time Mexican officials closed Mission Santa Cruz in 1834, the total surviving Indigenous population numbered around 250, a small fraction of the 2,753 Indigenous people baptized at the mission.³ By the American era, the situation for Indigenous people became even more dire, as American policies targeted “Indians” for extermination.⁴ Still, between one and two hundred people survived well into the latter half of the nineteenth century, testifying to their strength and ingenuity in developing new strategies for survival. This is the story of their perseverance and survival, and the story of the many who sacrificed everything.

My methodological approach contributes to the study of Indigenous Californian history, revealing details about Indigenous social and political worlds. I work closely with mission sacramental registries, and offer new ways of integrating heretofore overlooked data such as the godparentage and confirmation records.⁵ I combine these missionary

² Awaswas and Mutsun describe two distinct linguistic groups within the fifty-plus tribes identified today under the broad category of “Ohlone.” Yokuts is similar to Ohlone in that it refers to numerous linguistically and culturally distinct Yokuts people of the inland San Joaquin Valley.

³ This includes 2,245 baptisms of Tribal children and adults, and another 508 baptisms of children born at the mission.

⁴ Brendan C. Lindsay, *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846–1873* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), and Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846–1873* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016).

⁵ I will discuss the development of this archive in short, as well as the two anthropologists who pioneered the use of these documents, John R. Johnson and Randall Milliken. Some recent articles have effectively used these records in innovative ways as well. Some examples include: James A. Sandos and Patricia B. Sandos, “Early California Reconsidered: Mexicans, Anglos, and Indians at Mission San José,” *Pacific Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (November 2014): 592–625; A.Q. Stoll, J. G.

records with a multidisciplinary ethnohistorical approach that acknowledges change but also recognizes the continued presence of Indigenous histories and politics that helped shape Indigenous responses. This approach has helped me to unearth stories of individuals and families, revealing complex social worlds connecting Indigenous people from within and outside the mission system. Herein I relate stories about the persistence of Indigenous leadership, the spiritual and political leadership of Indigenous women, and kinship and tribal networks that passed beyond mission boundaries.

My study steps outside the narrow White-Indian and Spanish-Indian dichotomies with which much of this history has been written.⁶ These views, while reified by the problems in archival perspective, diminish the complexity of pre-existing Indigenous politics and economic and social relations. Furthermore, this binary erases difference among the Spanish settling community, many of whom traced back to mestizo or even Indigenous

Douglass, and R. Ciolek-Torrello, "Searching for Guaspet: A Mission-Period Rancheria in West Los Angeles," *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 22, no. 1 (2009): 1–9; and John Ryan Fischer, *Cattle Colonialism: An Environmental History of the Conquest of California and Hawai'i* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015). Still, none of these engage deeply with the godparentage data, which is crucial to understanding kinship ties through the mission era and beyond.

⁶ Robert F. Heizer, *The Destruction of California Indians: A Collection of Documents from the Period of 1847 to 1865* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993); Albert Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988); Robert H. Jackson and Edward D. Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995). These early studies contributed much to our understanding of Indigenous history, but did not move beyond this dichotomy. More recently, Steven W. Hackel fell into this pattern, to a lesser extent, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005). Hackel identified tribal difference but did not examine these differences in his analysis of Indigenous politics. More recently this dichotomy continues to inform studies like that of Elias Castillo, *A Cross of Thorns: The Enslavement of California's Indians by the Spanish Missions* (Fresno, CA: Craven Street Books, 2015). Castillo's study, important for its contribution to our understanding of Spanish cruelty, does not examine Indigenous difference and diversity.

heritage from Guanajuato, Guadalajara, or Mexico City.⁷ In reality much of this history was negotiated among Indigenous peoples and families, out of sight of the colonizer. Trade continued, reaching across mission communities, extending ties between villages and missions, often adapting to fit changing circumstance.⁸ Spiritual songs, dances, and ceremonies continued outside of the range of the padres. They continued to use sweat lodges into the late 1900s, tucked into the village sites that they built behind the mission.

Indigenous political, social, economic, spiritual, and kinship networks extended well beyond the missions, across neighboring mission communities, and with those who remained in their home villages or otherwise lived outside of Spanish settlement. Mission Santa Cruz does figure prominently in these stories, as a central space of Indigenous production, ingenuity, and politics.⁹ Yet, this history extends beyond the Spanish Franciscan

⁷ Erick Detlef Langer traces the historical context of Italian Franciscan missionaries in Bolivia in *Expecting Pears from an Elm Tree: Franciscan Missions on the Chiriguano Frontier in the Heart of South America, 1830–1949* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009). Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz similarly explore the histories of the Franciscan missionaries in California, in “What They Brought: The Alta California Franciscans before 1769,” in Hackel, *Alta California*, 17–46. Others have explored identity formation and Spanish colonialism; see Cynthia Radding Murrieta, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700–1850* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), and Barbara L. Voss, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

⁸ Brooke S. Arkush, “Native Responses to European Intrusion: Cultural Persistence and Agency among Mission Neophytes in Spanish Colonial Northern California,” *Historical Archaeology* 45, no. 4 (2011), 62–90. These themes have been explored locally; see Rebecca Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz, 1791–1834: Interpreting the Archaeological Record* (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), and Russell K. Skowronek, “Sifting the Evidence: Perceptions of Life at the Ohlone (Costanoan) Missions of Alta California,” *Ethnohistory* 45, no. 4 (1998): 675–708.

⁹ Edna Kimbro, MaryEllen Ryan, and Robert H. Jackson, *Como La Sombra Huye La Hora: Restoration Research: Santa Cruz Mission Adobe: Santa Cruz Mission State Historical Park* (Davenport, CA: Historical Investigation, 1985). The late Kimbro, a local architectural historian, provides an excellent architectural history of Mission Santa Cruz. This report contains much of her findings and served as an excellent resource for my research. More recently, I’ve had access to the extremely helpful Edna Kimbro Archives, thanks to archivist Charlene Duvall. Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz*. Allen provides the most complete archaeological study of the sole standing adobe, which was home to many Indigenous community members. Her study reveals the persistence of traditional practices, among many other findings.

missions both geographically and temporally. Mission Santa Cruz, like the other California missions, became a space of Indigenous politics, where economic, social, political, and spiritual ties and relations persisted and changed over time. The mission was a space where many Native families experienced births and deaths, new alliances and rivalries, and often great losses. This study extends beyond the physical and geographic boundaries of the missions, reaching into what has been called the “hinterlands.”¹⁰ This study seeks to examine the ways in which colonial violence and disruption impacted many tribes and villages outside the immediate vicinity of Mission Santa Cruz, along with Indigenous responses.¹¹

Local tribes understood themselves in terms of tribes, villages, families, kin, and spiritual affiliations. These complex identity politics continued to inform decisions and relations. I similarly emphasize these categories, despite the multiple colonially imposed labels or categories. Spanish colonizers introduced and imposed the social category of “Indian” across linguistic and culturally distinct peoples. As a result, there are many “Indians” in nineteenth century Santa Cruz. Franciscan missionaries imposed an additional

¹⁰ Tsim D. Schneider, “Placing Refuge and the Archaeology of Indigenous Hinterlands in Colonial California,” *American Antiquity* 80, no. 4 (2015): 695–713. Schneider describes “hinterlands” as “landscapes that, in time, provided contexts for continuity and adjustment among Indian communities making social, material, and economic choices in the wake of missionization.” Schneider and Lee Panich similarly discuss a “landscape” approach, which seeks to “expand mission archaeology by illuminating the opportunities for indigenous autonomy in social, political, and economic relationships that intersected colonial modes in various ways across time and space.” Panich and Schneider, “Expanding Mission Archaeology: A Landscape Approach to Indigenous Autonomy in Colonial California,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 40 (2015): 48–58.

¹¹ This dissertation is in dialogue with studies that examine Indigenous peoples outside the realm of European encounters, notably Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); James Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); and Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

category of distinction based upon Catholic baptism—*neofito* or *gentile*. Later, under the Mexican national regime, the category of “Indian” was officially abolished. In the American era, the category of Indian collapsed further, as Indians held no rights and policies targeted Indians for extermination. Instead of relying on these colonial categories, I center Indigenous categories of identity to reveal a complex web of networks connecting individuals and families across the greater region.

Each California mission’s history is unique, shaped by the local ecology and resources, proximity to other Spanish settlements, the temperament of the Franciscan missionaries stationed there, and most importantly by the specific histories and cultural realities of local Indigenous peoples.¹² Mission Santa Cruz became home to some of the most abusive padres, and the Indigenous population frequently challenged their authority. As a result, padres called Mission Santa Cruz as the “mission of padre killers.” The missionaries regularly requested removal, complaining about the weather, isolation, and unruly Indians. But did the mission live up to its notorious reputation? At times, some Native converts did act as ‘padre killers,’ but others worked closely with padres catching fugitives or protecting the mission from foreign invasion. Indigenous people employed a variety of strategies for survival.

Santa Cruz is an ideal site for this study for multiple reasons. Firstly, Mission Santa Cruz remained relatively small in population. Owing in part to its relative isolation, the mission population never reached much higher than 500 people. Santa Cruz is bounded by a

¹² Sarah Peelo, “Baptism among the Salinan Neophytes of Mission San Antonio de Padua: Investigating the Ecological Hypothesis,” *Ethnohistory* 56, no. 4 (2009). Peelo argues “that the reasons Native Californians chose baptism are geographically, temporally, and culturally contingent.”

redwood-filled mountain range, making the beachfront plateaus tough to reach by land. After initially avoiding the coastal marshland passages, the Franciscans eventually established Mission Santa Cruz in order to reach the various mountain and coastal tribal people that had resisted relocation to Mission Santa Clara. The relatively small population compared to sites such as Mission Santa Clara, which regularly had over 1,000 Native people, allows for this case study to encompass a more complete and nuanced reading of the histories of individuals and families. This is especially helpful in tracing the kinship and family networks into the American years.

Secondly, as mentioned before, Santa Cruz was a site of constant challenge and rebellion. While Indigenous families at other California missions similarly resisted and challenged Spanish authorities, Mission Santa Cruz stands out for its very visible and documented history of resistance. Mission Santa Cruz was the only mission to face a direct attack during the Spanish colonial era, and the only mission in California where a padre was successfully murdered and the assassination covered up. It was a site of attempted poisonings and subsequent arrests, ongoing flights of fugitives, and other examples of rebellion and resistance—of an active negotiation of Indigenous politics. This rich history of resistance and rebellion offers plenty of examples of Indigenous agency worthy of examination.

Thirdly, the padres at Mission Santa Cruz kept excellent records. The Franciscan missionaries of California generally kept detailed records of all ecclesiastical events, including baptisms, burials, marriages, and confirmations. At some missions, such as Mission Santa Clara, the padres were less concerned with documenting the families and tribal

identities of incoming Indigenous people, instead renaming villages and tribes with the names of Catholic saints. Others missions are missing critical books and records, like Mission San Luis Rey and Soledad. For the most part, with notable exceptions, the missionaries at Mission Santa Cruz kept diligent records. This relative accuracy greatly aids this study, as analysis of these copious records allows for a nuanced reading of patterns of movement, relocation, intermarriage, and godparentage.

Lastly, Santa Cruz was home to Lorenzo Asisara, born at Mission Santa Cruz in 1820.¹³ Asisara gave two interviews in 1877 and one more in 1890.¹⁴ Asisara is one of only three Indigenous individuals who lived in the California missions, and who left their testimonies of their experiences.¹⁵ As such, his remembrances provide a rare glimpse of Indigenous life within the missions. His stories, many related here, focus on the cruelty of

¹³ Geoffrey Dunn, "Dancing on the brink of the world," in *Santa Cruz Is in the Heart, Volume II: Further Writings on Local History, Culture, Politics & Ghosts* (Capitola, CA: Capitola Book Company, 2013), 1—13. Dunn provides an excellent introduction to Asisara and overview of local Indigenous history.

¹⁴ José María Amador, "Memorias sobre la historia de California," Bancroft Library (hereafter referred to as BL), BANC MSS C-D 28, 58–77. This is the interview of Santa Cruz Mission-born Lorenzo Asisara contained in the notes of Bancroft's field historian, Thomas Savage, who conducted two interviews of him in 1877. Asisara continued in his second interview with stories of life within the mission (pp 90–113). A third interview in 1890, by local historian Edward Lawrence Williams, "Narrative of a Mission Indian, etc.," was published in Edward S. Harrison's *History of Santa Cruz County* (San Francisco: Pacific Press Publishing, 1892), 45–48. Asisara's interviews by Savage have been published in translation twice, the first time in a series of two articles by Edward D. Castillo, in "The Assassination of Padre Andrés Quintana by the Indians of Mission Santa Cruz in 1812," and "An Indian Account of the Decline and Collapse of Mexico's Hegemony over the Missionized Indians of California," *American Indian Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (Autumn 1989): 391–408. The account was later provided in Spanish and translated English by Gregorio Mora-Torres, *Californio Voices: The Oral Memoirs of José María Amador and Lorenzo Asisara* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2005).

¹⁵ Lisbeth Haas, *Pablo Tac, Indigenous Scholar Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial History, C. 1840* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). Here Haas examines the writings of one of these rare voices in depth. I plan to compile and contextualize the interviews of Lorenzo Asisara for a future project. Fernando Librado and John Peabody Harrington, *Breath of the Sun: Life in Early California, as Told by a Chumash Indian, Fernando Librado, to John P. Harrington*, Edited by Travis Hudson (1979). The third individual is the Chumash man Fernando Librado Kitsepawit, born at Mission San Buenaventura, who was interviewed extensively by ethnographer John P. Harrington in the early 1900s.

the missionaries, but more importantly on stories of resistance and rebellion. They tell of a world of Indigenous politics, a diversity of interests, and kinship networks that challenged the padres in unique ways.

Beyond the gaze of the authors of the archives, Native peoples continued to trade, hunt, pray, dance, sweat, and build new alliances and rivalries. In order to reflect this reality, I prioritize Indigenous voices and perspectives.¹⁶ While I still utilize Spanish, Mexican, and American archives, I have sought to critically engage with the archives. Historical studies of Indigenous Californians who lived through these three eras have been complicated by a number of factors, the most crucial being the limitations of the archives and archival documents. Spanish missionaries, soldiers, and administrators held limited views of Indians, formed from a long history of Spanish colonialism. In the Mexican national period, new efforts to abolish the Spanish racial caste system and bring about Indian citizenry often conflicted with long-held colonial understandings of race and class. In the American era, Anglo settlers brought with them ideas and perspectives formed from long histories of Indian–White American warfare, relocations, and treaties. As a result, the cultural limitations of the document writers have systematically erased or obscured Native presence in multiple ways. My dissertation builds upon the myriad ways that historians of this work have read against the archives.¹⁷

¹⁶ I am certainly not the only one doing this. For example, Deborah A. Miranda (Rumsen Ohlone/Esselen) wrote an excellent book that examines her family and tribal history. In her history/memoir she explores the idea of the “bad Indian,” inverting the term and exploring examples of local Native resistance. See Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2013).

¹⁷ American and Latin American scholars alike have explored methodological problems in Indigenous encounters. For key examples that influence my research, see Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), and Eric Van Young,

My dissertation builds on the many existing studies of Indigenous Californians. The study of California Indians began in earnest in the 1940s when Sherburne F. Cook and others wrote about the terrible attrition and death rates.¹⁸ The emphasis on demographic collapse is understandable, given the terrible rates of death, disease, and loss within the missions. Historians who embraced the demographic collapse approach provided an important counterpoint to Franciscan historians who celebrated the California missions and missionaries.¹⁹ This important intervention brought the emphasis to the great losses experienced by Native Californians, but otherwise reinforced harmful notions of Native Californian extinction and the “vanishing Indian.”²⁰ While there was clearly a huge demographic collapse brought on by a combination of disease, mistreatment, warfare, and eventually outright genocidal policies and campaigns, the emphasis on death and brutality

"The Cuautla Lazarus: Double Subjectives in Reading Texts on Popular Selective Action," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2, nos. 1–2 (1993), 3–26. Burns turns a critical eye to the notaries and record keepers themselves, while Van Young explores the difficulties in discerning “truth-value” in contested encounters.

¹⁸ Sherburne Friend Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California press, 1943); Cook, *The Population of the California Indians, 1769–1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Heizer, *The Destruction of California Indians*; and George Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

¹⁹ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, 4 vols. (San Francisco: James H. Barry, 1908). Francis F Guest, *An Examination of the Thesis of S.F. Cook on the Forced Conversion of Indians in the California Missions* (Los Angeles: Southern California Quarterly, 1979). Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pastoral, 1769–1848*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

²⁰ The topic of the “vanishing Indian” and other harmful narratives have been explored in depth in Philip Joseph Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*, Indigenous Americas (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), and Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz and Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *"All the Real Indians Died Off": and 20 Other Myths about Native Americans* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2016).

obscures the history of survival and perseverance that are a testament to the strength, ingenuity, and resourcefulness of Indigenous Californians.²¹

The next wave of historians, influenced by the larger trend towards social and cultural histories, found ways to read larger patterns of demographic change to understand the implications of patterns of disease, death, and hardship.²² Historians like Albert Hurtado shifted the emphasis from extinction to survival.²³ Hurtado later applied a gendered analysis of courtship, marriage, sexuality, and family life to examine experiences of Indigenous Californian women.²⁴ Robert H. Jackson worked closely with the demographic data to illustrate population decline, disease, and other important patterns within Spanish California.²⁵ Many of Jackson's demographic studies focused on Mission Santa Cruz, where

²¹ Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (Indian Historian Press, 1987). This compilation was put together as a response to the movement to canonize Junipero Serra in the 1980s. While it similarly embraces arguments of genocide and extermination at points, it is notable for its inclusion of a diversity of Indigenous Californian perspectives.

²² Lowell John Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn, *Native Californians: A Theoretical Retrospective* (Ramona, CA: Ballena Press, 1976). The Chicano studies movement is the best example of this shift towards cultural and social history. For a small sampling of these early works, see Rudolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: the Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation*, (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972), Albert Prago, *Strangers in Their Own Land: a History of Mexican-Americans*, (New York: Four Winds Press, 1973), and Alberto Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).

²³ Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*.

²⁴ Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999). More recently, Virginia M. Bouvier argued that "gender ideology was one of the ingredients in the glue that held together the conquest project... [and] also shaped indigenous behavior toward the Spanish conquerors," in *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence* (University of Arizona Press, 2004), xv.

²⁵ Jackson, *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687-1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Jackson, *Race, Caste, and Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); and Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization*.

he documented patterns of death, disease, and demographic collapse in the midst of various waves of diverse tribal peoples.²⁶

More recently, historians have demonstrated that we can indeed learn more about life within the missions.²⁷ James Sandos examined the concept of conversion and the role of prominent Indian musicians within the missions.²⁸ Sandos asked to what extent Indians 'converted' to Catholicism. My study differs from Sandos's in this respect, as I attempt to come at it from the opposite position. My dissertation poses these questions: to what extent did Indigenous people understand the imposed Spanish Franciscan Catholic world through their own cultural lenses? How might they have interpreted the changing world around them, given their own cultural practices and views? Stephen Hackel offers studies of Spanish-Indian relations in Monterey, explored political and social development within mission communities, and worked to present Indigenous accounts of rebellion.²⁹ Hackel does an excellent job of tracing out Spanish-Indian dynamics in the realms of religious induction, marriage and sexuality, politics and leadership, labor and economy, and crime and punishment.³⁰ However, his emphasis on the binary of Spanish-Indian relations results in a failure to engage with the complexities of Indigenous politics.

²⁶ Jackson, "Disease and Demographic Patterns at Santa Cruz Mission, Alta California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 5:1-2 (1983), 33-57.

²⁷ This new historiographic shift has been recently explored by Natale Zappia in "California Indian Historiography from the Nadir to the Present," *California History* 91, no. 1 (Spring 2014), 28-34.

²⁸ James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).

²⁹ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*; "The Staff of Leadership: Indian Authority in the Missions of Alta California," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no.2 (April 1997), 347-76; and "Sources of Rebellion: Indian Testimony and the Mission San Gabriel Uprising of 1785," *Ethnohistory* 50 (Autumn 2003), 643-69.

³⁰ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 11.

Lisbeth Haas offers a more nuanced approach to Indigenous California, emphasizing questions of Indigenous identity construction while demonstrating how cultural continuities allowed for the formation of “quiet opposition to Catholicism and Spanish culture.”³¹ Haas’s more recent works have pushed further in prioritizing Indigenous voices and perspectives, examining Indigenous leaders and artists within the mission to reveal Indigenous power.³² Haas argues that despite the physical dislocation, death, and severe limitations in Spanish and Mexican society, “within the missions, native translators, artisans, traditional, and new leaders used Indigenous forms of authority, knowledge, and power to seek redress and to sustain the community.”³³ My work builds on this perspective, offering specific examples of Indigenous power and politics in the Indigenous population of the Santa Cruz region. Haas, Sandos, and others have pushed the boundaries of our understanding of Indigenous life within the missions, helping to expand beyond broad demographic studies that offer limited arguments of death, loss, and destruction.³⁴

Historical studies of California Indians after American statehood in 1850 have traditionally been conducted in relative isolation from studies of the Spanish and Mexican eras. This separation is due in large part to the linguistic divide between the archives. Early scholarship on California Indian history during the American era focused on newspaper

³¹ Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 27.

³² Haas, *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2014).

³³ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁴ Ramon A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi, eds., *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush* (San Francisco: University of California Press, 1997), and Hackel, *Alta California: People in Motion, Identities in California, 1769–1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010). This latter is a compilation that brings together some of the more cutting-edge historical works on Indigenous California, including essays by Haas and Sandos.

reports of violence and warfare.³⁵ More recently, studies of genocide and American brutality have thoroughly demonstrated the level of state-sponsored violence during this period.³⁶ Some of these studies have challenged the exclusion of Native Californians from historical concepts such as labor and historical narrative.³⁷ Other scholars have looked at the ways that historical memory and official records viewed this history, critiquing the whitewashing of violence and the preservation of “American innocence.”³⁸ My dissertation extends beyond the Spanish and Mexican eras into American statehood, attempting to bridge these distinct historical studies. For example, issues of Indigenous land ownership and citizenship created a more complex social dynamic that is lost by focusing only on the American era, and showing how the American era is better understood in a larger context of colonial relations. While many of the early California Indian histories tend to highlight interactions between Indians and Europeans, these newer works push beyond an oversimplified Indian-American/Spanish binary. My dissertation strives to build on these works and recognize the complex interrelation of Indigenous politics.

By centering on the perspectives of Indigenous people, this dissertation seeks to explore how local Indigenous people understood these times.³⁹ How did they view their

³⁵ Clifford Trafzer and Joel Hyer, *Exterminate Them: Written Accounts of the Murder, Rape, and Enslavement of Native Americans during the California Gold Rush* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999).

³⁶ Lindsay, *Murder State*, and Madley, *An American Genocide*.

³⁷ William J. Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California's Round Valley Reservation, 1850–1941* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

³⁸ Boyd Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

³⁹ Along these lines, an excellent new book by William J. Bauer proposes centering Indigenous perspectives in retelling California history. *California through Native Eyes: Reclaiming History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016). My dissertation aspires to similarly center this story on the many Indigenous perspectives.

situation and circumstances? How did they understand the changing world around them? To answer these questions I've followed the lead of those arguing for what is known as a decolonizing methodology.⁴⁰ This includes focusing on Indigenous categories and epistemologies, as well as understanding the fundamental differences in world view and culture between local Indigenous people and the colonizing forces, in this case Ohlone perspectives of Spanish settlement and cultural imposition.⁴¹ In order to accomplish this, I've needed to broaden my methodological approach to include insights from disciplines that are better equipped to reach these categories, including archaeology, anthropology, ecology, and psychology.

My dissertation draws on works by ecologists who have focused on understanding Native land-management practices, arguing for a deeper understanding of the impact of geographic and ecological reorganization on Native networks of knowledge.⁴² Similarly,

⁴⁰ Most scholars who emphasize decolonization suggest that colonial relations and legacies continue to impact everyone, not just Indigenous victims of colonialism, shaping epistemological categories like gender, individualism, time, space, authenticity, and race, to name but some. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), and Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson, eds., *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004). For examples of arguments from a Latin American perspective see Anibal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America," *Nepantla* 1, no. 3 (2000), 533–80, María Lugones, "Heterosexism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System," *Hypatia* 22, no. 1 (2007), 186–209, and Florencia E. Mallon, *Decolonizing Native Histories: Collaboration, Knowledge, and Language in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

⁴¹ These epistemological categories, which are relevant to my research, include concepts of individualism, space, time, authenticity, race, and gender. See Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

⁴² Some historians have looked at ecological reorganization in Spanish colonization; see the essays by Hackel, "Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California," and M. Kat Anderson, Michael G. Barbour, and Valerie Whitworth, "A World in Balance and Plenty: Land, Plants, Animals, and Humans in a Pre-European California," both in Gutiérrez and Orsi, *Contested Eden*. For an excellent overview of changes in landscape and ecology over the last two hundred and fifty years, see M. Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). This work connects well with the works of anthropologists such as Keith H. Basso, who point to the connections between

important questions about historical and transgenerational trauma help to lend understanding to the impact of colonial violence and disruption.⁴³ Disciplines like archaeology and anthropology can allow for a closer understanding of Indigenous practices and culture than historical sources. Right now is an exciting time in the field, as a new wave of archaeologists have been articulating a more dynamic understanding of mission communities.⁴⁴ My work is in dialogue with many of the exciting new studies in archaeology that have focused on the “archaeology of persistence.”⁴⁵ These scholars argue for a more fluid and plural understanding of ethnicity and culture, one that recognizes that ethnicity is “dynamic and continually in transformation in relation to ever-changing social conditions.”⁴⁶

As I mentioned earlier, one of my biggest contributions to this field is in my methodological approach. My dissertation builds on the work of anthropologists Randall

Indigenous categories of history, language, and knowledge with geography in *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

⁴³ Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, “The American Indian Holocaust: Healing Historical Unresolved Grief,” *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research* 8, no. 2 (1998): 60–82, Eduardo and Bonnie Duran, *Native American Postcolonial Psychology* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), and Joseph P. Gone, “A Community-Based Treatment for Native American Historical Trauma: Prospects for Evidence-Based Practice,” *Journal of Consulting & Clinical Psychology* 77, no. 4 (2009): 751–62.

⁴⁴ Quincy D. Newell, *Constructing Lives at Mission San Francisco: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), Stephen W. Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California: Native Americans and the Archaeology of Rancho Petaluma* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004), Lauren S. Teixeira, *The Costanoan/Ohlone Indians of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Area: A Research Guide* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1997), and Lowell John Bean, *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Region* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1994).

⁴⁵ Lee M. Panich, “Archaeologies of Persistence: Reconsidering the Legacies of Colonialism in Native North America,” *American Antiquity* 78, no. 1 (2013): 105–22. These themes are explored by a series of articles collected by Panich and Tsim Schneider, in *Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014).

⁴⁶ Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 239. Many of the aforementioned archaeologists build on the pioneering work of Lightfoot.

Milliken and John R. Johnson, who both pioneered the use of the Franciscan chancery records. Beginning in the 1970s, Milliken and Johnson gathered these records pertaining to each mission and meticulously copied, transcribed, and compiled tens of thousands of individual sacramental registry entries documenting each baptism, marriage, and burial record. Milliken compiled the records for the northern missions, Johnson for the southern. With this data, the two scholars have been able to illuminate a greater understanding of individuals, families, and tribes across the missions.⁴⁷ Their work has been an important point of departure for my dissertation.

In 1998, under the guidance of Steven Hackel, members of the Huntington Library began work on the Early California Population Project (ECP). This incredibly important project digitized much of the information from these records and made it available to the public online in the early 2000s.⁴⁸ These records have been central to my research. Through a combination of the records of the ECP, the original missionary books, and the Milliken database, I have built my own databases to include over a hundred thousand records from Santa Cruz and neighboring missions. My approach extends the reach of these archives, as I

⁴⁷ Their many works include: Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1995); Milliken, *Native Americans at Mission San Jose* (Banning, CA: Malki-Ballena Press, 2008); John R. Johnson, "Chumash Social Organization: An Ethnohistoric Perspective" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1988); Johnson, *The Chumash Indians after Secularization* (Santa Barbara, CA: California Mission Studies Association, 1995); and Norval S.H. Smith and John R. Johnson, "Lengua de los Llanos: A Northern Valley Yokuts Catechism from Misión Santa Cruz, Alta California," *STUF: Language Typology and Universals* 66, no. 3 (2013): 299–313.

⁴⁸ <http://www.huntington.org/information/ECPmain.htm>. Steven W. Hackel "Early California Population Project Report," *The Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 26, no. 1 (2006): 73–76.

have worked closely with additional data from the chancery records, including a close look at the godparentage and confirmation records.⁴⁹

Drawing on my database of these records, I have been able to draw connections between individuals, families, kinship networks, and tribes. By interconnecting the data from these records with stories and information given in the Spanish, Mexican, and American archives, I have been able to reconstruct stories and to recognize connections across mission populations. The Franciscan sacramental records are crucial to any study of Indigenous California. This dissertation helps to explore the relatively untapped nature of these records, as throughout, I suggest new ways of reading them. I strongly believe that there is still much more that can be done with these records, new stories and connections that will be illuminated by historians in the coming years.⁵⁰

In chapter 1 examines the initial movement of local Indigenous people into Mission Santa Cruz. By first tracing out the Indigenous landscape of the region, I found that pre-existing alliances and rivalries helped to inform reasons for relocation to Mission Santa Cruz.

⁴⁹ While the ECPP contains much information, there are a few limitations to the database. Firstly, the records only extend until 1850, while my dissertation covers a longer period. Secondly, there are the occasional minor errors or misreadings of smeared, smudged, or otherwise tough-to-read records, often necessitating a rereading of the originals. Thirdly, the ECPP records do not include the confirmation records, which I have used in my research. Fourthly, the ECPP and original records have little geographic information about tribal positioning. Milliken, who frequently worked in the field, added his own insights into the tribal geographic landscape, notes which are contained in his own database. About halfway through my dissertation, I had the fortune to meet and work with Milliken, after which he shared a copy of his database. This database and his research is now hosted at the Bancroft Library and can be found at Randall Milliken Papers, BANC MSS 2013/157, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁵⁰ For example, I have been in dialogue with historian Robert Morrissey, who has used a methodology called social network analysis to examine interconnections in godparentage data in Native communities in Illinois. Morrissey, "Kaskaskia Social Network: Kinship and Assimilation in the French-Illinois Borderlands, 1695–1735," *William & Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (2013): 103–46. I hope to apply a similar method in future work to tease out further interconnections and patterns in the California records.

I argue that in this time of little choice, a diversity of Native peoples made decisions of vital importance for themselves, their families, and their kin. Indigenous families and leaders responded to Spanish colonialism in diverse ways. Leaders from the rival Aptos and Uypi tribes vied for power and standing within the mission community, while the northern Quiroste, the largest and strongest of the local tribes, offered shelter and formed alliances with fugitives. This pan-tribal group attacked the mission two years after its founding. This Quiroste led rebellion, was one of very few direct attacks on a mission during this period. Indigenous leaders made their choices based on pre-existing political dynamics. This chapter ends in 1798, the last year of significant baptism of the local Awaswas speakers. In response to Quiroste led attack, new padres arrived with harsher, more aggressive methods of conversion. Within a few years, padres and soldiers had relocated the vast majority of local tribes to the mission.

Chapter 2 reveals the formation of hybrid political, social, gender, and economic roles within the expanding and diversifying mission community between 1798 and 1810. In these years, Mutsun speaking Ohlone tribes from the east joined the mission community. These tribes felt the impact of ecological, economic, and political disruption by Spanish colonial settlements and responded to these changes in a variety of ways. The Ausaima actively challenged the Spanish and Native youth who came of age during these years, many of whom became leaders within the mission. This was a period of increasing conflict, as many of these villagers challenged Spanish relocations, engaging in small-scale warfare, raids on cattle and livestock, and other acts of resistance. Those who joined the mission blended Spanish and Indigenous economic, spiritual, social, and political practices. They

became sacristans, pages, and godparents, building and expanding kinship relations through the latter. Some became musicians, weavers, masons, carpenters, laborers, farmers, shoemakers, tailors, or cooks. Indigenous leaders continued to exert influence, often through elected alcaldes. This chapter ends in 1810, when the last of the large groups of Mutsun people came to the mission.

The 1812 assassination of Padre Andrés Quintana, the only successful assassination of a padre in the northern California missions, is the subject of chapter 3. My research reveals that this incident was much more than an isolated moment of rebellion. At the center of this story is an Indigenous woman, a spiritual and political leader from Mutsun territory. She brought with her the strategy she learned from inland tribes. Through marriage, she joined with a kinship group of Awaswas-speaking Ohlone, some of the first families that had arrived in the earliest days of the mission. The assassination was a response to the specific cruelties of Quintana. This close examination of the families and tribes involved reveals the persistence of female leadership, patterns of interconnection between Indigenous communities both within neighboring missions and outside. Overall this chapter reveals how local Indigenous people developed and communicated strategies of resistance across the greater Bay Area.

Newly arrived Yokuts leaders filled the vacuum left after the arrest of the assassination conspirators. This transition and the impact of these Yokuts tribal people is the focus of Chapter 4. This chapter covers the years between 1810 and 1834, a time of Indigenous fugitives, horse thieves, cattle raiders, and military recovery excursions into Yokuts territories. California transitioned politically to Mexican governance during this time,

which led to consequences for the Mission and Indigenous people.⁵¹ Arriving Yokuts joined Awaswas and Mutsun speaking Ohlone, but carved out their own political and social roles within the mission. Some of these Yokuts worked closely with the padres, tracking down fugitives and supervising others. Indigenous people made choices regarding their interactions with the padres. And yet, they made these choices within a larger context of social, psychological, and corporal domination by the padres, as the succession of abusive padres continued.

Secularization and emancipation, which began in the early 1830s, is the focus of chapter 5. In Santa Cruz, despite Mexican policies abolishing racial categories and establishing Indigenous citizenship, rights for Indigenous people were slow in coming.⁵² It wasn't until 1839 that a few Indigenous members of the mission received small plots of lands. Following emancipation, two distinct communities formed in lands adjacent to the mission. The political shifts discussed in Chapter 4 helped shape the formation of two distinct Indigenous communities, as the Yokuts leaders and their kin received the potrero—

⁵¹ As such, this chapter is in dialogue with works that examine national identity formation in the Spanish Americas, like Andrés Reséndez, *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994); and Matthew O'Hara, *A Flock Divided: Race, Religion and Politics in Mexico, 1749–1857* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010). O'Hara argues that despite official overtures towards abolishing racial categories, "the colonial category of Indian continued to shape religious practice and community litigation in many Mexican parishes," 237. It is also in dialogue with Michael J. González, *This Small City Will Be a Mexican Paradise: Exploring the Origins of Mexican Culture in Los Angeles, 1821–1846* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005). González argues that Mexican Los Angeles defined themselves through warfare with their Indian neighbors, who they saw as inferior. The Mexican villagers in the Santa Cruz region did not follow this pattern, due in part to their more complex mixed-blood heritage.

⁵² Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930* (Duke University Press, 2007). Earle explores the ways that "Indian" and colonial ideas about them have been used in national memories and narratives, despite liberal policies to abolish the racial and social category.

the lands behind the mission that would in later years become known as the local reservation. The Sayanta man Geronimo Chuguit and his Awaswas speaking kin lived in the resource rich west side of Santa Cruz, the second community that emerged. The 1840s were a decade when some former mission residents gained small parcels of land, a limited degree of citizenship, and partial entry into the larger economic and social world of the local Californios.

Indigenous survival through the early American years is the focus of chapter 6. As California became an American state in 1850, Indigenous people first became a minority of the overall local population. As Santa Cruz grew into an industrial city, more and more people moved into the area, eclipsing the couple hundred Indigenous survivors. Under American political rule, the social category of Indian collapsed to envelope Californios and Indigenous people in one singular underclass, excluded from legal and human rights and targeted by lynchings and persecution. American policies in California focused on Indian removal and extermination, helping to foster an environment of terror for Indians throughout California. In the American years Indigenous politics became a politics of survival. In Santa Cruz, Native families responded to these threats with a variety of survival strategies—including passing as Mexican, relocation, arson, searching out nearby Native communities, and drawing on traditional spiritual songs, dances, and sweat lodges for healing and strength.

Ultimately, this dissertation offers new methodological approaches to the study of Native California, innovations that could similarly speak to studies of colonization, early nationalism, borderlands studies, and Indigenous studies. My research reveals a dynamic

Indigenous world that existed beyond the gaze of the missionaries, soldiers, and explorers who settled and colonized the region. Indigenous leaders and families negotiated new alliances and kinship networks, engaged in disputes or conflicts based on long-standing rivalries, and otherwise learned about and shared and engaged with other Indigenous peoples. This dynamic world of Indigenous politics and negotiation helped to shape the history and development of Santa Cruz as it grew into an American city. Despite the complex web of Indigenous politics that helped to shape this history, today this remains barely visible, most notably commemorated in town and street names such as Aptos, Zayante, and Soquel. Meanwhile, contemporary descendants of these Indigenous families remain on the peripheries of American society. My dissertation seeks to challenge this erasure by revealing this rich and important Indigenous history, overlooked for far too long. This is a story of the strength and resiliency of these families, who persevered and innovated in order to survive and carry on their traditions.

Chapter 1: “First were taken the children, and then the parents followed”

Homelands

The Uypi called their homeland Aulintak, known today as Santa Cruz, California.⁵³ By 1769, as Spanish exploration and settlement touched the northern reaches of Alta California, the mountainous coastal territories south of the San Francisco Peninsula were home to a number of Indigenous tribes, including the Aptos, Uypi, Sayanta, Chaloctaca, Cotoni, Achistaca, and Quiroste.⁵⁴ These lands had their own names and histories and were understood in terms of regional boundaries defined by hunting grounds, carefully tended grasslands and resources, village sites, and sacred spots. These were Indigenous territories onto which Spanish settlers imposed a colonial geography encompassing many independent tribes.⁵⁵

⁵³ The name Aulintak comes from two sources. The first mention appears in an interview with Mission Santa Cruz–born Lorenzo Asisara, in an 1890 interview with E.L. Williams, in Edward S. Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County* (San Francisco: Pacific Press Publishing, 1892), 45–48. Asisara mentions “Aulinta” as the name for Santa Cruz given by the Uypi. “Aulintac, the rancheria proper to the Mission” is recorded by ethnographer Alexander S. Taylor in his article on the Awaswas Ohlone language. See Taylor, *The Indianology of California, or, Fragmentary Notes, Selected and Original, on the Indian Tribes of the Countries Formerly Called Alta and Baja California, in Four Series of 150 Separate Numbers*, published in the *California Farmer* from 1860 to 1863 (San Francisco, 1860), 6. Taylor credits this name (along with others) to a currently missing letter from Friar Ramon Olbes to Governor Sola, in November 1819, “in reply to a circular from him, as to the native names, etc., of the Indians of Santa Cruz, and their rancherias.” It is also repeated as “Aulin-tak” by Alfred L. Kroeber, presumably taken from the Taylor records, in “Handbook of the Indians of California,” *Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin*, no. 78 (1925) : 465.

⁵⁴ These names describe larger political units, recorded by Franciscan padres in the baptismal, confirmation, marriage, and death records at the various regional missions, and as such are phonetic Spanish-language reconstructions of self-identified tribal names. The names of some villages are much harder to confirm, as the records rarely distinguish specific village affiliations.

⁵⁵ These “Spanish” settlers were comprised of a mix of Franciscan friars (typically born in Spain and trained at the College of San Fernando in Mexico City), soldiers, servants, and guides—typically previously baptized Indigenous peoples from the Baja California missions.

The Spanish referred to the up to fifty autonomous tribes collectively as the Costanoan, a label encompassing a diversity of peoples who inhabited the area from the northern tip of the peninsula down to Big Sur, and from the Diablo range south to the edge of the Salinas Valley on the eastern side. Presently, they are more commonly collectively known as the Ohlone.⁵⁶ While both colonizers and Indigenous peoples inhabited the same physical space, the colonizing perspective, informed by the long Spanish history of colonial relations throughout the hemisphere, failed to recognize the existing Indigenous landscape. This chapter first examines the Indigenous precontact landscape of this region, then proceeds to trace the early stages of social, political, environmental, and psychological disruption with the imposition of Spanish ideals, from settlement in 1770 up until 1797.

At that point the vast majority of tribal members had received baptisms and relocated to form new communities on the lands surrounding Mission Santa Cruz.⁵⁷ A long history of Indigenous politics informed the decisions of individuals and families, who navigated this time of rapid change in a variety of ways. Some, like the Aptos and Uypi

⁵⁶ The history of this naming has been explored in depth by Randall Milliken. Milliken, Laurence H. Shoup, and Beverly R. Ortiz, *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and Their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today* (San Francisco: National Park Service, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, 2009), 42–43. In sum, the name Ohlone has two possible sources. One possibility is that the name is taken from the coastal tribe living just north of the Quiroste, between modern San Francisco and Half Moon Bay, whose name was written by the Spanish as *Oljon*. The other possibility is that the name is a variant of the Sierra Miwok word indicating the direction west—*O’lo’no wit*. The shared linguistic roots of Ohlone and Miwok suggest that the tribal name for the Oljon, who lived on the westerly edge of the bay, may arise from the same root. The name Ohlone has come to be used by many contemporary Indigenous communities, including the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band of Ohlone Indians, the Muwekma Ohlone, and the Costanoan Rumsen Ohlone Tribe, for a few examples. Malcolm Margolin’s classic overview of Ohlone pre-contact culture has helped to popularize the Ohlone name, *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* (Heyday, 1978).

⁵⁷ James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004). Sandos argues that “accepting the ritual of Baptism after eight to thirty days of rote recitation of Christian prayers did not mean Indians expelled other beliefs from their hearts and heads,” xv. Sandos points out that by conflating baptism with conversion, the missionaries interpreted behavior that violated Catholic doctrine as sinful.

chiefs, competed for political and social standing within the forming mission community, trying their best to preserve power in their new situations. Others, such as the Quiroste leader Charquin, responded to Spanish colonialism through organized rebellion by attacking the newly founded mission.

For Indigenous Californians, the missionization process developed in a manner unique to each region. The factors that shaped the eventual pattern of missionization at each mission site include a combination of local environment, available resources, the specific Franciscan missionaries and colonizers involved, as well as the varied responses of local Indigenous communities. Furthermore, through colonial disruption and violence, tribes, families, and kin often became divided between mission communities. But these mission communities did not develop in complete isolation from each other. As a result, it is necessary to examine the larger regional intersectionality between the developing mission communities in order to understand the complex Indigenous communities that developed at Mission Santa Cruz.

This chapter serves as a case study of this specific moment of Spanish colonialism by examining the ways in which friars, settlers, soldiers, servants, and translators sought to impose Spanish hegemonic control over the people who lived in this region. They did so not only through changes to Indigenous names and geographies, but also by imposing Spanish Catholic colonial concepts onto existing Indigenous values. The missionaries imposed their own cultural understandings of politics, religion, family, gender, work, labor, race, and social hierarchy. In turn, the chapter examines the diversity of ways in which Indigenous peoples navigated their survival in this rapidly shifting landscape.

The lands where the Spanish built their new settlements were sites of existing Indigenous communities with deep ancestral ties to their own lands. These independent Indigenous nations had their own political and cultural autonomy, rooted in the particular ecologies of their territories. Though autonomous, they shared finely interwoven cultural perspectives and epistemologies with other Indigenous communities through trade, warfare, and kinship interrelations. While Spanish settlement surely disrupted Indigenous lives, this diverse social, political, and psychological habitus continued to inform the Indigenous peoples that made up the vast majority of this region’s population through the latter part of the 18th century.⁵⁸

The permanent Spanish settlement that began in 1770 resulted in a rapidly changing environment for Indigenous peoples, in what has been characterized as “a time of little choice.”⁵⁹ Spanish missionaries, soldiers, settlers, and servants lived in a world dominated by Catholic mythology—where the natural world was the stage for a struggle between God and the Devil.⁶⁰ From the missionaries’ perspective, all non-Catholic forms of practice served the interest of the Devil, and this belief informed the administrative structure and practice of

⁵⁸ Robert F. Heizer, *The Destruction of California Indians: A Collection of Documents from the Period 1847 to 1865 in Which Are Described Some of the Things That Happened to Some of the Indians of California* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), Robert H. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687–1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), and Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988). The dramatic demographic collapse of Indigenous Californians after relocation to the Spanish missions has been the focus of research since the 1940s, beginning with Heizer. The losses at Mission Santa Cruz are specifically explored by Jackson, who concludes, “The missions can be compared to death camps.” “Disease and Demographic Patterns at Santa Cruz Mission, Alta California,” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 5, nos. 1–2 (1983): 40. Under American occupation following 1848, the attacks on Indigenous peoples increased, as examined by Brendan C. Lindsay, *Murder State: California’s Native American Genocide, 1846–1873* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012).

⁵⁹ Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1995).

⁶⁰ Many of the early settlers were of mixed heritage themselves—mestizos, mulattos, and indios.

the missions as well as interactions with Indigenous peoples. Spanish society drew lines between *gente de razón* (people of reason) and *gente sin razón* (people without reason), the latter being the domain of the “barbarous” Indigenous people.⁶¹ The acquisition of Spanish language, dress, customs, and labor practices signified progress and was the intended goal of those, like the padres, who “looked after” local peoples.

These padres saw themselves as parental figures to the adult infants whom they baptized and initiated into Spanish labor practices. Spanish authorities imposed new social categories, differentiating between baptized (*neofito*) and unbaptized (gentile or pagan).⁶² This categorization extended to the term “Indian” itself, which the Spanish imposed unilaterally on all peoples of the Americas.⁶³ The fictional term “Indian” had more to do with imposing a social category, excluded from the rights of non-Indian citizens, than any ethnic distinction. For many settlers, the move north represented a chance to transcend these distinctions in their homelands, an opportunity for upward social mobility, which would

⁶¹ For a look at the racial system of the Spanish (*sistema de castas*), see María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008). On colonial relations on the Spanish frontiers, see Cynthia Radding Murrieta, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700–1850* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1997). For an overview of the changing categories extending into the Mexican years, see Gloria E. Miranda, “Racial and Cultural Dimensions of ‘Gente de Razón’ Status in Spanish and Mexican California,” *Southern California Quarterly* 70, no. 3 (1988): 265—278.

⁶² Lisbeth Haas, *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2014), 5. Haas defined the condition of *neófia* as “a condition of unfreedom, it involved being renamed and the new name inscribed on the baptismal and census roles; unable to leave the mission without permission; required to work and live under mission regulations; and subject to the severe discipline of the missionary and guards.” This applies equally to baptized members of Mission Santa Cruz.

⁶³ For example, in later years Spanish records refer to the Aleutian seal hunters that Russians brought southward as “Russian Indians” and the Nuu-chah-nulth people of Vancouver Island, a number of whom English and Spanish colonizers brought to the San Francisco area in the 1790s, as “Indians.”

allow them to shed their inferior racial status and finally gain rights as Spanish citizens.⁶⁴ Informed by Spanish rules, these settlers failed to recognize the existing society, with its own conceptions of family, kin, labor, religion, and history.

For Indigenous peoples, this was a time of tough decisions in a world undergoing radical reorganization. The Quiroste, the largest and most powerful local tribe, welcomed and fed Spanish explorers in 1769. A mere twenty-five years later, Quiroste members led a pan-tribal movement in an attack on the recently established Mission Santa Cruz. By 1797 the vast majority of tribal members had been baptized and relocated to lands surrounding the mission. A combination of push-and-pull factors led to this rapid geographical and cultural change, including Spanish enticement and gifting, Indigenous peoples vying for newly forming political powers, hunger caused by environmental reorganization, and aggressive proselytizing by the Spanish. Yet Indigenous response to these changes did vary, as some challenged Spanish imposition in ways ranging from subtle resistance to outright rebellion, while others adapted and learned to navigate this new social order. The present chapter will explore this changing world and the variety of survival strategies employed by the local Indigenous peoples.

Precontact Indigenous Societies

The peoples living in the mountainous coastal regions existed as independent tribes and polities, with their own political and social structures. At the same time, these tribes shared cultural, political, spiritual, and ecological worlds that were interconnected with

⁶⁴ Barbara L. Voss, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). Voss has explored the forging of new racial identities on this northern outpost of Spanish colonial society, which led to the creation of a new Californio culture.

neighboring tribes through long-standing relations of trade, intermarriage, and occasional boundary disputes. In this study, I focus on the tribes living in the coastal mountain range now known as the Santa Cruz Mountains, beginning south of the San Francisco Peninsula and continuing southward to the Pajaro Valley, and bounded on the east by the Santa Clara Valley. The relative isolation of this mountainous coastal region provides an excellent case study of the historical process of Spanish colonization. Seven distinct tribes lived within the mountain range (moving south to north): the Aptos, Uypi, Cotoni, Sayanta, Achistaca, Chaloctaca, and Quiroste (see figure 1.1).⁶⁵ While these tribes appear to have had their own regional dialects, they shared a larger branch of the Ohlonean linguistic family called Awaswas.⁶⁶ Some have argued that speakers utilized linguistic differences to mark sociocultural borders, but I agree with those who understand Native Californians as inhabiting multilingual regions interconnected through shared symbols and rituals, as well as monetary, trade, and complex kinship relationships.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ These tribes, with the exception of the Quiroste, whom we will discuss later, were situated in the center of the Spanish settlement of Mission Santa Cruz, where the vast majority of tribal members were baptized.

⁶⁶ Other Ohlonean dialects include Ramaytush of the San Francisco Peninsula, Karkin of the North Bay, Chocheño of the East Bay, Tamyen of Santa Clara Valley, Mutsun of San Juan Bautista, and Rumsen of Monterey. Juliette Blevins and Victor Golla make the further distinction that since the linguistic information comes from mission or postmission times, these dialect labels (Chocheño, Awaswas, etc.) should be understood as “referring to a mix of regional varieties brought together at specific missions rather than the aboriginal dialect pattern.” “A New Mission Indian Manuscript from the San Francisco Bay Area,” *Boletín: The Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* 22 (2005): 36. Historically, the linguistic family has been known as the Costanoan language family, a term used by Kroeber. The use of Ohlonean traces back to Jack Forbes, who adjusted the term “Ohlonean” used by ethnographer C. Hart Merriam. See Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada* (Healdsburg, Calif.: Naturegraph Publishers, 1969), 184.

⁶⁷ Richard Levy, “Costanoan,” ed. Robert F. Heizer, *Handbook of North American Indians: California* 9 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978). Levy’s conclusions are challenged by Les W. Field and Alan Leventhal, “‘What Must It Have Been Like!': Critical Considerations of Precontact Ohlone Cosmology as Interpreted through Central California Ethnohistory.” *Wicazo Sa Review* 18, no. 2 (2003): 103.

This shared cultural world connected with a much larger Indigenous California, where patterns of trade and communication characterized linguistically diverse societies that shared a variety of resources and practices, spiritual and physical, tracing back over thousands of years. Archaeological studies over the past thirty years have added much to our understanding of this deep history.⁶⁸ New movements in archaeology have approached their studies from a perspective of persistence, recognizing that individuals and families have drawn upon existing yet dynamic cultural values to navigate times of disruption and change.⁶⁹ Even more recently, some archaeologists have begun working in collaboration with Ohlone descendants and tribal members to ensure that research is undertaken respectfully and that information gained can help restore Indigenous knowledge.⁷⁰

Settlement in the area has been documented as far back as 10,000 years, possibly as early as 13,000 years ago.⁷¹ Evidence of widespread trade relations throughout and beyond

⁶⁸ Mark G. Hylkema, “Tidal Marsh, Oak Woodlands, and Cultural Florescence in the Southern San Francisco Bay Region,” in *Catalysts to Complexity: Late Holocene Societies of the California Coast*, Perspectives in California Archaeology, ed. Jon Erlandson, Terry L. Jones, and Jeanne E. Arnold (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, 2002), 250. While a few studies along the coast occurred earlier, beginning with digs at SMA-22 in 1915 by researchers at the University of California, Berkeley, the vast majority of this work began in the 1970s. Furthermore, it wasn’t until 1991 that the first study appeared that recognized cultural patterns distinguishing the southern coastal region from other larger Ohlone sites.

⁶⁹ Lee M. Panich, “Archaeologies of Persistence: Reconsidering the Legacies of Colonialism in Native North America,” *American Antiquity* 78 (2013): 105–22. Panich calls this approach the “archaeology of persistence,” utilizing persistence as an analytic lens.

⁷⁰ The best example of this is in the recent collaboration between Amah Mutsun tribal members and an archaeological team headed by Kent G. Lightfoot, resulting in an exploration of traditional land management practices of the Quiroste tribe, collected in *California Archaeology* 5, no. 2, 2013.

⁷¹ Terry L. Jones and K.A. Klar, *California Prehistory: Colonization, Culture, and Complexity* (New York: Altamira, 2007), 125. Archaeological excavations from the Scotts Valley site, SCR-177, suggest these earlier dates. It is generally believed that sites of earlier habitation have been washed away by stream action or submerged on the continental shelf. See Jeffrey Rosenthal and Jack Meyer, *Landscape Evolution and the Archaeological Record: A Geoarchaeological Study of the Southern Santa Clara Valley and Surrounding Regions* (Davis, CA: Center for Archaeological Research, Dept. of Anthropology, University of California, Davis, 2004), 1.

California goes back thousands of years. Abalone and Olivella shells, which grew in abundance, were valuable export resources and used as monetary units for commerce throughout Indigenous California.⁷² These rich resources allowed for the importation of goods like obsidian, which were found farther inland. A major cultural shift appears in the archaeological record beginning around AD 1000, with the arrival of notched line sinkers and circular shell fishhooks, bows and arrows, flanged steatite pipes, shaped stone “flower-pot” mortars, new Olivella shell bead types, and “banjo” effigy ornaments signifying the development of the “Kuksu” secret society.⁷³

The long history of the people of this region bespeaks deep ancestral roots and the resulting knowledge and intimacy with the local environment. Local people shaped cultural practices around the environment and the availability of local resources. The Santa Cruz Mountains region consists of a mix of ecological zones: coastal terraces that rise upward into the heavily forested mountain range, river drainages and narrow river valleys with steep slopes and ridges, along with upland meadows on open flats along mountain slopes and crests (see figure 1.2). The coast consisted of a mix of beach heads alongside river drainages, as well as a number of tule-filled marshes and wetland estuaries. The tule was used for homes and village structures, shelters, and mats.⁷⁴ Extended family tribal units rotated seasonally between semipermanent village sites, following seasonal availability of

⁷² Hylkema, “Tidal Marsh, Oak Woodlands, and Cultural Florescence,” 235, 390–91. Many of the coastal archaeological sites served as collection sites that turned into shell mounds after generations of repeated use.

⁷³ Milliken, Shoup, and Ortiz, “Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula,” 73. The “banjo” ornaments and the Kuksu society will be talked about later. For information regarding the recovery of the ornaments, see Gary S. Breschini and Trudy Haversat, “Archaeological Data Recovery at Ca-Scr-44, at the Site of the Lakeview Middle School, Watsonville, Santa Cruz County, California,” *Archives of California Prehistory* (Salinas, CA: Coyote Press, 2000).

⁷⁴ Peninsula tribes like the Yelamu used tule-reed boats, though none were observed along this coast.

resources. Grass-covered terraces provided a large variety of plants and resources for food, basketry, and clothing, while the dense forests of redwoods, oaks, and Douglas fir provided hunting grounds and acorns, which were an essential part of the regional diet. The temperate weather allowed for minimal clothing; Ohlone men tended to go without clothing, while women wore grass skirts. Sometimes chiefs wore rabbit-skin capes to signify status. Unlike Ohlone tribes in the Santa Clara and San Francisco Bay area who lived in larger flat plains that allowed for greater stability and permanent village sites, mountain and coastal tribes along this region developed their own mix of foraging and collecting strategies, adjusted to best utilize available resources.⁷⁵

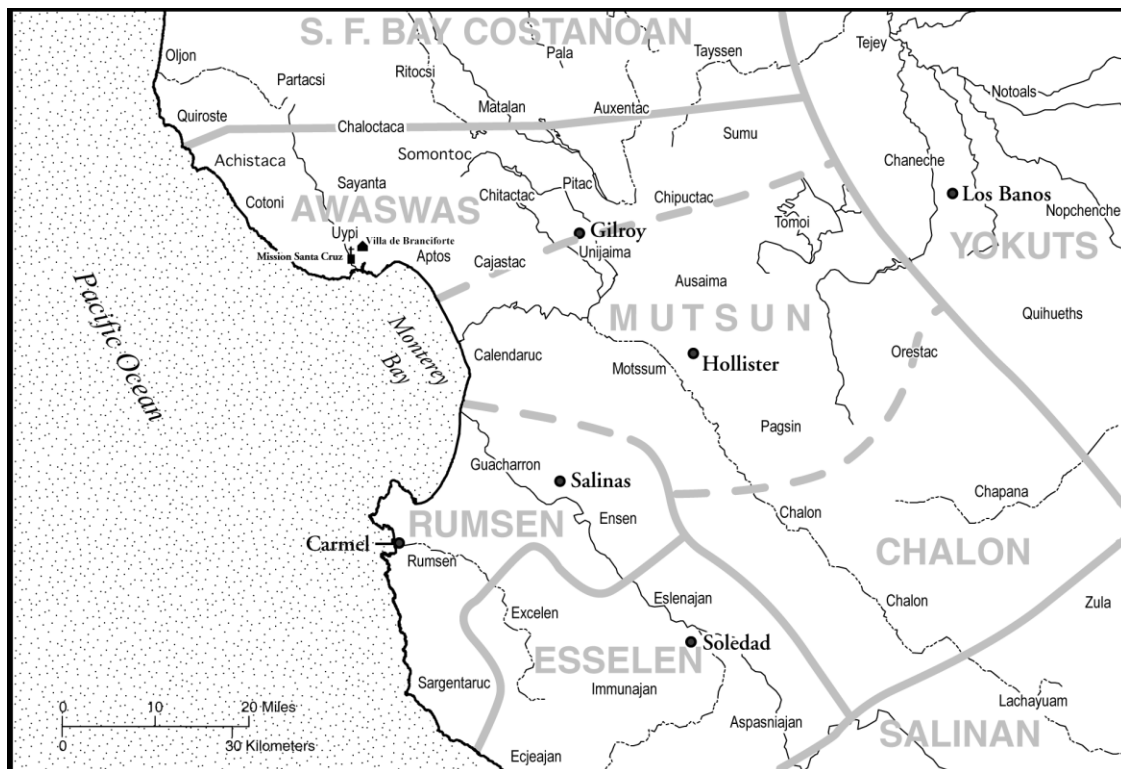


Figure 1.1: Indigenous tribal territories, bounded by linguistic groupings

⁷⁵ See Mark G. Hylkema, “Prehistoric Native American Adaptations Along the Central California Coast of San Mateo and Santa Cruz Counties” (master’s thesis, San Jose State University, 1991), 25.

These dense forested lands, with their proximity to the coast, were rich in natural resources. Yet this abundance was not the by-product of luck and circumstance, despite the Spanish perceptions to the contrary. The Indigenous peoples of this area used complex strategies of land management that had been developed and perfected over thousands of years.⁷⁶ These abundant lands and local fauna were carefully managed by a process of seed harvesting, pruning, transplanting, weeding, coppicing, and, perhaps most importantly, controlled burning.⁷⁷ Through periodic burns, tribes cleared brush under trees and expanded meadows and fields. Many plants, like the California hazelnut, required this type of burning in order to flourish and were carefully harvested by controlled burns.⁷⁸ These cleared burns in turn attracted larger animals, such as the black-tailed deer, which were regularly hunted.⁷⁹ Burning broke down dry vegetation and increased nutrients in the soil, promoting grazing for deer, elk, and antelope, while burning under oak trees eliminated

⁷⁶ Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). Anderson discusses in depth the numerous land management techniques utilized by Native Californians, challenging Spanish and Anglo perceptions of Indigenous labor.

⁷⁷ Burning was so commonplace throughout Indigenous California that Spanish ships frequently commented about the existence or absence of smoke and fires as evidence of Indian presence.

⁷⁸ Paul V.A. Fine, Tracy Misiewicz, Andreas S. Chavez, and Rob Q. Cuthrell, “Population Genetic Structure of California Hazelnut, an Important Food Source for People in Quiroste Valley in the Late Holocene,” *California Archaeology* 5 (2013): 353–70. Though the California hazelnut (*Corylus cornuta* var. *californica*) is currently absent from Quiroste Valley, the site of large archaeological remains of these hazelnuts, this study shows that hazelnuts thrive in high-fire regimes as the result of fire management practices.

⁷⁹ Deborah A. Jones and William R. Hildebrandt, *Archaeological Test Excavation at Sand Hill Bluff: Portions of Pre-historic Site CA-SCR-7, Santa Cruz County, California* (Report on file, Northwest Information Center, California Archaeological Site Inventory, Dpt. of Anthropology, Sonoma State University: Rohnert Park, CA, 1990).

insects and infestations of acorns.⁸⁰ Fire was also used for hunting, as Ohlone tribes used fire communally to drive rabbits into traps and nets where they were killed with clubs.⁸¹

Some of the most important resources were found in the acorns and grass seeds. While acorns were used as a primary source of carbohydrates, grasses, sedges, rushes, and forbs were carefully groomed not only for crucial seeds and foodstuffs, but also as materials for basket making. Baskets were central to life, as they were used for winnowing, cooking, and serving food; for carrying berries, acorns, and other resources; and for leaching, seed beating, cradles, hats, and water bottles.⁸² Oak woodlands in particular provided thermal cover, escape, dens, nests, and foraging spots to a large number of animals and birds. Animals that were hunted regularly included jackrabbit, cottontail, kangaroo rat, ground squirrel, deer, antelope, quail, and badger, while waterfowl such as the canvasback duck, common merganser, and blue-winged teal were part of their diet. They were also known to eat dog, wildcat, skunk, raccoon, tree squirrel, mole, hawk, dove, mud hen, snake, lizard, and tortoise.⁸³ Also sharing the terrain were bears, coyotes, and mountain lions.

⁸⁰ Diane Gifford-Gonzalez and Francine Marshall, “Analysis of the Archaeological Assemblage from Ca-Scr-35, Santa Cruz County, California,” *Archives of California Prehistory* (Salinas, CA: Coyote Press, 1984), 16.

⁸¹ John P. Harrington, *Central California Coast*, Anthropological Records 7:1, Culture Element Distributions: XIX Central California Coast (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1942), 15. This information is reported by Harrington, in his Culture Element Distribution (CED) interviews of Northern and Southern Ohlone in the 1930s.

⁸² Ralph C. Shanks, *Indian Baskets of Central California: Art, Culture, and History: Native American Basketry from San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay North to Mendocino and East to the Sierras*, ed. Lisa Woo Shanks (Novato, CA: Costaño Books in association with Miwok Archeological Preserve of Marin, 2006), 34–35.

⁸³ Harrington, *Central California Coast*, 7. His notes indicate that only Southern Ohlone ate raccoon; though his informant is not named, he cites his informants as residents of Missions San Juan Bautista and Soledad.

Access to the ocean provided a number of specialized resources that were utilized in trade with inland tribes. Coastal tribes regularly gathered offshore vegetal resources such as kelp, seaweed, and sea palm, which were either roasted for immediate consumption or dried and stored.⁸⁴ Shells from mussels, barnacles, limpets, chitons, abalone, and clams were used for ceremonial purposes and traded to inland tribes; they have been found in archaeological digs throughout the greater Bay Area. Harbor seals, northern elephant seals, sea lions, and numerous fish provided sources of protein and fat. They caught fish by day – and by bonfire at night—using spear points and even poison from soaproot.⁸⁵

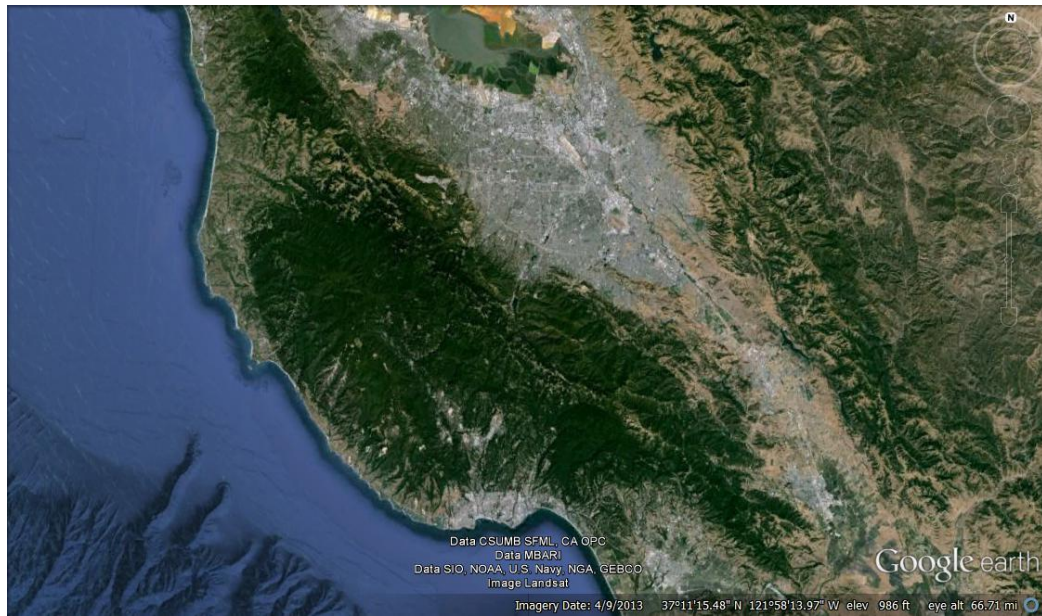


Figure 1.2: Contemporary satellite view of region, showing forested areas

While independent Ohlone tribes were divided along geographic regions, a larger social network connected the various tribes through kinship, trade, warfare, and spiritual communities. Within the tribes themselves, independent extended family networks existed

⁸⁴ Jones and Hildebrandt, *Archaeological Excavation*.

⁸⁵ Barbara R. Bocek, “Ethnobotany of Costanoan Indians, California, Based on Collections by John P. Harrington,” *Economic Botany*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Apr–Jun., 1984), 240–55.

as interconnected villages. Ohlone peoples, like many Indigenous Americans, understood their own conceptions of family and social relations, commonly referred to by anthropologists as kinship networks. The concept of kinship involved a network of familial ties that bound together smaller groups within larger intertribal networks. Neighboring tribes were bound together through intermarriages, shared spiritual practices, and trade. Warfare between neighbors was common, typically fought over boundaries, resources, or marriage partners, which included a pattern of “wife stealing.”⁸⁶ Tribes rich in resources, such as the Quiroste of Año Nuevo, who had access to shells used as currency as well as cliff rock used for arrows, likely needed their larger numbers to defend these resources. Cinnabar mines along the east side of the Santa Cruz Mountains provided red paint used ceremonially throughout the area, and stories of confrontations over these mines persisted into the 1840s.⁸⁷ The phenomenon of “wife stealing” reflected a practice of exogamy, where a large number of “marriages” took place between members of neighboring tribes, which extended familial connections across these lines.

Despite the existence of this wife-stealing phenomenon, women held a variety of positions of power within society. Women leaders led important dances and rituals.⁸⁸ Relationships were fluid, as emphasis was on the rearing of children rather than the

⁸⁶ Wife stealing was commonly reported by the Spanish. To what extent this is a Spanish interpretation of polygamy is hard to say for certain, though numerous reports suggest that intertribal warfare was fought over incidences of wife stealing. For example, Governor Pedro Fages gave instructions on how to deal with issues of stolen women among newly baptized and pagan Indians. See Governor Fages to Macario Castro, January 2, 1790, Bancroft Library (hereafter referred to as BL), Provincial State Records, C-A 44, 27–29.

⁸⁷ Alexander Taylor, *Indianology of California*, 6. In his 1850s newspaper reports, Taylor suggested that “Santa Clara Indians” had protected these resources, possibly from Yokuts people from the interior San Joaquin Valley. It is possible that this is a reference to the Somontoc, who likely held the lands near the mines and were designated as being “Santa Clara” in the Santa Cruz baptismal registry.

⁸⁸ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 22.

preservation of a monogamous relationship.⁸⁹ Polygamy was common, especially among elites, as prominent figures, male and female, often had multiple partners.⁹⁰ Gender was further complicated by the existence of third-gender roles, which included performing specialized tasks within Indigenous society.⁹¹ Women could also fulfill roles of healer or shaman. Chieftdom was hereditary, typically handed down to sons, though if no son was available then sisters or daughters could become chiefs.

⁸⁹ Maynard Geiger and Clement W. Meighan in 1976, in *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813–1815* (Santa Barbara, CA: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1976). Notes on “marriage” are recorded in the responses to a questionnaire given to California missionaries between 1813 and 1815, commonly known as *Preguntas y Respuestas*. The originals of these are held mostly at the Santa Bárbara Mission Archive Library (hereafter referred to as SBMAL), though the Santa Cruz books are at the Monterey Archdiocese archives. In response to question 14 about marriages, the San Juan Bautista padres note, “they looked more to the procreation of children than to the stability of the marriage bond,” 68.

⁹⁰ Typically scholars have recognized male chiefs as holding multiple wives, but a study of family patterns found in the baptismal records shows examples of women who also had multiple partners and children from multiple male partners. For example, at Mission Santa Cruz, Paxit (a Cotoni woman baptized as Maria Severa), Santa Cruz Baptismal # (hereafter referred to as SCZB#) 290, had five children with three different men from three different local tribes—SCZB#461 (Sayanta), SCZB#311 (Cotoni), and SCZB#299 (Achistaca). In Paxit’s case, this is more than serial marriage, as she had multiple children with one partner (Sipi, SCZB# 461) before and after having a child with another (Anastasio, SCZB#311). This pattern of polygamy, the practice of multiple spouses for men and women as opposed to polygyny (multiple wives for men) within Santa Cruz mountain tribes, as well as the theme of “wife stealing,” has been explored by Chester King, “Central Ohlone Ethnohistory,” in *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Region*, ed. Lowell John Bean (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1994). In this study, I am choosing to prioritize Indigenous names, when available. Henceforth, when giving names, I will give Indigenous names first, and add Spanish baptismal names in parentheses at the first mention of the person. Thereafter I will use the native name. Native names were typically in baptismal records and persist in a variety of ways—sometimes kept as surnames, which could be handed down to offspring and listed in a number of census documents. In the case where no native name is recorded, I will use the Spanish name alone.

⁹¹ Deborah A. Miranda, “Extermination of the *Joyas*: Gendercide in Spanish California,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16, No. 1–2 (2010): 253–84. The existence of these third-gender peoples in native California is examined in an excellent article by Miranda (Ohlone–Costanoan Esselen Nation, Chumash). Miranda finds examples, including one at Mission Santa Clara, where Spanish authorities became confused when encountering a native man in women’s clothing. After an unsuccessful attempt by Spanish officials to force them to identify as male, this person returned to village life rather than face life in the mission re-gendered as a man. Sandos remarks about similar encounters in Chumash territory, *Converting California*, 23–6.

Ohlone society tended towards a relative egalitarianism within tribal communities; while labor was divided along gendered lines, social status was not strictly divided. Chiefs exercised power during warfare but were otherwise limited. In times of change, new chiefs required community approval. The role of the chief was to provide food for visitors and those who were without food, as well as providing property for ceremonies and giving approval for these ceremonies. Chiefs were not the only ones who held social prestige; Ohlone tribes had orators who held important roles, though sometimes the same person performed both roles. These orators were likely multilingual, serving as diplomats negotiating trade and commerce with neighboring tribes, as well as greeting incoming foreigners.⁹²

The people of this region lived within an ideology and cosmology that was embodied in the lands they called home. Individuals belonged to, and drew meaning from, the specific places in which they lived.⁹³ While each independent tribe had its own narratives, the Ohlone collectively espoused animism, a spiritual system that prevailed throughout Indigenous California. As such, they believed that all animate and inanimate objects have spirits that could be malevolent or benevolent.⁹⁴ People were careful to make gifts at power spots, as “spirits of places and objects could cause sickness or environmental problems if they were not honored by correct ritual means.”⁹⁵ Spanish explorers frequently

⁹² Harrington, *Central California Coast*, 33–34.

⁹³ This connection between land and identity is found throughout Indigenous societies. Keith H. Basso examines connections between geography and Indigenous categories of history and knowledge. See *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

⁹⁴ Barbara Lee Jones, “Mythic Implications of Faunal Assemblages from Three Ohlone Sites” (master’s thesis, San Francisco State University, 2010), 27.

⁹⁵ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 50–51.

encountered religious shrines throughout the land. Feathered objects, poles, and food were left as offerings.⁹⁶ Dreams were an important avenue for connecting with the spirit world, where one could connect with their dream helpers who offered songs and talismans for protection or warning.⁹⁷ Padres later noted that “their principal superstition is their extremely obstinate belief in everything they dream about to such an extent that it is impossible to convince them of the unreality of their dream content.”⁹⁸

Surviving narratives reveal a diversity of stories found among the nearly fifty independent Ohlone communities.⁹⁹ While few narratives from Santa Cruz mountain people persist in the public domain, those that do show much in common with other California tribes. There are stories of creation, navigation of space, and cultural practice revolving around local geographical markers and influences.¹⁰⁰ These narratives centered around animal spirits—Coyote, Snake, Bear, Eagle, or others—and taught lessons about morality

⁹⁶ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 58–59. Milliken reports on a number of these, as well as the common Spanish response of burning them. This stood in contrast with the Native response to Spanish religious items. For example, when Pedro Font encountered cross poles left by Father Palóu from the previous year at Llagas Creek in Santa Clara Valley, local natives had already decorated the Spanish Catholic poles with feathers and offerings and left them protected.

⁹⁷ Richard B. Applegate, *Atishwin: The Dream Helper in South-Central California* (Ballena Press Anthropological Papers. Socorro, N.M.: Ballena Press, 1978). Applegate synthesized information from Yokuts, Chumash, and Salinan sources. Given the similarities and overlap of many spiritual practices among Indigenous Californians, it is likely that Ohlone had similar conceptions of dream helpers.

⁹⁸ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 51.

⁹⁹ I use the term “narrative” rather than “myth” or “folklore,” following Beverly R. Ortiz, who points out that the latter are generally associated with quaint unbelievable stories. Instead, I recognize these as “sacred narratives,” serving social purpose in communicating life lessons. See her excellent analysis of these differences in Ortiz, “Chocheño and Rumsen Narratives: A Comparison,” in Bean, *Ohlone Past and Present*, 100.

¹⁰⁰ The surviving narratives have been collected from the various salvage ethnographic interviews of the 1920s and 1930s by Linda Yamane (Rumsen). See Yamane, *When the World Ended; How Hummingbird Got Fire; How People Were Made: Rumsen Ohlone Stories* (Berkeley, CA: Oyate, 1995). However, as many of these narratives, dances, songs, and ceremonies tended to be private family knowledge, these were rarely performed in public and, as such, remain outside of the public archive. This knowledge remains within the oral histories of descendants.

and history as rooted in geographic space. Spiritual practices were plural, as numerous traditions were practiced, including the Kuksu, or “big head,” tradition. Kuksu ceremonies involved gatherings of healers and elders from a variety of neighboring tribes at sacred sites. The Kuksu ceremony was an elaborate production of songs and dance, involving some dancers dressing in “big head” costumes of the Kuksu and other spirits.¹⁰¹

Ohlone tribes also had members who served as doctors, healers, or shamans.¹⁰² They used herbs and medicine, controlled the rain and weather, could foretell the future, mediated between the human and spirit worlds, and brought people back to life. The grizzly bear shaman, a special class, could take the shape of bears and possess the powers of the bear, and often wore bear skin and used bear claws or teeth.¹⁰³ The rattlesnake shaman could cure or prevent rattlesnake bites and could sense if somebody nearby had killed a rattlesnake.¹⁰⁴ The role of the shaman included healing, foretelling the future, finding lost objects, removing contamination, and sharing games. As mediators between the human and spirit worlds, they could design and distribute amulets or charmstones to placate spirits. Storytelling and the preservation of tribal knowledge and history could be performed by either an orator or storyteller, or by a shaman. Illness was diagnosed and healed through song or dance, or through herbs. Unsuccessful shamans could be killed for failing to heal.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Kent G. Lightfoot and William S. Simmons, “Culture Contact in Protohistoric California: Social Contexts of Native and European Encounters,” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 20 (1998): 149.

¹⁰² The word “shaman” is an English translation of the Tungus word *šamán*, originating from Siberia. Though the word has historically been used loosely to tie together any number of spiritual practitioners, I will use it here for lack of better options, as terms such as ‘healer’ and ‘doctor’ do not encompass the totality of the roles these people played within their communities.

¹⁰³ Jones, “Mythic Implications,” 34.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁰⁵ Harrington, *Central California Coast*, 39–40.

Ohlone commonly utilized sweat lodges to purify and heal, as well as for religious ceremony.¹⁰⁶

Animals were a central part of Ohlone cosmology, as family units were typically aligned with specific animals, forming specific hereditary clans.¹⁰⁷ Animals served as dream helpers, totem animals, and teachers from stories and shared narratives, as well as distinguishing clans and moieties.¹⁰⁸ Creation narratives involved Coyote, Eagle, and Hummingbird. Many local Ohlone tribes have creation stories that recall flooding and group survival atop sacred mountains. For Ohlone with territories from modern Santa Cruz to the south, Mount Umunhum was the sacred mountain, while northern Ohlone spoke of Tuyshtak.¹⁰⁹ Tools and ceremonial regalia were made from animal remains or fashioned in shapes or representations of animals. Ohlone prayed to animals in their ceremonial dances and in preparation for hunting.¹¹⁰ Local narratives reflected the distinctive coastal and

¹⁰⁶ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 77–78. These lodges were called *tupentak* by Chocheño speakers, though they were commonly referred to by the Spanish as *Temazcals*, the Nahuatl word for “house of heat.” These lodges are discussed in the *Preguntas y Respuestas*. From the Mission San Carlos response to question 15, relating to traditional medicine: “The men have the daily custom of entering an underground oven known as the *temescal*. A fire is built within and when the oven has become sufficiently heated the men enter undressed. They perspire so freely that upon coming out they give the appearance of having bathed. It is our experience that this is very beneficial for them. For a time the attempt was made to stop this practice but as a result skin diseases, boils, and other ailments appeared among the men. When they betook themselves of the *temescal* again scarcely a man was found afflicted with the itch, a disease common to the women and children who do not make use of such baths”. The padres at Santa Cruz similarly responded, “what is quite common use among them is the sweat house which is built in the earth. A great fire is built therein and they sweat extremely much.”

¹⁰⁷ Harrington, *Central California Coast*, 32.

¹⁰⁸ Jones, “Mythic Implications,” 53.

¹⁰⁹ Tuyshtak is called Mount Diablo today. The name Tuyshtak was in common use by east bay Chocheño speakers. Mount Umunhum (the name means ‘resting place of the hummingbirds’) from 1958 to 1980 was the site of the Almaden Air Force Station. The summit is currently closed to the public.

¹¹⁰ Jones, “Mythic Implications,” 54–55.

redwood makeup of this region, embedding stories and knowledge formed over thousands of years through an intimate understanding of landscape and territory.¹¹¹

Identity was understood on multiple levels, as a plurality. Tribal names reflected names for the geographic region, while families or kinship groups sometimes identified by village site.¹¹² These larger kinship networks divided tribal identification into clans, which identified hereditarily with specific animals as totems, such as deer, fox, bear, crow, rabbit, skunk, owl, or elk.¹¹³ These totem affiliations reflected social, economic, and ritual status, and entailed ritual responsibilities for clan members, who were relied upon to lead ceremonies associated with their animal.¹¹⁴ These clan affiliations appear to have been ritual relationships to spiritual beings (connected with their specific animal), while another identity distinction bound people through reciprocity, specifically in burial and mourning rituals—moieties.¹¹⁵ Moieties were divided between deer and bear affiliation and were responsible for proper ritual burial of totem animals.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Linda Yamane, *The Snake That Lived in the Santa Cruz Mountains & Other Ohlone Stories* (Berkeley, CA: Oyate, 1998).

¹¹² Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County*, 47. Lorenzo Asisara spoke of how tribal names reflected regional names. Missionary baptismal registries report an often confusing mix of village or tribal names, which ethnographers, historians, and anthropologists continue to sift through to reconstruct regional names. See also Lorraine Escobar, Les Field, and Alan Leventhal, “Understanding the Composition of Costanoan/Ohlone People” (lecture, California Indian Conference, San Francisco State University, February 1998).

¹¹³ It is possible that some names recorded reflect clan affiliation or other animal-related identity. For example, one man whose native name is listed as Conejo (Telesforo Fidalgo), SCZB#102, had six children from two different mothers, SCZB#s 26–29, 35 & 39. Conejo’s name in Spanish translates to “Rabbit.” This could be a coincidence, or, given his numerous children, a playful name given by the padres reflecting the fertility of rabbits, or the name reflected an affinity with the animal, either through clan or spirit animal.

¹¹⁴ Field and Leventhal, “What Must It Have Been Like!,” 114.

¹¹⁵ Jones, “Mythic Implications,” 51.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 50–53.

Games were another important element of social life, and were ways in which tribes would gather and compete against each other. Games included ball races, where participants would race while kicking a wooden ball along long distances, often spanning across tribal boundaries. Onlookers would bet on the victor. Stickball games and a number of bone-and-shell guessing games were also played. “Dice” games were played with eight-inch-long wooden sticks painted black and white on the sides. Six of these sticks were thrown, and players scored when they landed all black or white. Archery contests were organized for sport as well as training for hunting.¹¹⁷

The reverberations of European colonization likely impacted local peoples long before any direct physical encounter took place.¹¹⁸ Archaeologists have noted a population deintensification in the area after 1600 AD. Some theorized that this occurred as a result of catastrophic contact with European diseases.¹¹⁹ I estimate precontact population among all of the major Santa Cruz mountain peoples at around 1,400 (see figure 1.3).¹²⁰ Awareness of Spanish existence and exploration probably reached Ohlone lands before actual contact.

¹¹⁷ All the game information comes from Harrington, *Central California Coast*, 25–27.

¹¹⁸ Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006). Blackhawk’s is an excellent study on the precontact impact of colonialism.

¹¹⁹ Jon M. Erlandson and Kevin Bartoy, “Protohistoric California: Paradise or Pandemic?,” *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* (1995) 9:304–09, and William Preston, “Serpent in Eden: Dispersal of Foreign Diseases into Pre-Mission California,” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* (1996) 18:3–37. Also see Jones and Klar, *California Prehistory*, 144–45.

¹²⁰ Milliken, Shoup, and Ortiz, “Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and Their Neighbors.” It is difficult to estimate exactly how many there were, but given that approximately 1,117 were baptized among the various missions and the fact that quite a few chose not to receive baptism, it is likely that precontact numbers may have been as high as 1,400. This is my estimation. Milliken estimates that Santa Cruz Mountain people numbered around 700, but I believe that he is not counting the same tribes, or at least including some of the eastern slope mountain people as Santa Clara Valley people. Overall, the population throughout the coastal side of the Santa Cruz Mountains was quite considerably smaller per capita than those of Ohlone villages in the valleys. For example, Milliken, Shoup, and Ortiz estimate Santa Clara Valley tribes had a population density of 6.28 people per square mile, compared to only 1.82 people per square mile in the mountains, 64.

Word of encounters with northern tribes and of missionary settlements in the early 1700s down in Baja likely would have arrived through trade channels.¹²¹ The passage of Spanish ships along the coastline, though not direct encounters, could have been observed from shore.¹²² Indigenous trade and communication networks suggest an exchange of knowledge of foreign expeditions, reflected in repeated stories told by native people of armed men in attire similar to that of the Spanish explorers.¹²³ In any case, permanent Spanish exploration and settlement began in 1769, and direct encounter with local peoples resulted in immense change over a relatively short time.

Indigenous Landscape at the Time of Spanish Arrival

At the time of Spanish exploration and settlement, the tribes of this region lived in territories marked by boundaries such as rivers and water systems (see figure 1.4). These territories were important; they marked the boundaries of food sources and played central roles in disputes as part of the complex interrelations that included trade relations, intermarriage, and occasional warfare over their boundaries. While locating the exact boundaries of these tribes proves difficult, given the scarcity of geographical information provided in the Sacramental registries, enough clues exist to make some broad estimates. In

¹²¹ Sir Frances Drake’s encounter with northern Coast Miwok during the time of their Kuksu ceremony is analyzed in detail in Lightfoot and Simmons, “Culture Contact in Protohistoric California,” 148–51.

¹²² Henry R. Wagner, “Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 7 (1928): 1:50. The first account of passage is recorded by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, who passed along the coast without encounter in November of 1542. Around fifty years later Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño passed the shoreline in a small boat “within musket-shot” of the shore. See Cermeño and Henry R. Wagner, “The Voyage to California of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño in 1595,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 3 (1924): 1:15. The exploration of the Monterey coast is explored in depth from the Spanish perspective in Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 27–37.

¹²³ Cabrillo, for example, was told about foreigners on eight separate occasions on his travels. The prevalence of these reports is explored by Lightfoot and Simmons, “Culture Contact in Protohistoric California,” 138–70.

addition, we can triangulate the relative proximity of these tribes based on patterns of intermarriage.¹²⁴

Tribe or Village	# Baptized at Mission Santa Cruz	# Baptized at Other Missions ¹²⁵
Achistaca	85	0
Aptos	116	0
Cajastaca	67	0
Chaloctaca	40	9
Chipuctac	50	0
Chitactac	89	14
Cotoni	95	0
Partacsi	35	0
Pitac	76	0
Quiroste	12	215
Ritocsi	8	0
Sayanta	69	5
Somontoc	8	20
Uypi	104	0
Subtotal:	854	263
Total:	1,117	

Figure 1.3: Total number baptized by tribe

At the southern edge of these territories lived the Aptos.¹²⁶ The Aptos tribe was one of the larger groups of the region, with 117 members baptized between 1791 and 1797. The Aptos were bounded by Aptos Creek at the western edge of their lands, which included the shores of Monterey Bay from Aptos eastward about halfway to the Pájaro River.¹²⁷ To the

¹²⁴ This is the method by which Milliken estimated boundaries, and which I follow. The theory is that by tracing the pattern of tribal baptism, we can estimate proximity, since tribes that lived closest to the mission site tended to receive baptism earliest and in greatest numbers. By corroborating these records with letters recounting Spanish encounters, we get a sense of where each tribe was located.

¹²⁵ These are based on my own databases compiled from a combination of the online Early California Population Project (<http://www.huntington.org/information/ECPPmain.htm>) and the Milliken database, generously donated.

¹²⁶ The Franciscans renamed local tribes after saints. Used in the reports of the missionaries, the imposed titles varied by mission. Individuals continued to identify by tribal affiliation, which was reflected in the continued persistence of tribal names in census records up through the 1830s. The Aptos were renamed San Lucas.

¹²⁷ Milliken, “The Spanish Contact and Mission Period Indians of the Santa Cruz–Monterey Bay Region,” *A Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast* 5 (2002), 31. My estimates of geographic location of these local tribes rely on those of Milliken, unless otherwise

south of the Aptos lay the large Calendaruc tribe, which lived along the coast on both sides of the Pajaro River.¹²⁸ Aptos intermarriages show that they had connections to the Uypi and Calendaruc tribes with territories to the north and south, respectively, and a large number of intermarriages with the Cajastaca. Given that many Cajastaca eventually identified as Aptos in their death records, it is probable that these two groups were two villages of the larger Aptos tribe.¹²⁹ The chief of the Aptos during this time was Molegnis (Baltasar Dieguez), who would have been around 30 years old in 1770.¹³⁰

The Uypi occupied the mouth of the San Lorenzo River, the site of modern Santa Cruz.¹³¹ Uypi villages included Aulintak, near the mouth of the San Lorenzo, Chalamü, approximately one mile northwest of Aulintak, and Hottrochtac, one mile farther northwest.¹³² The Uypi were the first group baptized in large numbers to Mission Santa Cruz—103 Uypi people were baptized between 1791 and 1795—and the first group completely absorbed into the mission. The chief of the Uypi was Soquel (Hermenegildo); his

stated. Milliken has worked extensively with these records and has done the most to establish geographic relations between tribes.

¹²⁸ The Calendaruc, which this study will not focus on but only briefly examine, were a large tribe divided among two neighboring groups—the Locuyusta to the south and Tiuvta to the north. Calendaruc linguistically breaks down as *Calen* (ocean) and *Ruc* (house). Their territory spanned the region known today as the Pajaro Valley.

¹²⁹ The Cajastaca were identified by the Spanish as a separate group, but based on the large number of people who identified as Cajastaca and Aptos on mixed baptismal, death, marriage, and census records, it is safe to say the Cajastaca were a subgroup of the larger Aptos, living to the south, given their later baptismal records. The Spanish renamed the Cajastaca as San Antonio. Of the last 38 baptisms of Aptos members, 11 were identified as Cajastaca in later death records or census lists—SCRB#s 676, 682, 687, 689, 691, 692, 695, 696, 702, 718, and 719.

¹³⁰ Molegnis, SCZB# 42, was renamed by the Spanish as Baltasar Dieguez at the time of his baptism, as was customary. The inclusion of a surname was primarily reserved for captains or other prominent figures. He is listed as 50 years old at his baptism on November 27, 1791.

¹³¹ The Spanish renamed the Uypi as San Daniel.

¹³² Olbes to Sola, November 1819, recorded in Taylor, *Indianology of California*, 6.

wife was Rosuem (Josefa).¹³³ In pre-contact times, Uypi individuals intermarried with neighboring Aptos, Sayanta, Cajastaca, Chaloctaca, Cotoni, Pitac, and Chitactac.¹³⁴ These tribal intermarriages helped to solidify alliances and interconnections between neighboring groups. The coastal homeland of the Uypi was rich in fields and coastal terraces. The Spanish identified it as ideal for permanent settlement, and it eventually became home to Mission Santa Cruz.

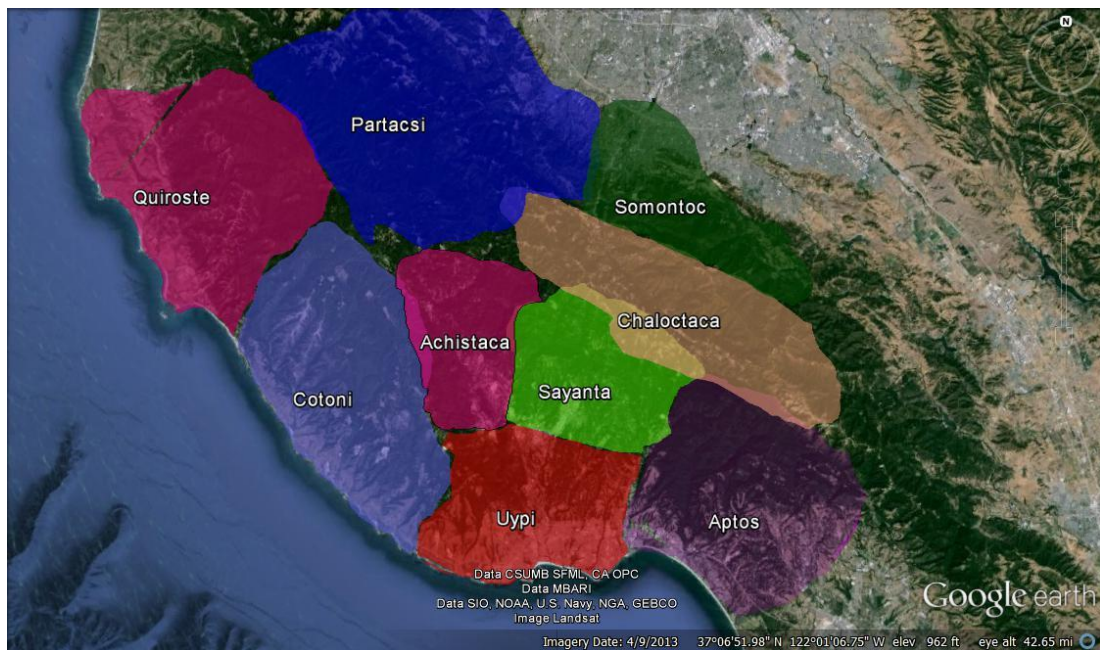


Figure 1.4: Approximation of Santa Cruz mountain tribal territories

The Achistaca were one of the local groups who lived in the Santa Cruz Mountains, away from the coast.¹³⁵ The Spanish baptized 85 Achistaca at Mission Santa Cruz between the years 1791 and 1795. It is believed that they lived in the upper San Lorenzo River drainage near the modern towns of Boulder Creek and Riverside Grove. Achistaca people

¹³³ SCZB#2 and 3, respectively.

¹³⁴ Patterns of intermarriage are established through tracing tribal identities of parents listed in baptismal records.

¹³⁵ The Spanish renamed the Achistaca as San Dionisio.

had pre-mission marriages with three local groups—Cotoni, Sayanta, and Chaloctaca. Prominent Achistaca included Upejen (Serafina Josefa), who was connected through kinship with a Sayanta man, Roiesic (Pascual Antonio Arenaza), and his two partners, Tuicam (Margarita de Cortona) and Chitemis (Rafaela Gazetas).¹³⁶ Again, these intermarriages helped to bind together neighboring tribes and villages, helping to facilitate social cohesion throughout the region.

The Chaloctaca tribe lived in the rough country around the Loma Prieta Creek along the crest of the Santa Cruz Mountains.¹³⁷ Only 38 people were baptized at Mission Santa Cruz as Chaloctaca between 1792 and 1795, though it appears that quite a few had already been baptized at Mission Santa Clara, mostly under the broad name of San Carlos.¹³⁸ It isn't clear as to why so many had baptized in Santa Clara, but given their proximity to the northern and eastern slopes, perhaps they had been persuaded to visit by groups of young converts sent out by the padres from the nearby mission. The Chaloctacas had intermarriages with Sayanta, Achistaca, Cotoni, Partacsi of the Santa Clara Valley, and Somontoc. The large number of intermarriages with Sayanta suggests that there may have been some overlap between the two groups, as they may have been separate village communities of one larger group. This tribe was led by a prominent family the Franciscans

¹³⁶ Upejen (Serafina Josefa), SCZB#90, was the first adult Achistaca to be baptized at Mission Santa Cruz. Roiesic (Pascual Antonio Arenaza), SCZB#137, was baptized along with Tuicam (Margarita de Cortona), SCZB#136, and Chitemis (Rafaela Gazetas), SCZB#135. He had children with both women.

¹³⁷ The Spanish renamed the Chaloctaca as Jesus.

¹³⁸ The priests at Mission Santa Clara were less systematic in recording tribal identity, perhaps due to the much larger populations surrounding the mission or possibly due to indifference on the part of the padres. In either case, they tended to record tribes by saints notation based on which direction the incoming peoples hailed from. The end result makes it much harder to trace tribal identities among Mission Santa Clara recruits. The peoples of the Santa Cruz mountains are often referred to in Santa Clara baptisms as “San Carlos de la Sierra,” indicating the mountain region (sierra) and the southerly direction of Mission San Carlos.

baptized by the surname Cañizares. It seems that the majority of recorded Chaloctacas are interrelated through one large extended kinship family, headed by Gelelis (Gabriel Cañizares) and Ypasin (Juana Eudovigis Pinedo).¹³⁹ This large family was interconnected through kinship to the Uypi and Sayanta.¹⁴⁰ Their second-oldest son, Ules (Andres Cañizares), and his wife Lluillin (Maria de la Purificacion de Landa) became central figures in the mission community, the former a particularly rebellious figure.¹⁴¹ In the years to come, this family would eventually take a central role in the retaliation against the brutal Padre Quintana.

The Cotoni lived along the Pacific Coast, near modern Davenport, to the north of Uypi territory. Their territory probably included the inland ridge in the Bonny Doon area as well. Ninety-five Cotoni were baptized between 1792 and 1800. Further information is provided in the interview given by Lorenzo Asisara, the son of a Cotoni named Llencó (Venancio).¹⁴² Asisara claimed that his “father’s tribe was Jlli, and he belonged to the tribe that lived up the coast. They lived upon shellfish, which they took from the seacoast, and

¹³⁹ Gelelis (Gabriel Cañizares), SCZB#113, 70 years old at his baptism in 1792, and his wife Ypasin (Juana Eudovigis Pinedo), SCZB#153, 60 years old at her baptism at the same time. These ages were estimates made by the Franciscan missionaries, and could be wrong. It is likely that Ypasin was younger, given that the youngest of the couple’s six children were three, five, nine, and fourteen.

¹⁴⁰ Gelelis’ (Gabriel Cañizares) elder son, Cholmos (Acisclo), SCZB#443, had three children with a Chaloctaca woman, Ullegen (Aciscla), SCZB#449, and two with a Sayanta woman, Nisipen (Maria Guadalupe Cruz), SCZB#154.

¹⁴¹ Ules (Andres Cañizares), SCZB#97, was the first of the Chaloctaca to be baptized, followed by Lluillen (Maria de la Purificacion de Landa), SCZB#107. Ules will be discussed in more depth in following chapters. He was eventually convicted, along with his son and brother, in the retaliatory killing of the abusive Padre Quintana in 1812. Complaints of an “incorrigible” Andre, who caused problems for the padres, appear in an undated letter to Governor Borica from Friars Francisco Gonzalez and Domingo Carranza, at the San Francisco Archdiocese (hereafter referred to as SFAD), document #126. Judging by the padres involved, this letter must have been written sometime after May 1798.

¹⁴² The aforementioned Lorenzo Asisara, SCZB#1832, was born in 1820 and gave three interviews in the late 19th century. He recounted stories related by his father Llencó (Venancio), SCZB#215.

carried them to the hills, where their rancherias were.”¹⁴³ Asisara’s recollections reaffirm the centrality of the abundant ocean resources for these coastal tribes.

The Sayanta tribe was a smaller group that lived in the mountains around the Zayante Creek drainage, near the modern Scotts Valley area and the Glenwood and Laurel areas to the north and east.¹⁴⁴ Sixty-nine Sayanta were baptized at Mission Santa Cruz between 1791 and 1795. A number of Sayanta, along with Chaloctaca, Achistaca, and Uypi, visited Mission Santa Clara, where their children received baptism before the founding of Mission Santa Cruz. These visitations suggest a high degree of intertribal collaboration and coordination among mountain tribes. The Sayanta were baptized after the Uypi, and had pre-mission intermarriages with Chaloctaca and Achistaca. The alliances between these neighboring tribes persisted through the mission years, and would grow to include more tribes and families in the coming years.

The Somontoc are one of the most difficult mountain tribes to pinpoint, as many of them were among the earliest to receive baptism at Mission Santa Clara. They represent one tribal group that was greatly divided between mission communities. It appears that they lived in the Los Gatos area, between Santa Cruz and San Jose. Members of the Somontoc were generally listed by the padres in Santa Clara as “San Carlos,” indicating the southern direction from where they came. Only seventeen were eventually baptized at Mission Santa Cruz, though some of those who had their children baptized at Mission Santa Clara

¹⁴³ Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County*, 47.

¹⁴⁴ The Spanish renamed them as San Juan Capistrano.

eventually moved to Santa Cruz.¹⁴⁵ Early oral histories from settling Americans report that ancient rivalries around access to resources existed between “Santa Clara Indians” and those from Santa Cruz.¹⁴⁶ It is likely that this is a reference to the Somontoc, as they became known as Santa Clara Indians by the Santa Cruz missionaries. The first Somontoc to receive baptism at Mission Santa Cruz was Euxexi (Ambrosio), who was tied through kinship to Sayanta, Achistaca, and Chaloctaca families.¹⁴⁷

Situated at the northern edge of the mountain range, the largest and most politically powerful of these tribes was the Quiroste.¹⁴⁸ The Quiroste lived to the north of the Cotoni, on the Pacific Coast from Bean Hollow Creek south to Año Nuevo Creek, inland to Butano Ridge. The Quiroste controlled the production of two major coastal exports—the tough rocks along the cliffs, known as Monterey chert, which were used as arrowheads throughout the larger Bay Area, and Olivella snail shell beads, which served as currency throughout Indigenous California. Quiroste people appear among the early San Francisco Peninsula coastal groups baptized at Mission San Francisco. A few of the village names are recorded from the Spanish baptismal records. Sujute (Gregoria), wife of an Oljon, was “from

¹⁴⁵ At Mission Santa Cruz, the Somontoc were renamed as Santa Clara, possibly a reference to many of them already having been baptized at that mission.

¹⁴⁶ An account from the journals of settler William Trevethan, reprinted in *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, July 2, 1870, p. 1.

¹⁴⁷ Euxexi (Ambrosio), SCZB#232, had a child with Chaloctaca woman, Ocot (Nicolasa), SCZB#253, and married a Sayanta woman, Florentina, SCZB#205, after his own baptism. Some twenty years later, Euxexi was involved and eventually convicted in the murder of Padre Quintana, along with his Chaloctaca kin.

¹⁴⁸ At Mission Santa Cruz, the Spanish renamed the Quiroste as San Rafael. Only a handful of Quiroste were baptized at Mission Santa Cruz, as they were split between Missions Dolores (San Francisco), Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz. We’ll explore the reasons for this splitting later in this chapter.

Churmutcé, farther south than the Oljons.”¹⁴⁹ Uègcèm (Maria Bona), wife of a Cotegen, was from “the family of the Quirogtes of the village of Mitine to the west of Chipletac.”¹⁵⁰

Early Colonial Encounters

It was the people of this large Quiroste village of Mitenne that had fed and lent scouts to the Portolá Expedition in 1769, the first direct interaction between these tribes and Spanish explorers.¹⁵¹ The villagers received the expedition, exchanging food for Spanish glass beads and cloth.¹⁵² The expedition had passed through the southern mountain tribal lands in October—at the time when these tribes had left their coastal terrace village sites for their winter homes in the forests to hunt and gather acorns. While it is possible that some spotted Spanish explorers, the Spanish only reported seeing burned plains and evidence of evacuated village sites.¹⁵³ They also passed well-worn trails, recognizing that many people lived in the area, though they did not encounter them.¹⁵⁴ A scouting party, consisting primarily of baptized Indigenous Baja peoples led by Sergeant Don José Francisco Ortega,

¹⁴⁹ Mission San Francisco Baptismal # (hereafter referred to as SFB#) 679, October 27, 1787. The Oljon tribe lived along the coast, just north of the Quiroste (see figure 1).

¹⁵⁰ SFB#711, October 19, 1788. Quirogtes is a variation on the phonetic Spanish interpretation of Quiroste. The Cotegen lived farther northward up the San Francisco Peninsula from the Oljon.

¹⁵¹ Frank M. Stranger and Alan K. Brown, *Who Discovered the Golden Gate? The Explorers' Own Accounts, How They Discovered a Hidden Harbor and at Last Found Its Entrance* (San Mateo, CA: San Mateo County Historical Association), 73. A few days earlier the Portolá Expedition's scouts encountered a Tiuvta village along the Pájaro River. The Tiuvta fed the scouts, but then evacuated their village before Portolá arrived, leaving behind some shell fish, arrows with their heads buried in the ground (which the scouts reported as signs of peace), and a large eagle stuffed with grass on a wooden pole (which led the Spanish to name the river Pajaro).

¹⁵² Lee M. Panich, “Native American Consumption of Shell and Glass Beads at Mission Santa Clara de Asís,” *American Antiquity* 74, no. 4 (2014): 730–48. Spanish encounters with Indigenous peoples had been informed by two hundred years of experience, and explorers regularly carried goods to trade and offer as gifts. Archaeologists have argued that these glass beads were incorporated into existing Indigenous monetary systems.

¹⁵³ Stranger and Brown, *Who Discovered the Golden Gate?*, 79. Accounts of recently burned grasslands and evidence of Indigenous land-management practices are described here.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 83.

arrived at the Quiroste village of Mitenne on October 22nd, at Whitehouse Creek, near present-day Año Nuevo. The expedition arrived the next day, sick from malnutrition.

Cartographer Miguel Costansó wrote that the villagers “received us with a great deal of affability and kindness, nor failed to make the usual present of seeds kneaded into thick dough-balls; they offered us also some bits of honeycomb with a certain syrup which some said was wasp-honey... in the midst of the village was a great house of spherical shape, very roomy; while the other little houses, which were of pyramidal construction and very small-sized, were built of pine splints. And because the big house [Casa Grande] stood out so from the rest, the village was so named.”¹⁵⁵ When they encountered the Casa Grande community, they described a village of some two hundred people. The Quiroste villagers indicated that they would find their ship by a three-day journey to the north, fed the explorers, and let them stay for the night.¹⁵⁶ The next day, the Quiroste provided guides to help them navigate the pathway north. They made their way northward to San Francisco, then returned, finally making their way back to Monterey. As they passed by the Casa Grande village on November 18th on their way southward, they found it deserted.¹⁵⁷ Shortly after their return to Monterey, permanent settlement began in the region, with the founding of Mission San Carlos on Monterey Bay in 1770.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 87.

¹⁵⁶ The overland expedition was shadowed by two Spanish ships, which traced the coast.

¹⁵⁷ It is probable that the Quiroste had left their village to gather acorns and hunt in the redwoods by this time.

The founding of Mission San Carlos began a process of Indigenous baptism and relocation in the Monterey Bay area to the south of Santa Cruz.¹⁵⁸ The tribes living in the Pajaro valley experienced the most direct contact with the Spanish in the early years, as recruiting expeditions and Spanish overland movement utilized the Pajaro valley basin for travel northward to the San Francisco Peninsula.¹⁵⁹ Mission San Carlos also baptized the Esselen people south of Monterey.¹⁶⁰ Baptisms of Indigenous peoples of the Monterey area began after the founding of the mission. The Franciscans targeted young children for baptism first.¹⁶¹ The number of baptisms in the first few years was low: only 31 baptisms of Indigenous peoples had taken place by the end of 1772.¹⁶² This number increased slowly, as 435 total baptisms of Indigenous peoples had taken place by the time that Mission Santa Clara was founded in June of 1777, a relatively low number compared to those in the years that followed.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Stephen W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 50—61.. Hackel explores the context of Spanish colonization in the history of Mission San Carlos (Monterey).

¹⁵⁹ After the 1774 expedition led by military captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, which encountered great difficulties crossing the numerous wetlands along the coast, Spanish authorities decided to use the inland valley passage as the thoroughfare between Monterey and the San Francisco Peninsula.

¹⁶⁰ The Esselen are a group of tribes, culturally and linguistically distinct from the Ohlone. The modern Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation descend from Mission San Carlos and are of mixed Ohlone/Esselen heritage.

¹⁶¹ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 67. Hackel suggests that disease might explain why the majority of early baptisms were performed on children, pointing out that the children and the elderly were most susceptible to illness. I do agree this disease may have played influenced some of the elders decision to receive baptism. However, as I argue throughout this chapter, the large numbers of children to receive baptism in the early years is more the result of deliberate conversion strategy on the part of the missionaries.

¹⁶² Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 74—7. Hackel breaks down the four waves of entry into Mission San Carlos, noting that each wave came from an increasing distance from the mission and correlated with ecological expansion of Spanish livestock and agricultural production (typically by Indigenous laborers).

¹⁶³ Mission Dolores, on the San Francisco Peninsula, was founded June 29, 1776, a year before Santa Clara.

The establishment and growth of each mission differed according to location, the priests involved, and the Indigenous polities in the region, among other variables. Due to the comparatively small number of Spanish soldiers, protocol dictated that settlers avoided outright conflict. At the same time, however, retaliation against Natives who challenged Spanish authority was permitted. By the spring of 1777, Spanish soldiers had killed three Tamien men of the San Francisco peninsula for butchering mules and establishing boundaries and rules around Spanish livestock.¹⁶⁴ Following the founding of Mission Santa Clara in the densely populated Santa Clara Valley, recruitment continued at a slow pace. The padres continued to target the young, and all but one of the first sixty-six baptisms performed in the first six months from June to December of 1777 were children under the age of ten.¹⁶⁵ The Spanish strategy was to offer baptisms along with gifts of beads and wool clothes.¹⁶⁶ Families came in groups with their children to receive these gifts.¹⁶⁷ Once children (or adults) received baptism they were considered charges of the missionaries. The missionaries believed they had responsibility for their souls as well. Baptized children remained with their parents, at least until age ten, at which point they worked closely with

¹⁶⁴ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 51–55. The establishment of Spanish order through small episodes of violence is explored by Milliken. It is probable that word of Spanish retaliation and military prowess would have travelled.

¹⁶⁵ The one exception was named Manuel. At seventy, he was baptized on his death bed, Santa Clara Baptism # (hereafter referred to as SCLB#) 55.

¹⁶⁶ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 221. Milliken suggests that two contextual factors contributed to these early baptisms – 1) the stunning technology and complex social order of the Spanish challenged traditional criteria for economic and social success, and 2) Spanish soldiers proved themselves to be the most dangerous fighting men in the region when they killed any opposing men during the first few weeks of settlement.

¹⁶⁷ The occasional adult or elder received baptism, but this was often when they were already close to death, whether to try the incoming strangers’ spiritual promise or to impose Franciscan last rites, it is hard to tell. See the cases of seventy-year-olds receiving baptism on their death beds in 1777–78, SFB#54 & SFB#57 and SCLB#55.

the friars who taught them Spanish and the Catholic religion.¹⁶⁸ By the end of December 1777, groups of teenagers began to receive baptisms, along with some of their parents. These youth became instrumental to future recruitment, as they received passports (*paseos*) and were encouraged to retrieve friends and family members. These youth learned to navigate the newly forming political and social world that took shape under the control of the padres.

The Spanish imposed a new distinction on Indigenous peoples, referring to the newly baptized as “neofitos” or “newly Christianized Indians,” and the unbaptized as “pagans” or, more frequently, “gentiles.”¹⁶⁹ One of the early “Christianized Indians” was ten-year-old Pablo.¹⁷⁰ The son of Guachismic (Rudesindo) and Toppi (Lucia Maria), Pablo and his parents followed his brother in getting baptized.¹⁷¹ The family’s tribal identity is listed as “San Francisco Solano,” which indicated that they lived to the west, towards South San Francisco. Pablo became a key figure at Santa Clara, earning a role as mission interpreter and teacher, translating Catholic teachings for incoming recruits. Through the years he served as godparent in one hundred and sixty baptisms at Mission Santa Clara, as well as a few at neighboring missions Dolores and San Juan Bautista, where he visited and assisted

¹⁶⁸ Confirmation books at each mission attest to the ongoing teachings. Copies of these books are held at the SBMAL.

¹⁶⁹ This distinction as Neophyte (*neofito*) or Gentile (*gentile*) is ubiquitous in the archives. I use this distinction to reflect the baptismal status (and therefore, relation to the Spanish missions), but recognizing that this imposition did not replace tribal or other more Indigenous identities. Moreover, this is the time when the social category of “Indian” began to be imposed—a category that did not exist previously and was contemplated only in the minds of the Spanish.

¹⁷⁰ SCLB# 80, baptized on March 29, 1778. Pablo has not been previously discussed in other literature, as his prominence is found in the Confirmation books, which have rarely been discussed.

¹⁷¹ Pablo’s older brother, Francisco Maria (SCLB#69), was baptized three months before Pablo, on December 28, 1777, among the first group of teenagers. Their father was baptized on February 28, 1777 (SCLB#76), and their mother was baptized on November 25, 1778 (SCLB#122).

with recruitment and Catholic instruction.¹⁷² Pablo appears to have earned a high level of trust by the Franciscans, as he enjoyed a level of mobility, accompanying soldiers on their travels, serving as interpreter and assistant, in addition to visiting neighboring missions.¹⁷³ Pablo eventually spent time at Mission Santa Cruz, helping in the early years, where he was in charge of teaching the catechism at Mission Santa Cruz.¹⁷⁴ While there, he performed a baptism on a dying seventy-year-old Cajastaca man, Ulléug (Jose Manuel).¹⁷⁵ The teaching of confirmation and performance of these baptisms reflect the prominent position that Pablo had achieved within Spanish society and suggest that a generation of young converts began to perform crucial roles as translators and performers of Catholic practices. The central role of these youth, made it possible for the padres to run the missions in these early years of colonization.

A number of tribal members from the Santa Cruz Mountains travelled northward to Mission Santa Clara beginning in the late 1770s. Most of these groups consisted of families who were members of intertribal groups tied through kinship with Somontoc, Chaloctaca,

¹⁷² Pablo first served as godparent (*padrino*) in SCLB#909 (July 26, 1786), and then appears to have continued to serve as godparent frequently in the 1790s until 1811 and assisted with baptisms until shortly before his death in 1818. He assisted in three baptisms in 1817, SCLB#s 6527, 6552, and 6557. His death is recorded in Mission Santa Clara Death Registry # (hereafter known as SCLD#) 5076, on November 27, 1818. He assisted in baptisms at Mission San Juan Bautista for four Calendaruc children on November 29, 1801 (SJB#s761–764).

¹⁷³ Pablo accompanied Spanish soldiers in the fields assisting with three baptisms (SCLB#s 1362, 1608, and 1786) that took place away from the missions.

¹⁷⁴ Pablo is listed as godparent for the majority of male confirmations, beginning with Mission Santa Cruz Confirmation Registry # (hereafter referred to as SCZC#) 178 on May 9, 1793, and continuing through 1794.

¹⁷⁵ This is recorded in SCZB#622, which records the padrino as Pablo, translator from Mission Santa Clara.

Sayanta, and Uypi couples and families.¹⁷⁶ These groups suggest a large degree of intertribal coordination and cooperation. Children received baptism, while parents likely received beads, cloth, and trade goods from the Spanish, which they integrated into existing Indigenous economic systems. By the end of 1790, nearly one hundred mountain children had been baptized at Mission Santa Clara, laying the groundwork for Spanish expansion into the area.

By 1791, Spanish plans had been made to establish two more missions—Missions Santa Cruz and Soledad.¹⁷⁷ In the months leading up to the founding of Mission Santa Cruz, contact and negotiations took place between the Spanish missionaries at Mission Santa Clara and a number of people from the Santa Cruz mountains, while visitations by Spanish friars helped solidify plans to build in the region.¹⁷⁸ A group of mountain people including a number of prominent tribal members from the southwestern mountains visited Mission Santa Clara in May of 1791. This group included Chief Soquel and his wife Rosuem, the leaders of the Uypi tribe who lived at the mouth of the San Lorenzo River.¹⁷⁹ The couple’s two daughters received baptisms, and discussions were held with the padres regarding the

¹⁷⁶ As mentioned before, Mission Santa Clara records are particularly negligent in listing tribal origins. Large groups of “San Carlos” people started arriving as early as 1779 (SCLB#149). By 1787, large numbers started arriving, (SCLB#s 1011–25, 1376–1404, as examples).

¹⁷⁷ Plans were discussed at length by Fr. Fermin de Lasuén May 4, 1790, BL, Provincial State Records, CC-24, 66–67. Debates and discussions about procuring proper funding continued through the end of 1790.

¹⁷⁸ Fr. Fermin de Lasuén reported a visitation of the site in a letter, reporting that he encountered many peaceful Indians (July 11, 1791, SBMAL, California Mission Documents, hereafter referred to as CMD, 129).

¹⁷⁹ Soquel’s name is recorded in a variety of spellings: Suquel, Sugert, Suquer, and Suquex. By 1810, Spanish accounts began to call the Uypi tribe the Soquel or Zoquel tribe. The name remains, given to the Rancho property and later the township of Soquel, as well as the modern street that connects the cities of Santa Cruz, Soquel, and Aptos (another tribal name).

founding of a mission on their lands.¹⁸⁰ Soquel and Rosuem made the visitation to Mission Santa Clara along with a number of other prominent neighbors and allies, including Somontoc, Sayanta, and Chaloctaca, possibly as part of a diplomatic party visiting the settlement.¹⁸¹

The Establishment of Mission Santa Cruz

The establishment of a mission site and the subsequent relocation of local peoples resulted in new colonial relations with the Franciscan padres, who sought to impose their cultural traditions. The padres intervened in local families and society in several distinct ways, including practices for labor, child-rearing, marriage, and courtship. On September 10, 1791, a group of seven children of Santa Cruz mountain people received baptism at Mission Santa Clara.¹⁸² The presiding priests included Friars Baldomero Lopez and Isidro Salazar, who had recently arrived from Mexico City. Nearly two weeks later, on September 22, Sergeant Hermenegildo Sal set out from Mission Santa Clara with two padres, one corporal, and two soldiers to found Mission Santa Cruz.¹⁸³ Following behind them were seven servants

¹⁸⁰ The two daughters were baptized as Maria Lorenza, SCLB# 1897, 9 years old, and Clara de la Cruz, SCLB# 1904, 1 year old, on May 29, 1791, and May 21, 1791, respectively. In Clara de la Cruz's baptismal records, her parents are listed with a note that identifies them as “Uypi en el parage [sic] llamado Santa Cruz, rancherio destinado para fundar la Mision de este titulo [Santa Cruz].” (Uypi in the place called Santa Cruz, the rancheria intended for the foundation of the mission by this name.) The padres were clearly aware of Soquel and Rosuem's status as well as plans to build on their territories. The chief received gifts of cattle and birds from Spanish officials following the foundation, possibly the result of discussions at Mission Santa Clara.

¹⁸¹ Ten children of mountain people were baptized in May 1791 (SCLB#s 1896–1905). The parents included not only Soquel and Rosuem, but also Achistaca elder Ules (Andres) and his wife Llulle (Purificacion) as well as Quesues (SCLB# 3115) and Usiam, a tribally unidentified couple closely connected to Santa Cruz mountain people.

¹⁸² These seven (SCLB#s 1965–71) had Sayanta, Chaloctaca, and Somontoc parents, the majority of which were eventually baptized later at Mission Santa Cruz.

¹⁸³ Hermenegildo Sal (September 25, 1791, Banc MSS, CA State Provincial Records, C-A 54) 270. Orders to found Mission Santa Cruz (along with Mission Soledad) started in late 1789; see letter from

carrying provisions that would be used for the establishment of the mission, two mounted soldiers, and forty head of cattle. Upon arrival, the Spanish found a coastal terrace, where they could look down upon the merging of willow- and tule-filled marshes that met with the lush redwood, Douglas fir, black oak, and laurel forests that characterized the coastline. The Spanish viewed these dense forests and homelands as rich resources for the building of their colonial settlements.¹⁸⁴ They settled on flats near the San Lorenzo River after encountering six neofitos from Mission Santa Clara and sent them to find Soquel and his people.¹⁸⁵

Again, the labor of young neofito converts played a central role in the expansion of Catholic and Spanish settlement. Sal ordered these youth to cut wood to build a ramada for the padres, then set them to work clearing a field for the purpose of planting wheat. Sal commented that the young neofitos were “very pleasant” and industrious, while he reported reservations about Soquel.¹⁸⁶ He also reported frustration at having to wait for the Indigenous children to stop playing and talking before he could discuss business, reflecting Spanish and Indigenous differences in child-rearing.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, by instructing baptized

Viceroy Gagedo (October 31, 1789, SBMAL, CMD 99). Sal was involved in the Rivera y Moncada expedition of 1774 and knew the area.

¹⁸⁴ Sal, September 25, 1791, Banc MSS, CA State Provincial Records, C-A 54, 270. Sal commented in his report that no other mission from San Diego to San Francisco could boast access to as much wood as Santa Cruz.

¹⁸⁵ It is unlikely that these were the same six who had been baptized two weeks prior, since they were infants.

¹⁸⁶ Sal, September 25, 1791, Banc MSS, CA State Provincial Records, C-A 54 270. Sal reported that Soquel “bore malice, *for the Indian was serious, reserved and of a melancholy disposition*. So much that the missionaries and guard were careful to watch the conduct of Suquel [emphasis added].”

¹⁸⁷ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 26. Spanish disdain for Ohlone child-rearing practices is seen in the 1813–15 questionnaire Mission Santa Cruz response to question 4 about children. The padres were dismissive of the teaching the parents gave, noting that they taught their children to hunt and to fish, and that “they merely recount to them the fables which they heard in their pagan state,” clearly dismissing the types of knowledge being taught. They admit that “they

youth in reorganizing traditional fields into agricultural fields for Spanish crops, Spanish authorities continued a larger regional pattern of directing Indigenous labor.¹⁸⁸

The Spanish informed the Uypi that they were welcome to come work at the mission, as long as they followed the rules that they were given. Soquel was given gifts of two birds and two cows. Given the approach of the rainy fall season and the Spanish gifts of cows and birds, along with the planting of Spanish crops, it seems likely that Soquel negotiated food for his people in exchange for the founding of Mission Santa Cruz. This exchange could reflect a concern over availability of food, either from the growing impact of Spanish regional settlement on animal populations, or possibly from the impact of a series of particularly harsh winters.¹⁸⁹ It is doubtful that any cattle were given to anyone else, despite the group of locals who accompanied the chief and his family on their trips to Mission Santa Clara. By negotiating an exchange of animals for recognition of the Spanish settlement, Soquel shows one response to the rapidly changing world in which he found himself. Despite Sal's reluctance to trust Soquel, he promised to make him the first baptism at the new mission, and served as godparent in his baptism.¹⁹⁰

esteem their wives, love their children, but these latter receive their education from the missionary fathers." Indigenous child-rearing, which included instruction in hunting, gathering, and the various cultural practices, stood in stark contrast to the instruction given by the padres, which focused on the spiritual practices of Catholicism and denigrated the traditional practices of their parents as sinful and evil.

¹⁸⁸ This had occurred at other missions, but this was the first instance of environmental reorganization here.

¹⁸⁹ The initial site of Mission Santa Cruz was destroyed due to flooding during the first winter after settlement, and it appears that the weather was particularly harsh in the winters of the early 1790s.

¹⁹⁰ Sal also imparted his name to the chief, as the padres christened Soquel as "Hermenegildo." Despite Sal's promise to baptize Soquel first, Soquel was the second baptized at the new mission. A few days before Soquel received his baptism, a young girl, Micaela, daughter of an Achistaca couple tied through kinship with Soquel, received the first baptism. The reason for this is unclear. Perhaps it reflects intent by the Spanish to subvert Soquel's authority, or perhaps Soquel allowed his kin to

Sal established a set of standing orders for the guards at Mission Santa Cruz, orders that reflected the sense of vulnerability the Spanish felt regarding the locals:

Item 8. Whenever Indians come in you are to go out to meet them. If they bring weapons you will order them to give them up before allowing them to enter the mission.

Item 9. You will treat the Indian population well, adopting measures to regale the headmen and to make them see that the soldiers and the missionaries will not interfere with them nor cause them any harm, so long as they make no provocation.

Item 10. Never deprecate any kind of notice that the Indians bring regarding rumor of insurrection. If they take up arms in a surprise attack, you will be ready with yours. And at the first suggestion that they want peace, you will immediately suspend fighting and promptly inform me as briefly as possible, so that I can pass it along to the Chief [governor], and await his orders.

Item 11. Soldiers are not permitted to go roving about the countryside, to become familiar with local villagers, even less to attempt any kind of extortion against the natives. If any soldier contravenes this order he will receive from me punishment as deserved, according to the severity of the offense.¹⁹¹

These orders reflect an ongoing concern about Indigenous aggression, as well as Spanish protocol in the early stages of colonial occupation. Item 11 is indicative of a larger concern throughout Alta California, that of soldiers abusing villagers. Franciscan missionary complaints of Spanish soldiers raping Indigenous women had been commonplace since the

receive the first. Micaela's mother, Florentina (SCZB# 205), married the Somontoc Euxexi (Ambrosio, SCZB# 232), whose child had been baptized at Mission Santa Clara two weeks before the founding of Mission Santa Cruz. Perhaps the baptism of Micaela was tied to some arrangement made during that visit.

¹⁹¹ Hermenegildo Sal, Instrucción al cabo de la escolta de Santa Cruz (September 21, 1791, BL MSS, C-A 54), 274–81.

earliest days of Spanish colonization, and rules were commonly put in place to try and prevent this crime.¹⁹²

Given the proximity of soldiers, settlers, and friars to native peoples, interaction between the populations was bound to take place, and many Spanish restrictions attempted to address these possibilities. Since the majority of settlers were men, conversations about marriage frequently took place, which eventuated in rules regarding intermarriage between Spanish soldiers and an expanding social class of “Indian.”¹⁹³ This classification included not only Indigenous people of the area, but also a broader group of Indigenous peoples upended by the colonial process. The diverse settling community was made up of people arriving on the central coast from far away locations such as Baja California, mainland Mexico, Siberia, Alaska, and others, including the Nuu-chah-nulth, who were indigenous to Vancouver Island in the Pacific Northwest.¹⁹⁴ Approval by Franciscan padres was considered

¹⁹² Serra to Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursua, April 22, 1773, in *The Writings of Junípero Serra*, trans. and ed. Antonine Tibesar (Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 1:341. Fray Junípero Serra wrote that, “there is not a single mission where all the gentiles have not been scandalized, and even on the road, so I have been told... a plague of immorality had broken out.” This theme is explored in depth by Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).

¹⁹³ It is important to consider these intermarriages within a complicated larger colonial context. Virginia M. Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence* (University of Arizona Press, 2004). Bouvier argues that the “inscription of idyllic gender relations between the conquerors and the Indians may have sanitized a more violent frontier reality,” xvi. Alternatively, Juiana Barr suggests that intermarriage acted as a “political ritual,” arguing that “those moments when women acted as mediators of peace did not simply signal cross-cultural rapport, but rather the predominance of native codes of peace and war,” *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2009), 2. Ultimately, Barr argues that Indigenous conceptions of kinship shaped Spanish-Indian politics in Texas. I argue that in Santa Cruz, kinship was frequently reflected in godparentage relationships, but may have also influenced patterns of intermarriage between Spanish and Indigenous, as well as between diverse Indigenous groups, continuing and extending previous intertribal relations.

¹⁹⁴ Beginning in 1790, twenty-four Nuu-chah-nulth people of the Mowachaht village received baptism at Mission San Carlos. These were brought by ships engaged in the Nootka Crisis conflict between

sufficient, though approval was generally sought by Spanish civil officials.¹⁹⁵ One such marriage took place without documented license at Mission Santa Cruz in May of 1794 between soldier Jose Azebes and a fourteen-year-old Uypi girl, Ojoc (Feliciano Ormachea).¹⁹⁶

Responses to the newly established mission varied. The majority of local peoples held off from baptism, while others brought their children or chose to receive baptism themselves. Oral histories claim that, “first were taken the children, and then the parents followed. The padres would erect a hut, and light the candles to say mass, and the Indians, attracted by the light—thinking they were stars—would approach, and soon be taken. These would bring in others, such as their relatives.”¹⁹⁷ This story, told in 1890 by the son of one of the early baptized Cotoni young men, suggests the pattern in which the baptism of children was used as a tool for recruiting their larger families to the mission. As with the other local missions, the majority of the neofitos were young; by the end of 1791, the newly forming community numbered eighty-nine, including only thirteen adults.¹⁹⁸ The mention of lighted candles suggests a degree of curiosity about the new technologies and customs of the

England and Spain, which took place in the territory of the Mowachaht village on the west coast of Vancouver Island in 1789. Maria Jesus, “India de Nutka,” as she was referred to by the Spanish padres, San Carlos Baptism # (hereafter referred to as SCAB#) 2088, married Jose Francisco de Tapia, San Carlos Marriage # (hereafter referred to as SCAM#) 529, on May 3, 1796. Their marriage was authorized after discussion, with a report by Sergeant Macario Castro (BL MSS, C-A 9), 84–91.

¹⁹⁵ Authorization is given by Governor Arrillaga and Lieutenant Sal for the marriage of Marcos Villela and twelve-year-old María Bibiana (baptized at birth as Viridiana Maria, SCAB# 173), letter in SFAD, January 27, 1786, #28. María Bibiana’s parents were Rumsen, from the village of Achasta near the site of Mission San Carlos (Monterey).

¹⁹⁶ Ojoc (Feliciano Ormachea), baptized on May 27, 1792, at age twelve, nearly two years before the marriage takes place. Azebes served as Ojoc’s father’s godparent, SCZB# 106, while Ojoc received Azebes’s mother’s name at baptism. (His mother, Maria Feliciano, resident of San Carlos, is listed in the marriage record, SCZM# 61). One wonders if Azebes didn’t have his eye on the young girl earlier, or if her parents had somehow arranged the marriage.

¹⁹⁷ Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County*, 46. Lorenzo Asisara, in 1890 interview with E.L. Williams.

¹⁹⁸ Of these eighty-nine, eighty-six had been baptized at Mission Santa Cruz. Three had been baptized at Mission Santa Clara, but followed their parents to Santa Cruz. See Annual Report for 1791, at SBMAL.

settling Spanish. The first baptisms followed a pattern where one child (in the first year, primarily Uypi, Aptos, Sayanta, and Achistaca) received baptism, shortly followed by his family and relatives, who would often show up in small groups. Some of the parents of these children avoided baptism for up to five years, while other parents followed their children into the mission.¹⁹⁹ Proximity and distance from the mission heavily shaped these patterns, with those closest to the mission entering earlier.

The Franciscan missionaries considered everyone whom they baptized their wards. Given their status as dependents, the missionaries felt few compunctions about tracking them down by military force if they left the community without permission.²⁰⁰ After baptism, they were instructed to relocate to the lands surrounding the new mission and build traditional tule houses with their families on these lands. As diverse tribal communities relocated to the mission, on Uypi lands, they organized their homes according to kinship, familial, and tribal networks.²⁰¹ Soquel, along with his daughter and four local children,

¹⁹⁹ For example, the Achistaca/Sayanta couple whose daughter Micaela received the first baptism at Mission Santa Cruz (SCZB# 1)—Ynoc (Pancracio), Achistaca, SCZB# 492, and Florentina (native name not given), Sayanta, SCZB# 205—did not receive baptism until 1795 and 1793, respectively. Florentina also had a fifteen-year-old son with Ynoc, Llumetu (Jose Maria), SCZB# 330. Shortly after her own baptism, she married the Somontoc man Euxexi (Ambrosio), SCZB# 232. Ynoc married his second wife, Quitirún (Pancracia), SCZB# 505, the day of their baptism, SCZM# 105.

²⁰⁰ The friars gave passes to baptized youth to visit and aid the missionaries in recruiting their families.

²⁰¹ The tribal and familial separation and reorganization that characterized the Mission Santa Cruz community in labor and in living was recalled years later by Father Joaquin Adam, who was in charge of Mission Santa Cruz from 1868 to 1883. This appears in an undated manuscript, at California History Room, California State Library, Box 1306, Folder 21, 30. The endurance of these kinship networks is reflected in the 1813–15 reports, as the Mission Santa Cruz missionaries replied to question 9 about generosity: “They are charitable and compassionate but only to those who are relatives.” In the Santa Cruz response to question 25 about charity: “They show charity towards none except their relatives... [they] will leave anyone else to die of hunger if he does not happen to be a blood relative.” Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 108.

received teachings and Catholic confirmation at Mission Santa Clara in February of 1792.²⁰² The aforementioned Pablo of Mission Santa Clara first appeared as a confirmation teacher and translator in May of 1793.²⁰³ Whether the padres sent Soquel due to a lack of qualified neofito teachers at Mission Santa Cruz at this early stage, or if it was a political ploy by the Spanish to distance a leader they clearly disliked from his own people, we cannot be certain. The first confirmations to take place at Mission Santa Cruz did not happen until May of 1793, with the arrival of Pablo, so they may have been sent to start this process of Catholic training and teaching early.²⁰⁴

New political alliances and powers appear to have influenced the local communities, as some who came to Mission Santa Cruz appear to have challenged the leadership of Soquel and Rosuem. The leader of the Aptos, who lived just south of the Uypi, Molegnis, appears to have received baptism shortly after the Uypi leader.²⁰⁵ Molegnis, at fifty years of age, was by far the oldest to receive baptism in the first few months of the mission. He and his twenty-five-year-old wife, Solue (Ana de la Relde), were the first to receive confirmation, a symbol of status within the mission community.²⁰⁶ Contention between Soquel and

²⁰² These are recorded in the Mission Santa Clara Confirmation book, entries 1522–26, dated February 18, 1792. In all, nine received confirmation there (SCZB#s 66, 73, 74, 83, 111, 112, 152, Soquel, and Soquel’s elder daughter, Maria Lorenza). Seven of them were between seven and ten years old, along with one fourteen-year-old, and Soquel. They were five Uypi (counting Soquel and his daughter), one Aptos, and three Chaloctaca siblings—all children of Gelelis (Gabriel Cañizares) and Ypasin (Juana Eudovigis Pinedo).

²⁰³ Pablo shows up first in SCZC# 184, dated May 9, 1793.

²⁰⁴ Catholic confirmation traditionally involves the formal teaching of Catholic doctrine, while baptism is the process of initiation via submersion in water blessed by the priests.

²⁰⁵ Molegnis, SCZB# 42, was baptized on November 27, 1791, the first adult to receive baptism following the Uypi leaders.

²⁰⁶ Molegnis (Baltasar Dieguez) is recorded as SCZC# 1; his wife Solue (Ana de la Relde, SCB#47) is the first woman to receive confirmation, SCZC# 93.

Molegnis likely was a continuation of ongoing intertribal politics between the neighbors, as oral histories from years later recall tension between the leaders.²⁰⁷

The case of Molegnis’s baptism and his subsequent Catholic marriage highlight another way that the missionaries sought to reorganize tribal life—through the disruption of marriage and partnerships. Catholic marriages were important for missionaries, as they sought to impose their sexual ethics on polygamous peoples.²⁰⁸ The padres arranged the men and women in separate lines, while interpreters explained the Catholic view of marriage. The missionaries asked the men a series of questions; if they wished to be married, and if they had previously engaged in sexual relationship with any of the women present. If they admitted to having prior relations they were required to marry the individual. If they said they had not, they were free to choose a woman to marry; however, if the selected woman showed unwillingness, he was asked to choose another.²⁰⁹ Prior to the establishment of the mission, Molegnis had two children likely from two different partners.²¹⁰ After his baptism, he was paired with a young Aptos woman named Solue, and

²⁰⁷ Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County*, 46. Lorenzo Asisara mentions a “Captain Balthazar,” who fought amongst other chiefs. Molegnis would have been long dead before Asisara was born, demonstrating the persistence of oral histories within this community.

²⁰⁸ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 106. In their accounts, the padres often complained about Indigenous sexuality. In response to the 1813–15 questionnaire, 24, regarding vice, the Santa Cruz padres responded, “unchastity is the vice most common among them,” while the Santa Clara padres replied, “the most dominant among these Indians are first, fornication; second, stealing; games [gambling], dances, and among women, abortion.”

²⁰⁹ Hubert H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Company, 1888), 227–28. This related to those who were already coupled prior to baptism. Another account is seen in the 1813–15 questionnaire; the answer to question 14 about marriage by the Mission Santa Cruz missionaries suggests that young men replaced traditional gifts of beads and shells to the intended girls’ parents with prayer and petition to the reverend fathers. Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 68.

²¹⁰ Ten-year-old Luis (SCZB# 4) and seven-year-old Tumuzc (Policarpo Dieguez, SCZB# 96). Luis’s mother was a Uypi woman named Caujan (Rufina Peña, SCZB# 101), while Tumuzc’s mother was unlisted. Evidence that Tumuzc’s mother was another Uypi woman is suggested by Tumuzc’s death

the two partook in a Catholic marriage ceremony along with three other couples shortly thereafter.²¹¹

The imposition of Catholic marriage and monogamy may have impacted the pace and timing of baptisms in other ways as well. In some cases it appears that parents resisted baptism to avoid having to make a decision among their numerous partners. In one Chaloctaca–Sayanta family, Cholmos (Acisclo), fifty-year-old son of Chaloctaca elders Gelelis and Ypasin, had children with two women: three with a Chaloctaca woman named Nisipen (Maria Guadalupe Cruz) and two with Ullegen (Acisccla), a Sayanta woman.²¹² The first of his children to receive baptism was the two-year-old son of Ullegen, Panuncio, who was among the seven children baptized at Mission Santa Clara two weeks before the founding of Mission Santa Cruz.²¹³ About a year later, the first large group of Chaloctaca, including elders and grandparents Gelelis and Ypasin as well as Cholmos’s eldest son, twenty-nine-year-old Tunegees (Bernardo Hablitas Jauregui), received baptism. This group included Nisipen and two of her children—a two-year-old son and a seven-year-old daughter.²¹⁴ Within a few years of their joining the community, grandfather Gelelis, seven-year-old Tipan (Maria del Carmen Hablitas), and her mother, Nisipen, had all died.²¹⁵ Cholmos and Ullegen remained outside of the mission community with their young son, Tanca (Pantaleon), until February of

record (SCZD# 22), which lists him as Uypi, not Aptos like his father and Caujan. Meanwhile, Caujan had a total of five children by five different men.

²¹¹ This is recorded in Santa Cruz Marriages # (hereafter referred to as SCZM#) 5.

²¹² Cholmos (Acisclo), SCZB# 443, Nisipen (Maria Guadalupe Cruz), SCZB# 154, and Ullegen (Acisccla), SCZB# 449.

²¹³ Panuncio, whose native name was not recorded, SCLB# 1969, on September 10, 1791.

²¹⁴ Ypasin’s (Juana Eudovigis Pinedo) and Cholmos’s (Acisclo) children were baptized at this time—Tipan (Maria del Carmen Hablitas), SCZB# 147, and Lassac (Onesimo Saturnino Hablitas), SCZB# 151. The third, sixteen-year-old Tejos (Mariano Hablitas), SCZB# 115, had received baptism three months earlier.

²¹⁵ Nisipen (Maria Guadalupe Cruz) died October 31, 1794, SCZD# 35, her daughter on March 7, 1793, SCZD# 8, and Gelelis (Gabriel Cañizares) on November 22, 1793, SCZD# 10.

1795, four months after the death of Nisipen.²¹⁶ Reasons aren’t recorded in the baptismal records, so it leaves the question open as to why Cholmos and Ullegen came in after Nisipen’s death. Nisipen never married during her time at the mission, and, given the overlapping birthdates of the children, it is probable that Cholmos did not want to conform to Catholic monogamy and chose to come in only after the passing of his first wife.²¹⁷

By spring of 1792, smaller groups of young adults began to join the mission community, some in hopes of finding new avenues to political, economic, and social mobility or status in this newly emerging community. One such example is found with Lacad (Julian Apodaca).²¹⁸ The twenty-six-year-old Lacad was a Chaloctaca who appears to have come from a different family than the predominant clan of Gelelis. Instead, he came from a village noted as “Sucheseu,” and arrived by himself in June of 1792.²¹⁹ Lacad quickly received approval by the Franciscans and became one of the first two elected *alcaldes* (mayors) in 1796.²²⁰ Though technically elected by the neofitos, these *alcaldes* were handpicked by the missionaries to become the “voice of the padres,” and could be

²¹⁶ Tanca (Pantaleon) was baptized on February 16, 1795, SCZB# 420, his parents eight days later, on February 24, 1795.

²¹⁷ Cholmos (Acisclo) and Ullegen (Acisclo) received Catholic marriage after baptism, on February 24, 1795, SCZM#92.

²¹⁸ SCZB# 141. His baptism record does not state his tribal affiliation, but his confirmation record does, SCZC #23.

²¹⁹ Village named in his baptism record. There are no other records of the same name.

²²⁰ These elections and the role of *alcalde* will be discussed at more length in following chapters. The first election at Mission Santa Cruz took place in January 1797. Record at Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter referred to as AGN), March 30, 1796, California (017), vol. 65, exp. 8, fjs. 310–11.

subjected to corporal punishment if they failed to follow instructions.²²¹ Lacad was one of a number of younger converts who appear to have gained the favor of the padres.²²²

Others appear to have visited the missions because traditional medicines could not help them. The Spanish brought a host of viruses and disease that traditional healers were unequipped to deal with.²²³ The Franciscan missionaries required that neofitos be clothed in Spanish wool, to signify new status within the mission. Wool clothing, when unwashed or unchanged, harbors disease-carrying parasites such as fleas and lice.²²⁴ Some who visited Mission Santa Cruz appear to have been close to death upon receiving baptism, as is the case with Llaggen (Angela), who died four days after receiving baptism in December of 1791.²²⁵ Perhaps she came to Mission Santa Cruz seeking refuge, hoping that the padres promise of medicine and spiritual powers could provide relief where traditional healers could not. While the friars may have interpreted these late-life conversions as proof of acceptance of Catholicism, “as death approaches, a deeper and better attachment to the

²²¹ AGN, Californias (017), vol. 65, exp. 8, fjs. 303–29.

²²² These *alcaldes* did not always conform to Spanish control, as we’ll see in later chapters, as Lacad (Julian Apodaca) eventually played a key role in the murder of Padre Quintana in 1812.

²²³ Jackson, “Disease and Demographic Patterns,” 33–57. The incidence of dysentery, respiratory disease, pneumonia, and tuberculosis appears to have ravaged Mission Santa Cruz in the early years, while outbreaks of measles (1804) and smallpox (1830) came later. Meanwhile Friar Lasuén reported a plague ravaging a village within a dozen leagues of Mission San Carlos, in a letter to Governor Borica, June 15, 1795, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 8, 153–54. Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 65–6. I do agree with Hackel, in that the spread of disease hastened relocation into the missions.

²²⁴ Jackson Disease and Demographic Patterns,” 38. Jackson explores the incidence of disease and pathogens, including ones from wool, at Mission Santa Cruz.

²²⁵ Llaggen (Angela), SCZB# 87, SCZD# 2. She is listed as coming from the “San Gregorio” tribe, of which there were only two at Mission Santa Cruz, the other being her husband, Orcheriu (Gaspar Pablo), SCZB# 46, who received baptism a month before her. Orcheriu appears to have moved later to Santa Clara, perhaps to be closer to kin, as he dies there in 1830, SCLD# 1632. I believe that this indicated that Llaggen was from north of the Quiroste, in modern San Gregorio, along the coast, which would make sense with her husband later moving to Santa Clara.

true religion," it is more likely that people hoped that the new spiritual leaders brought with them the knowledge and ceremony needed to cure new ailments.²²⁶

As families and kin networks moved onto the mission lands, they had children. By the end of 1797, forty-six children had been born. Of these, thirty-five did not live to age ten, twenty-eight of which died in infancy.²²⁷ Of the eleven who did survive, we know for certain that five lived beyond twenty years and became key assistants to the missionaries. Among these is Lino, son of Chaloctaca couple Ules and Lluillin.²²⁸ Lino was the fourth child born within the mission and first to live to fifteen years. He served as a godfather and marriage witness, and was listed as the personal page of Padre Quintana in his teenage years.²²⁹ The padres appeared to have kept close guard over the young children, likely with the intention of teaching them Spanish and Catholic customs at an early age.²³⁰

One way that the padres instituted tight social control was by the construction of the girl's dormitory in 1793.²³¹ These dormitories, referred to in Spanish as *monjerías* (nunneries), were locked at night to keep people from leaving, and signified a major shift in

²²⁶ Lasuén observed this in a memorandum to Governor Fages (July 8, 1789, SBMAL, CMD 95).

²²⁷ This number could be more, as six of these records are incomplete, meaning that they may have died after running away (with parents) from the mission, or at some point after leaving the mission.

²²⁸ Lino, SCZB# 226, only has a Spanish name recorded, as was typical with mission-born children.

²²⁹ Lino is listed as "Paje de Padre Quintana" in SCZB# 1563, dated October 11, 1811. He served as marriage witness in SCZM#s 388–407, 444–47, 533–34, 538–40, and 548–51 and godfather in SCZB# 1563.

²³⁰ Twelve of these young infants, like Lino, appear in the confirmation book. As they were all under three years at the time of "confirmation," this was not typical Catholic teachings, but a different kind of indoctrination. Douglas Monroy recognized a similar complication involving confirmation, due to the lack of Spanish understanding for many new converts, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 47–8. Monroy noted that the fact that "the Indians did not learn the language of their acculturators suggests that they probably did not comprehend much of the religion either."

²³¹ This is reported in the Annual Report for 1793, held at SBMAL.

family organization.²³² Unmarried women, teenage girls, and widows were held in separate quarters from their families, while married couples were permitted to live in homes surrounding the mission. These monjerías were notorious for their poor upkeep. As one visitor commented, they “were so abominably infested with every kind of filth and nastiness, as to be rendered not less offensive than degrading of the human species.”²³³ At some point, though it isn’t recorded, men’s dormitories were also built. Children under the age of ten could continue to live with their parents, with the proviso that they partake in Catholic teachings. Once they reached the age of ten, single boys and girls were separated from their families and required to live in the locked dormitories.

While Spanish power in the region grew slowly over time, in these early years of the mission formation, Spanish hegemony was limited by the presence of existing peoples and open territories where those who chose to avoid the missions could remain. Spanish presence in the area consisted of two missionaries, two to five soldiers, a handful of converted Baja California Natives, and the occasional visit by governmental officials or other emissaries. Direct Spanish control was limited, even in ability to offer Catholic instruction and teachings.²³⁴ Furthermore, as mission lands extended to transform a wider range of

²³² Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County*, 46. Years later, Asisara recalled being a “key-keeper.” By 1797 new roles of political leadership within the mission had formed, including the *alcalde* (mayor), which will be explored in later chapters. The *alcalde* roll, unique to Mission Santa Cruz, was divided along gender lines—with men (always) being either the *alcalde de mujeres* or *alcalde de hombres* (the mayor of women or of men). I understand this to mean that the elected official (always a *neofito*) was in charge of locking up the women or men.

²³³ *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World: In Which the Coast of North-West America has been Carefully Examined and Accurately Surveyed... Performed in the Years 1790–1795 in the Discovery Sloop of War and Armed Tender Chatham, under the Command of Captain George Vancouver*, vol. 2 (London: GG and J. Robinson, 1801), 13. This quote comes from English captain George Vancouver, who visited Mission Dolores and Mission Santa Clara in 1792.

²³⁴ This is reflected in the Mission Santa Cruz Book of Confirmations, which shows that the first group confirmations took place in May of 1793, a year and a half after founding, SBMAL.

pasturelands and agricultural fields, the dense forests offered plenty of alternatives to people who had intimate knowledge of them. Many tribal elders and families chose to avoid baptism, staying outside the reach of the missionaries. Others who once accepted baptism found ways to escape the mission, fleeing to live in the forests or their former homelands.²³⁵ But regardless of how far outside of Spanish influence some chose to remain, the maintenance and growth of mission pasture and agricultural lands impacted the whole region.

The Environmental Impact of Livestock

For local tribes, the forests represented ancient homelands, filled with sacred places and traditional hunting grounds, a geography inscribed with deep history and meaning shaped over thousands of years. For the Spanish settlers, these landscapes represented untapped resources. The large number of terraced fields became targets for environmental reorganization, as the Spanish saw fallow, wild fields in need of cultivation, failing to recognize the extent of Indigenous labor involved in the carefully tended grassland resources. Young, newly baptized peoples were put to work reorganizing traditional resources into Spanish agricultural fields or pasturelands. The environmental disruption and transformation that followed Spanish settlement resulted in a decrease in available grasslands for traditional foraging and ecological practices for Indigenous peoples throughout the larger Bay Area.²³⁶ The combination of livestock expansion and three

²³⁵ Governor Borica to Marcelino Cipres, Monterey, September 29, 1796, in SBMAL, CMD 279. In Monterey, by the mid-1790s reports show that a number of baptized people fled the mission eastward into the tule-filled swamps that the Spanish hesitated to cross.

²³⁶ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 65—74. Hackel similarly examines the impact of Spanish livestock and agriculture on Indigenous grasses and resources.

consecutive years of regional drought between 1793 and 1796 led to food shortages.²³⁷

Early conflicts between Spanish and Indigenous peoples revolved around cattle, resource management, and the transformation of grasslands into pasturelands.²³⁸ The Spanish brought along large numbers of cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, and mules, all of which required extensive pasturelands (see figures 1.5 and 1.6). Additionally, Spanish agricultural practices were imposed on the lands surrounding the missions, as padres instructed newly christened youth to transform existing lands and resources into agricultural fields of wheat, barley, corn, kidney beans, chickpeas, lentils, peas, pinto beans, and fava beans.

Year	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	Mares and Foals	Mules	Horses
1791	160	146	28	26	6	10
1792	180	170	0	36	7	15
1793	210	300	0	44	5	16
1794	350	400	0	60	5	19
1795	530	1,100	0	170	10	26
1796	650	1,140	0	360	48	9
1797	710	1,500	14	500	50	29

Figure 1.5: Livestock reported near Mission Santa Cruz

The transformation of these traditional resources into livestock grazing lands and agricultural fields quickly led to a loss of available resources for those who chose to stay in their traditional lands, as hunger led to an increase in the number of baptisms. Spanish authorities quickly prohibited seasonal burning, which became an ongoing fight to prevent

²³⁷ Informe al Commandante General, Monterey, August 24, 1796, BL, BSS, Provincial State Records, C-A 50 206–08. Governor Borica recognized that Indigenous theft of cattle around Mission Santa Clara in 1796 was a response to food shortages due to three years of drought.

²³⁸ Soler to Governor Fages, April 10, 1787, BL, BSS, Provincial State Records, C-A 4, 139. An incident occurred at Mission San Carlos (Monterey) in April of 1787, in which a number of cattle were attacked by a mixed group of unbaptized Calendaruc people and recently baptized “runaways.” This incident resulted in Spanish soldiers giving chase. Eventually they negotiated with the Calendaruc captain for the arrest of the runaways.

Indigenous use of fire.²³⁹ The vast majority of new recruits received baptisms during the winter months, suggesting that the transformed fields reduced grazing lands for deer, elk, and other animals that locals hunted during the colder months (see figure 1.7). The number of livestock increased dramatically in the first six years of the mission, particularly sheep and cattle, which numbered nearly two thousand animals between the two species by the end of 1796 (see figure 1.5). Furthermore, the dominant agricultural products at Mission Santa Cruz included wheat and corn, which required an increasing amount of fields.

Year	Wheat	Barley	Corn	Pinto Beans	Chickpeas	Lentils	Peas	Beans
1791	12							6
1792	120	44	250	9	8		5	
1793	100	20	180	24			5	
1794	400		450	60			50	
1795	1100		600	60			26	
1796	2000		140	90		2	13	
1797	1400		200	5		3		
Source: Mission Santa Cruz annual reports, held at SBMAL. Amounts are in <i>fanegas</i> ("bushels"), and refer to the amount of land required to plant a <i>fanega</i> of seed.								

Figure 1.6: Agricultural yields at Mission Santa Cruz by year

While these new Spanish food products altered diets, there is evidence that traditional foods supplemented and formed a large part of Native American diets.²⁴⁰ An incident at Mission San Carlos (Monterey) highlights the continued prominence of coastal resources, as well as growing opportunities and access for Ohlone peoples. In 1790, a group

²³⁹ Arrillaga to Lasuén, May 31, 1793, SBMAL, CMD 168. By 1793, Governor José Joaquín de Arrillaga formalized fire restrictions, ordering soldiers to prevent Indian fires in the open country around Santa Bárbara.

²⁴⁰ Rebecca Allen noted the persistence of shellfish and traditional foods in her study, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz, 1791–1834: Interpreting the Archaeological Record* (Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 95. This pattern has been studied throughout the greater Bay Area. See Stephen W. Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California: Native Americans and the Archaeology of Rancho Petaluma* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004).

of eighty to one hundred men from villages in Santa Clara went to help erect buildings near Mission San Carlos, after being offered gifts of glass beads, shirts, blankets, and shells. Spanish soldiers were careful to disarm the men of their bows and arrows, and offered provisions. But most of the Indigenous workers had brought with them seeds, rabbit, fish, wild fruit, and other foods from their homes. This was supplemented with beef and a corn meal mush with beans, provided by the Spanish soldiers. Governor Pedro Fages recounted giving them their blankets and glass beads, and authorizing them to go down to the beach and gather abalone shells, which they loaded onto mules to carry back. The governor noted that they valued these shells for working them into coinage, as well as for gifts for their wives.²⁴¹ This event illustrates the continued value of traditional foods and practices, as well as the availability of new opportunities for inland peoples, as access to rich coastal resources that had previously been harvested and traded by coastal tribes.

It is also worth considering the impact of Spanish livestock on Indigenous communities. The centrality of animals to spiritual practices raises questions regarding the introduction of new animals. Moreover, Spanish usage of livestock animals differed considerably with Indigenous relationships with animals, who played a central role in their spiritual world.²⁴² The horse, in particular, seems to have been quickly integrated into

²⁴¹ This account was written a few years after the event and was reported by Governor Fages to Viceroy Miguel de la Grúa Talamanca y Branciforte, August 12, 1793, BL MSS, State Provincial Records, C-A 7, 405–13.

²⁴² Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, 54–6. Monroy similarly recognized these complexities, noting that “for Indians to use an ox-driven wooden plow required a tremendous transformation of their orientation toward the cosmos. The ox and the tree lost the old spirits that had animated them and formed part of their essence.”

Indigenous spiritual practices.²⁴³ Spanish laws prohibited Indigenous use of firearms and horses, as the use of horses symbolized the higher status of Spanish settlers.²⁴⁴ Padre Junípero Serra noted that Mission San Carlos neofitos “had come to the conclusion that [the Spaniards] were the sons of the mules on which they rode.”²⁴⁵

Mission Santa Cruz Baptisms through 1796, by Month		
Month	Baptisms	%
January	112	15.0
February	227	30.9
March	121	16.5
April	18	2.5
May	50	6.8
June	15	2.0
July	13	1.8
August	5	0.7
September	8	1.1
October	41	5.6
November	89	12.1
December	35	4.8
Total	734	

Figure 1.7: Baptisms by month, through 1796

Years later, in 1827, American trapper Jedediah Smith described a similar reaction to his horses in the northern Sacramento Valley, observing that “many Indians came as near the camp as I would permit and sat down. I gave them some presents... They were under the impression that the horses could understand them and when they were passing they talked to them and made signs as to the men.”²⁴⁶ While horses certainly became important elements of the new social and spiritual world, one wonders what Indigenous people

²⁴³ Lisbeth Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 113–14. Haas explores the centrality of the horse to Indigenous artwork in other California missions.

²⁴⁴ Governor Fages to Lasuén, Monterey, August 20, 1787, SBMAL, CMD 64.

²⁴⁵ Tibesar, *Writing of Junípero Serra*, 2:87.

²⁴⁶ Maurice Sullivan and Alexander Roderick McLeod, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith: A Documentary Outline Including the Journal of the Great American Pathfinder* (Santa Ana, CA, Fine Arts Press, 1934), 76–77.

thought of the livestock that shared their lands. Soquel received cow and fowl for the use of his lands. Was this for hunger, or did these exotic animals hold a certain spiritual intrigue for local peoples?

The transformation of the environment impacted other local animals, as depleted fields deprived deer and elk of grazing lands. The loss of deer, elk, and other animals that thrived in the tended grasslands in turn had an effect not only on Indigenous hunters, but also predators like wolves and bears. These same predators were also drawn to the easy prey of the sedentary livestock, which lured them closer to the mission grazing lands, possibly to supplement diminishing deer and elk populations.²⁴⁷ Spanish guards and missionaries did not see the local wildlife with the same reverence as the locals, and, at times, shot bears for target practice, and eventually captured bears for entertainment purposes, pitting them against cattle in bear and bull fights.²⁴⁸ Furthermore the introduction of cattle and livestock provided new temptations for hungry predators, who looked to replace the struggling elk and deer. Might these shifting ecological relationships emboldened local animals in new ways?²⁴⁹ The Spanish found a willing market for sea lion and otter skins and employed neofitos to hunt.²⁵⁰ While it might be impossible to measure

²⁴⁷ Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County*, 58. Asisara recalls the prevalence of bear drawn to the cow pastures.

²⁴⁸ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft, 1884), 1:495. The account of soldiers using bears for target practice at Mission Santa Cruz is given here.

²⁴⁹ Fernández to Governor Borica, SFAD, January 28, 1798, #124. Friar Manuel Fernández relates the story of a dead whale that beached in January 1798 and also recalls a large number of wolves and bears feasting on the carcass. He also mentions that three neofitos were wounded by bears that began fighting each other after being drawn to the whale.

²⁵⁰ Governor Fages, August 29, 1786, BL MSS, Provincial State Papers, C-A 3, 398–402. In 1876 Governor Fages debated whether to ban unregulated Indians from selling sea lions while allowing for the sale of otter fur. Meanwhile, in an undated letter, Lasuén mentioned that “there are no trappers of sea otters other than Indians; and these are readily oppressed and imposed on by the gente de

the impact of the disruption of regional wildlife, there is little doubt that these disturbances impacted spiritual life.

The Quiroste Rebellion

Relocation to the new mission communities did not go uncontested. By the beginning of 1793 a pantribal resistance movement formed in the mountains south of San Francisco, in the homeland of the Quiroste. This movement eventually led to an attack on Mission Santa Cruz, the only recorded physical attack on a mission north of Monterey. The rebellion was caused, in part, by the disruption of traditional marriage practices. This rebellion highlights the difficult choices facing Indigenous peoples at this time, as well as outright resistance to the changing political and social landscape under Spanish imposition. This short-lived resistance movement also demonstrated the limits of Spanish hegemony, as both neofito and gentile collaborated in challenging Spanish authority.

Charquin (Mateo), chief of the powerful Quiroste tribe of the Point Año Nuevo area, was the leader of this movement.²⁵¹ Charquin was about sixty years old when he was baptized in November of 1791 at the San Pedro outstation.²⁵² He was baptized along with a mixed group of Oljon and Quiroste people. His two daughters, Cuc chítí (Ninfa) and Puchute

razón.” *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén*, ed. Finbar Kenneally (Academy of American Franciscan History, 1964), 1:215.

²⁵¹ SFB# 1002, on November 18, 1791. Milliken identifies Charquin as the chief based on his appearing first among a mixed group of Quiroste and Olpen. The second in line that day was Lachi (Pacífico), SFB# 1003, chief of the Olpen. The ordering of baptisms often reflected political hierarchies.

²⁵² Starting in 1786, the missionaries at Mission Dolores opened the San Pedro outstation twelve miles down the coast, which helped ease conditions of overcrowding, provided additional food resources, and increased outreach down the coast into the mountain region. This began the recruitment of coastal people such as the Quiroste.

(Marina), were baptized the week before he and his wife, Yaccham (Emerenciana), received baptism.²⁵³ The day after their baptism, Charquin and Yaccham were married according to Catholic custom as well.²⁵⁴ It is possible that the imposition of marriage interfered with Charquin’s traditionally more fluid polygamous standing as chief, though the records do not show whether he had more than one partner before baptism. Hermenegildo Sal recalled that Charquin stayed less than eight days before returning to his village of Mitenne.²⁵⁵ Though around twenty Quiroste had received baptism at Mission San Francisco beginning in 1787, the majority of these were young children who formed a small minority within this newly forming community of recently baptized. They were greatly outnumbered by their neighbors, the Oljon. In precontact society the Quiroste were the largest and most powerful of the local tribes, but here Charquin would have found himself an outsider, bereft of previous political influence. He actively resisted attempts to bring him back to the mission and took up arms against the Christianized Indians who were sent after him.

In the year following Charquin’s baptism, a number of Quiroste continued to bring their children in for baptisms. Thirteen Quiroste received baptism at Mission San Francisco, three at the San Pedro outstation. Ten of these thirteen were children under the age of ten. Another thirteen received baptisms at Mission Santa Clara, twelve of them children. Though

²⁵³ Cuc chítí (Ninfa), SFB# 991, Puchute (Marina), SFB# 993, both on November 11, 1791. Yaccham (Emerenciana), SFB# 1011.

²⁵⁴ San Francisco (Dolores) Marriage Registry # (hereafter referred to as SFM#) 242, on November 19, 1791.

²⁵⁵ Sal to Arrillaga, February 27, 1793, BL MSS, C-A 55, 160–64. One eighty-year-old Quiroste elder, Lonsom, did receive baptism at Mission San Francisco (SFB# 200) back in 1780 and lived in the community until his death two years later. The majority of the twenty-plus referred to were baptized at the San Pedro outstation. They are SFB #s 676–80, 711, 725, 871, 930, 976, 977, 981–83, and 985–93. The exceptions are #s 871 and 930, who were baptized at Mission San Francisco. Another fifteen Quiroste children were baptized at Mission Santa Clara during the spring of 1790 under the alias San Bernadino, SCLB#s 1581, 1684, 1688, 1689, 1691, 1699, 1707–10, 1720, 1721, 1723, 1724, and 1736.

the documents make it clear that Charquin resisted all enticements to return, it is unclear whether his whole family was with him during this time. His daughter, Puchute, who would have been around four years old at the time, died in November of 1792. Her body was buried at Mission San Francisco.²⁵⁶ As no mention is made in her burial record about her body being recovered in the mountains, it is probable that she stayed with the mission community after Charquin left. The allure and promise of these new communities divided the tribal world, as many were faced with tough choices.

In January of 1793, Diego Olbera, a servant at Mission San Francisco who had served as godparent for Charquin’s baptism, made a trip to the mountains to locate the missing Quiroste, most likely attempting to bring Charquin and his people back to the community.²⁵⁷ At the same time, his community of Mitenne, nestled in the hard-to-reach mountains, was becoming a refuge for runaways.²⁵⁸ Fugitives from different tribes throughout the region sought refuge with the Quiroste, perhaps out of appreciation for the political and economic power of the tribe. By early 1793 Friar Baldomero Lopez reported that Charquin was harboring around twenty runaways from Mission San Francisco.

In February of 1793, an incident took place at Mission Santa Cruz that escalated the growing tension between the Spanish and the resisting fugitive community. Two young couples left Mitenne to receive baptism at Mission Santa Cruz, the first Quiroste to make the trip south to the new mission. The couples, Uetex (Secundino Maldonado) and

²⁵⁶ San Francisco (Dolores) Death Registry # (hereafter referred to as SFD#) 480, burial date November 17, 1792.

²⁵⁷ This is found in a note in the baptism of a Quiroste woman, Momioste, whom Olbera baptized in her sickness SFB#1165, on January 3, 1793. She survived for almost another year, SFD# 593.

²⁵⁸ Sal to Arrillaga, February 27, 1793, BL MSS, C-A 55, 160–64.

Tuiguimemis (Manuela Yrien), and Uayas (Bartolome Lopez) and Miscamis (Bonifacia Ubartondo), received baptism followed by Catholic marriages.²⁵⁹ Sal reported that when the couples returned to Mitenne with licenses to visit, Charquin threatened to kill them and to take their wives. Thus, they were forced to choose between joining the mission community or staying in their village.²⁶⁰ The men fled and returned by night in an attempt to recover their wives. When Charquin found them, he took their weapons, leaving them to return to the mission alone. Both Sal and Friar Lopez called upon the Spanish governor to provide soldiers to deal with the Charquin situation. Shortly after this incident, most of the neofitos at the San Pedro outstation were moved up to San Francisco, possibly as a response to concern about Charquin.

While there is no record of response from the governor, there is indirect evidence that troops were sent and that Charquin was captured.²⁶¹ In early May, the bodies of two young baptized Quiroste runaways were found in the mountains, indicating that an expedition of some sort had been moving through the area.²⁶² In the following days, forty Quiroste received baptism at Mission San Francisco, including ten couples, a dramatic increase over the previous months. It is unknown whether Spanish soldiers captured and brought them in or whether they came of their own free will, as the records do not indicate

²⁵⁹ Uetex (Secundino Maldonado, SCZB#186) and Tuiguimemis (Manuela Yrien, SCZB#189), and Uayas (Bartolome Lopez, SCZB#187) and Miscamis (Bonifacia Ubartondo, SCZB#190), all baptized on February 17, 1793.

²⁶⁰ Sal to Arrillaga, February 27, 1793, BL MSS, C-A 55, 160–64. It is possible that this reflects the perseverance of the pattern of “wife-stealing” observed by the Spanish, and that Charquin was exerting power over these new converts through traditional methods.

²⁶¹ One record in the provincial documents suggests a report on March 26, 1793, about Charquin—either that he had been captured or that attempts were being made to capture him. Unfortunately the original was lost in the San Francisco fire of 1906. See Arrillaga, March 26, 1793, BL MSS, C-A 22, 359.

²⁶² SFD#s 541 and 542.

one way or the other. I believe this to be evidence of military intervention. References to Charquin’s capture appear in letters in July and September, including a mention by Governor José Joaquín de Arrillaga that he was considering giving him a pardon.²⁶³

Despite the capture of Charquin, the Quiroste community continued to harbor both runaways and resistance fighters. Quiroste response was complex. While some were motivated to continue resisting the Spanish, others continued to join mission communities in both San Francisco and Santa Clara. In November 1793, another expedition into the mountains reported seven dead fugitives, including Charquin’s wife, Yaccham, who had apparently avoided capture up to this point.²⁶⁴ Also in November, a young girl, Chuchigite (Maria Francisca), was baptized at Mission Santa Cruz.²⁶⁵ Chuchigite was the sister of Tuiguimemis, one of the two baptized women who had been held by Charquin. At some point, either around the baptism of her younger sister or Charquin’s capture, Tuiguimemis (Manuela Yrien), along with Miscamis, returned to Mission Santa Cruz. It is likely a combination of Chuchigite’s move into the mission and the return of her older sister that led to the attack on Mission Santa Cruz.

On the night of December 14, a group of both baptized and unbaptized peoples from the northwest made an attack on Mission Santa Cruz, wounding two soldiers and setting fire to the roof of the corral and old guard house. The corporal returned fire, but nobody was killed in the encounter. Lasuén recounted the following:

²⁶³ BL MSS, C-A 22, 361–62.

²⁶⁴ SFD#590. The other six included the previously mentioned Momoiste, whom Olbera had baptized in his search for Charquin earlier in the year, SFD#593. The others are SFD#s 588–89, 591–92, and 594.

²⁶⁵ Chuchigite, listed as six or seven years old, SCZB#230.

The motive they have given is this, that the soldiers had taken away to San Francisco various Christian Indians belonging to that place who had been fugitives from there for some time, and that they had taken a Christian Indian woman away from a pagan man, and it was he who was the principal instigator and leader of the disorder.²⁶⁶

The attack was connected with the recent return to the mission of the Quiroste women. One of the leaders of the attack was Ochole (Formerio), father of Tuiguimemis and Chuchigite.²⁶⁷ Curiously, a three-year-old Quiroste girl, Juanchita (Maria Expectacion), was baptized the day after the attack, only to die eleven days later.²⁶⁸ No other note is made of this, but one wonders whether she was injured, left behind, or taken during this encounter. Nonetheless, Fray Baldomero Lopez and Hermenegildo Sal alerted Spanish authorities, who in turn sent soldiers from both Monterey and San Francisco. Governor Arrillaga sent word that Pablo Cota had been dispatched from Monterey, while San Francisco sent Pedro Amador to catch Ochole and the rebels.²⁶⁹ By January 18, word had been received that nine neofito scouts sent to catch them had not found them.²⁷⁰ On February 1, nine neofitos returned with eight prisoners, including one named Pella, who was indicated as the ringleader.²⁷¹ This last letter reported of hostile Indians making arrows and preparing for

²⁶⁶ *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén*, ed. Kenneally, 1:299–300. Here the Spanish appear to be, somewhat unknowingly, operating within Indigenous protocols by stealing the women away via baptism and relocation.

²⁶⁷ SCLB#2718.

²⁶⁸ SCZB#234. She is baptized along with a six-year-old Cotoni, Samecxi (Damaso) SCZB#233, who will appear again in a later chapter. It is possible that Juanchita’s father was a Cotoni, as her father, Cholos (who doesn’t appear to have been baptized himself) shares a name with the father of a Cotoni boy baptized four days after her death (December 29, 1793). The boy’s name was Susiur (Vicente Reyes), SCZB#239.

²⁶⁹ BL MSS, Provincial State Papers, C-A 14, 176

²⁷⁰ Perez-Fernández to Arrillaga, February 1, 1794, BL MSS, Provincial State Papers, C-A 7, 55–56.

²⁷¹ Perez-Fernández to Governor Arrillaga, February 1, 1794, BL MSS, Provincial State Papers, C-A 6, 336–67. This is the only mention of Pella. He was never listed under baptismal records.

further fighting.²⁷² In the months and years following the Quiroste attack, Spanish officials responded by increasing their military presence.

Spanish reports indicate that livestock raids increased following the raid. A month after the Quiroste attack another incident occurred between Missions Santa Cruz and Santa Clara, as more Indians were sighted eating cows belonging to Mission Santa Clara.²⁷³ The last Quiroste baptisms at Mission Santa Cruz took place shortly after, on February 23, when two adult women, Quisum (Gregoria) and Mañem (Eufemia) received baptisms.²⁷⁴ They appear to have been moved shortly thereafter to Mission Santa Clara, most likely to join their families, or perhaps the padres of Santa Cruz no longer wished to deal with the Quiroste women.²⁷⁵

The surviving resistance movement persevered outside of the reach of Spanish control, but by the summer of 1794, large numbers of Quiroste began to relocate to mission communities. This migration signaled the end of this movement. In July of 1794, Charquin’s brother, Meve, who was nicknamed *El Calvo* (“Baldy”), arrived at Mission Santa Clara, asking Spanish authorities for forgiveness and asylum.²⁷⁶ Governor Arrillaga gave him neither, citing

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Perez-Fernández to Arrillaga, March 15, 1794, BL MSS, Provincial State Papers, C-A 7, 50–54.

²⁷⁴ SCZB#s 315 and 316.

²⁷⁵ The reason for their move is not noted, but one of the two women, Quisum (Gregoria), had an infant son who had been previously baptized at Mission Santa Clara, on May 4, 1793, Cucufate, SCLB#2301. The father, Aniceto, SCLB#2463, April 16, 1794, was baptized at Mission Santa Clara a few months after the Santa Cruz baptisms, so it is possible that they were relocated around then. The couple were joined by their thirteen-year-old daughter, Cipres (Prima), SCLB#2540, on September 20, 1794. The second woman, Mañem (Eufemia), had a daughter who received baptism at Mission Santa Clara merely a month later, beginning with her daughter, Gregoria, SCLB#2457, on March 25, 1794, and husband, Rodrigo, SCLB#2464, on April 16, 1794.

²⁷⁶ BL MSS, Provincial State Papers, C-A 22, 367

that “his was not a crime that is given ecclesiastical immunity.”²⁷⁷ Instead, Meve was arrested and exiled to the presidio in San Diego, while his brother was sent to the presidio in Santa Bárbara.²⁷⁸ It is not entirely clear why Meve decided to turn himself in. It is possible that the defeat of the rebellion, along with ongoing relocation to mission sites, is indicative of larger psychological turmoil and disruption, a psychological crisis at a time when the majority of people began relocating to mission communities.²⁷⁹

Others involved with the resistance movement began to join the mission community as well. Ochole was baptized along with sixty-two others at Santa Clara that fall, as the remaining Quiroste were rounded up.²⁸⁰ The tribe found themselves split between mission communities at San Francisco, Santa Clara, and, to a lesser extent, Santa Cruz. This is an example of a Spanish tactic of dividing troublesome tribal peoples among disparate geographies, a tactic that would be used with later tribes as well.²⁸¹ The decision to divide the Quiroste among various missions was informed by a number of factors—the geographic proximity of the Quiroste to the northern missions as well as concern over further unrest at Mission Santa Cruz that could potentially be fomented by the presence of members of this once powerful and influential tribe.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ BL MSS, Provincial State Papers, C-A 7, 188–200

²⁷⁹ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 123. Milliken makes this same argument.

²⁸⁰ A total of sixty-two Quiroste receive baptism in groups at Mission Santa Clara between September and December of 1794. It is possible that some of these were not Quiroste, as they may have been allied neighbors. They were all recorded as “San Bernardino,” which indicated from the western direction of the village of Mitenne. These baptisms are SCLB#s 2517, 2526, 2530, 2532–35, 2539, 2540, 2620, 2622–25, 2627, 2629, 2630, 2632–38, 2640–45, 2647–53, 2661, 2704, 2705, 2709–13, 2717–23, 2727, 2728, 2732–36, 2761, 2763, and 2768.

²⁸¹ Overall, the majority lived at Mission Santa Clara, as 119 received baptism there, along with the 2 from Santa Cruz who moved there. Only 12 received baptism at Mission Santa Cruz, while 95 received baptism at Mission Dolores, the last receiving baptism on May 19, 1793 (SFB#1334).

Overall, the Quiroste-led rebellion pointed to the limits of Spanish hegemony, as numerous reports of collaboration between gentiles and neofitos—categories that Spanish believed distinguished classes of Indians—revealed that these lines were not as rigid as the Spanish believed.²⁸² Charquin was not one for confinement, as he continued to baffle Spanish authorities. He fled the presidio at Santa Barb  ra.²⁸³ Charquin was then recaptured, this time sent along with Ochole and another unrelated man down to San Diego.²⁸⁴ Fear and anxiety over Indigenous aggression and resistance at Mission Santa Cruz continued through March of 1796, as soldiers prepared for a possible attack. For his part, the governor gave orders to tone down the approach with the gentiles.²⁸⁵ Charquin and Ochole eventually died while in prison, Charquin in November 1796, Ochole in July 1797.²⁸⁶

The Cruel Methods of Padre Manuel Fern  ndez

Another factor that influenced the recruitment of Indigenous people into the missions was the temperament and evangelical approach of the missionaries. In the first three years and four months after the founding of Mission Santa Cruz, the two priests assigned to the mission, Fathers Baldomero Lopez and Isidro Salazar, appear to have followed the larger Bay Area pattern of baptizing infants and youth first. Both Lopez and Salazar, who appeared to have spent much time quarreling about how to run the mission,

²⁸² Jose Perez-Fern  ndez to Governor Borica, BL MSS, Provincial State Papers, C-A 15, 49. Reports indicated that unbaptized rebels were assisted by neofitos living at the mission. These collaborations persisted, as supported by evidence of Indigenous trade networks throughout the early 1800s.

²⁸³ BL MSS, Provincial State Papers, C-A 24, 53.

²⁸⁴ BL MSS, Provincial State Papers, CA-8, 176-78.

²⁸⁵ BL MSS, Provincial State Papers, C-A 24, 82-84.

²⁸⁶ SFD#1189 and SCLD#2032.

were unhappy with their workload and frequently petitioned to return to Mexico.²⁸⁷ In the summer of 1794, a new padre arrived at Mission Santa Clara who would further impact life for Indigenous peoples of the Santa Cruz Mountains, Father Manuel Fernández. Unlike Spanish soldiers, who were well aware of the military prowess and large numbers of local peoples and followed strict rules to avoid confrontation whenever possible, some incoming friars had no such knowledge.²⁸⁸

Friar Fernández arrived at Mission Santa Clara with a reputation for making complaints and not getting along with other padres.²⁸⁹ Within three months of his arrival, Fernández had created a tense situation at Mission Santa Clara that would require second lieutenant Hermenegildo Sal to travel down with a few soldiers from San Francisco Presidio. Commissioner of the new pueblo of San José, Gabriel Moraga, related that Father Fernández had threatened those who refused to be baptized. Fernández had a reputation for threatening to burn down villages that did not submit to baptism, but on this day he had gone beyond threats and horsewhipped a man who had not responded immediately to his call. Shortly after, a man the Spanish called *El Mocho* (“The Cripple”) complained of the

²⁸⁷ Fray Fermín de Lasuén to Fray Isidro Salazar and Baldomero Lopez, August 22, 1793, in *Writings of Fermín Francisco De Lasuén*, Kenneally, 1:286–87. Lasuén is responding to numerous complaints from the two friars. He points out that the workload responsibilities (temporal affairs) would be similar at any mission. On the lack of harmony between the two friars, see Maynard J. Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769–1848: A Biographical Dictionary* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1969), 143 and 214.

²⁸⁸ Governor Fages to Viceroy Miguel de la Grúa Talamanca y Branciforte, August 12, 1793, BL MSS, State Provincial Records, C-A 7, 405–13. Spanish laws prohibited bows and arrows around Spanish settlements. Pagan workers were quickly disarmed, as seen in the previously discussed employment of Indigenous laborers in Monterey.

²⁸⁹ *Writings of Fermín Francisco De Lasuén*, Kenneally, 1:317. In the course of assigning him to the region, Lasuén reported that “I am told that nothing suits him; and I notice that none of the missionaries who have known him like him...” in a letter to Fray Tomas Pangua, August 19, 1794. Like the majority of padres assigned to Alta California, Fernández was born in Spain (Villar), and trained at the College of San Fernando in Mexico City before being assigned and sent northward.

padre visiting his village. Fernández accused *El Mocho* of dissuading his relatives from baptism, ordered him to be tied up, and demanded the administration of several lashes. *El Mocho* arrived unable to stand, covered in welts and wounds. As a result, local villagers abandoned their homes for the hills to the east, while a young Indigenous man armed and painted for war was caught either planning an insurrection or attempting to work sorcery against the Spanish. A Spanish soldier, Ygnacio Soto, apprehended the man, who warned him that these local villagers were preparing to attack Pueblo San José. When Sal and a few of his soldiers arrived, they met with local chiefs. Sal assured them that Fernández had spoken out of line, calmed the locals, and forestalled further conflict.²⁹⁰

This event resulted in frustration between Fernández and the local soldiers, who were badly outnumbered by local villagers and sought to avoid the overly aggressive proselytizing of Fernández. The response of the soldiers and military reflects the growing tensions between the Spanish civil government and the church. Further, it indicates an acknowledgement of the tenuous position of settlers as well as the power of local Indigenous peoples. The civilian settlement of San José, founded just seventeen years earlier as El Pueblo de San José de Guadalupe on November 29, 1777, was the first attempt at a civilian settlement in the northern part of Alta California.²⁹¹ Three months after the incident involving Fernández, he was relocated to Mission Santa Cruz, where he appears to have continued his controversial approach.²⁹²

²⁹⁰ Commissioner Gabriel Moraga to Lieutenant Jose Arguello, October 30, 1794, BL, C-A 7, 125–33.

²⁹¹ The second pueblo, El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles, was founded in 1781.

²⁹² Fernández’s last baptism at Mission Santa Clara took place on November 27, 1794 (SCLB#2679). He first appears in the Mission Santa Cruz baptismal record on February 25, 1795 (SCRB#457). He performed sixty-five baptisms over the next month.

Fernández quickly became involved in further strife, threatening to incite more Indigenous retaliation within three months after his arrival, in May of 1795. Both Salazar and Lopez were allowed to leave Mission Santa Cruz within a short period after Fernández arrival, and a transition took place, with Fernández becoming the padre in charge of the mission.²⁹³ Under Fernández's oversight, the number of livestock pastures and agricultural fields, all created by Indigenous labor, increased dramatically beginning in 1795 (see figures 1.5 and 1.6). Fernández continued his aggressive proselytizing tactics, chasing down runaways, entering villages to the south of Mission Santa Cruz, and threatening to punish those who did not relocate to the mission. Reports during this time point to increasing threats from local peoples, as soldiers assigned to the mission cited threats of hostility in their requests for military support.²⁹⁴ Fernández's behavior prompted scolding from his superior, Fray Lasuén, who reprimanded him for an incident where Fernández chased down a runaway and attempted to take him by force. Fernández, accompanied by a soldier and a number of Christianized Indians, spent three days visiting local villages. He took arms from the unbaptized and created rifts between the baptized (neofitos) and unbaptized (pagans) by giving the confiscated weapons to the neofitos.²⁹⁵

Despite the official disapproval of his methods, Fernández's tactics proved effective in increasing conversions. In the first three years since the establishment of Mission Santa

²⁹³ Lasuén to Fray Antonio Nogueyra, July 21, 1796, in *Writings of Fermín Francisco De Lasuén*, Kenneally, 1:387. Fray Isidro Salazar left Santa Cruz in July of 1795, while Lopez left in July of 1796. Espi complained immediately after his assignment. Lasuén observed that "he adapts himself poorly in any mission... he has no taste for the work for which missionaries should come here. He gives signs of wishing to leave..."

²⁹⁴ Jose Antonio Sanchez to Governor Borica, March 7, 1796, in BL, C-A 55, 230.

²⁹⁵ Lasuén to Fray Manuel Fernández, May 23, 1796, *Writings of Fermín Francisco De Lasuén*, Kenneally, 1:380.

Cruz, the number of baptisms held steady around eighty per year. In 1794 this increased to an average of just over ten a month. In 1795, the year Fernández arrived and began to supervise baptisms, the number increased dramatically, almost doubling that of the previous year (see figure 1.8). The total of 258 baptisms in 1795 would be the highest number of baptisms for any given year in the existence of Mission Santa Cruz. It is at this point that a number of parents of early baptized children finally received their own baptisms at Mission Santa Cruz, which Fernández noted with delight.²⁹⁶ It is also worth noting that the number of deaths that took place around the mission also increased after Fernández’s arrival, almost tripling the number of deaths in 1794. While the causes of death aren’t always clearly marked in the registries, the unusually high number of deaths can be attributed to a combination of harsh winters, poor sanitation, and harsh treatment by the missionaries. For recent converts, these staggering figures reflected a time of extreme loss, but for Spanish missionaries the increasing number of converts signified successful work.

A Drastic Transformation of the Indigenous World

A story preserved by ethnographers in the 1930s discusses the banding together of Santa Cruz mountain people to fight a common enemy. In the story, a giant snake dominated the forests, forcing villagers to flee. Men, women, and children worked together and tricked the snake into falling into a covered pit, after which they were able to defeat the

²⁹⁶ For example, Ynoc, SCZB#492, the father of Micaela, the young girl who received the first baptism at Mission Santa Cruz (SCZB#1), received his baptism at the hands of Fernández in 1795. Fernández later noted that “some Gentiles from the far side of the Pajaro [River], relatives of the earliest Christians of this Mission, have been subdued, by which we will give much glory to God and benefits to the Mission,” in letter to Borica, SFAD, April 29, 1798, #134.

snake and return to their lives.²⁹⁷ Given what we know of local people and the complexity and diversity of responses to the colonizing Spanish, the history stands in contrast to the simplicity of this tale of collaboration. Yet this story could very well reflect stories of alliances, new networks formed within the mission community, and new forms of ingenuity and perseverance that characterized responses to Spanish occupation after 1770. The diverse people of this area responded in a variety of ways, persevering through this time of great change, but navigating these times with a sensibility informed by their own traditional values and histories.

Year	Baptisms	Births	Burials	Population
1791	82	0	2	89
1792	74	1	5	158
1793	82	4	6	233
1794	130	11	27	332
1795	258	16	75	507
1796	111	14	91	523
1797	33	13	64	491

Figure 1.8: Indigenous baptisms, population of Christianized Indians

By 1796 the majority of tribal peoples living in the Santa Cruz Mountains had relocated to mission communities. Some local people, especially elders, continued to take refuge in traditional homelands in the forests.²⁹⁸ A convergence of environmental, psychological, social, and political changes coupled with threats of violence and aggressive proselytizing resulted in this massive reorganization. Those who relocated to Mission Santa Cruz began to accept new social, political, and gender roles. By the same token, natives negotiated the imposed Spanish categories in terms of Indigenous values.

²⁹⁷ Yamane, *Snake That Lived in the Santa Cruz Mountains*.

²⁹⁸ After 1796, small groups of local peoples continued to enter the mission, though these tended to be elders.

Spanish hegemony and authority had limits, as this relocated community continued to perform rituals and dances outside of Spanish control.²⁹⁹ Trade networks and the production of shell money persisted through this time and began to incorporate Spanish glass beads into the system.³⁰⁰ Indigenous peoples continued to hunt and to gather foods and herbal medicines, often preferring their traditional foods to the crops that they produced for Spanish society.³⁰¹ Yet the psychological, ecological, social, economic, and political impact of the newly imposed Spanish order is impossible to deny. Spanish authorities sought to undermine Indigenous values by waging a psychological campaign of shame and subservience.³⁰² Father Palóu observed this process with pride:

...before baptism, they had no sense at all of shame, these feelings are immediately dominant in them as soon as baptism is received, so that if it is necessary to change the clothing because they have outgrown them, they hide

²⁹⁹ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 50. To question 10 of the 1813–15 questionnaire, which asked about Indigenous superstitions, the Mission Santa Cruz padres responded, “they hold at times secret, nocturnal dances always avoiding detection by the fathers. We are informed that at night, only the men gather together in the field or the forest. In their midst they raise a long stick crowned by a bundle of tobacco leaves or branches of trees or some other plant. At the base of this they place their food and even their colored beads.”

³⁰⁰ Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz*, 96–97.

³⁰¹ The persistence of knowledge of traditional land management practices is explored in Anderson, *Tending the Wild*. As for the perseverance of herbal usage, quite a few Californios claimed to have learned California herbology from Native peoples, including the famous Juana Briones of San Francisco, who was raised across the San Lorenzo from Mission Santa Cruz, at the Villa de Branciforte. Another example is Catholic mystic and friar Magin Catalá, who was stationed at Mission Santa Clara for thirty-six years. Additionally, the Santa Cruz–based Maria de los Angeles Majors told of her learning from Indians at Mission Santa Cruz in an interview with Belle Dormer, *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 16, 1896, 16:3.

³⁰² The theme of psychological disruption is one explored in depth by Milliken. Documents repeatedly report evidence of malaise, depression, and confusion in the face of rapid social, ecological, and political transformation, where traditional knowledge was unable to provide answers to new problems. Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*.

themselves nor will they show themselves naked before any one, and much less before the Fathers.³⁰³

The process of missionization imposed new values, overwriting Indigenous values and understandings with Spanish Catholic ones. While I argue that local peoples navigated these changes with respect to their traditional values, it is impossible to deny the psychological, environmental, physical, and spiritual cost of the colonial process.

Baptisms before 1797			
Tribe	First Baptism	# Baptized	% of Total
Achistaca	10/09/1791	84	11.40%
Aptos	10/18/1791	114	15.50%
Cajastaca	02/07/1795	15	2.00%
Chaloctaca	01/28/1792	40	5.40%
Chipuctac	03/20/1795	19	2.50%
Chitactac	03/20/1795	63	8.60%
Cotoni	05/01/1792	87	11.90%
Partacsi	02/16/1795	34	4.60%
Pitac	01/12/1796	26	3.50%
Quiroste	02/17/1793	12	1.60%
Ritocsi	02/20/1793	7	1.00%
Sayanta	10/25/1791	69	9.40%
Somontoc	12/07/1793	8	1.00%
Tiuvta (Calendaruc)	02/03/1795	3	0.40%
Uypi	10/13/1791	104	14.20%
Mission Born	12/14/1792	46	6.30%
unknown*		3	0.40%
Total baptized:		734	
* Two are identified as San Gregorio, likely from north (Oljon or Cotegen), one as Santa Agueda.			

Figure 1.9: Baptisms by tribal affiliation, through end of 1796

³⁰³ This quote was used effectively by Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 223. It is found in Francisco Palóu, *The Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Junípero Serra*, trans. and ed. George Wharton James (Pasadena, CA: Private Press of George Wharton James, 1913), 211.

Scholars have raised questions about the prevalence of forced conversions and have questioned the centrality of military and forceful intimidation of Indigenous people to accept the baptismal process. Evidence suggests that while Franciscan and Spanish authorities certainly implemented their own notions of right and wrong, resulting in a system of imprisonment, corporal punishment, public shaming, and other means of behavioral control, incidents of forced relocation to mission sites in these early years were minimal.³⁰⁴ Spanish soldiers and military officials were aware of local peoples’ skills with archery and warfare and attempted to minimize outright confrontation in the early years of colonization. Early baptismal recruitment relied on targeting Indigenous youth and tempting villagers with Spanish material trade goods such as blankets and glass beads.

Following baptism, missionaries claimed that they were responsible for careful oversight of new Catholics; and, through regular roll calls and documentation, they kept careful track of the newly baptized. In cases where missionary zealots used aggressive and threatening proselytizing tactics, as was the case with Friar Manuel Fernández, Spanish authorities—well aware that the colonizers were vastly outnumbered by local Indigenous peoples—took steps to prevent further agitation. As Spanish occupation and settlement expanded, increasing military presence and increased hegemony emboldened the colonizers to take more aggressive steps to control local peoples and threats. The threat of another attack by the Santa Cruz mountain peoples following the Quiroste rebellion justified, in the minds of Spanish authorities, a call for increasing local military presence. Spanish military presence would continued to increase in the years to come.

³⁰⁴ Preparation for systems of punishment and control was an integral part of Spanish expansion. For example, Hermenegildo Sal ordered shackles and restraints be available shortly after the founding of Mission Santa Cruz. See Provincial State Papers, BL MSS C-A 55, July 31, 1792, San Francisco, 69.

By the end of 1796, life had changed dramatically for local peoples in a very short period of time: a number of important leaders had died as a result of the difficult conditions at the new mission, including Soquel, his wife Rosuem, and Gelelis.³⁰⁵ As the population at the mission increased, disease and poor conditions resulted in growing numbers of sick and dying. The relative stability of the overall population numbers is misleading. Neofitos were dying at high rates, but the population numbers were maintained by a steady stream of new recruits (see figure 1.8). By 1797, the Spanish missionaries began seeking new neofitos from outside the local area, extending the reach of Spanish incursion, while the growing population experienced an increasing influx of foreign-born tribes and peoples. In the coming years, this population developed new economic, social, political, and gender roles, even as they adapted their traditional practices to adjust to these changes.

³⁰⁵ These deaths are recorded as Soquel (SCZD#162, on June 16, 1796), Rosuem (SCZD#9, on March 11, 1793), and Gelelis (SCZD#10, on November 22, 1793).

Chapter 2: “The diverse nations within the mission”

In the years between 1798 and 1810, large groups of Indigenous families from Native villages along the eastern and northern sides of the Santa Cruz Mountains arrived at Mission Santa Cruz. These people spoke Mutsun, an Ohlone dialect distinct from the local Awaswas speakers. The expanding mission based population navigated not only the diverse linguistic and cultural worlds of these numerous tribes, but also the colonial imposition of Spanish and Franciscan values and practices. These incoming people engaged in their own Indigenous politics, using a variety of strategies to persevere through their changing situations. Some tribal members actively challenged Spanish soldiers, while others assisted the soldiers and missionaries in their expeditions in exchange for status and favors. Spanish occupation, which grew increasingly militant during these years, expanded to include new missions and civilian settlements. These new settlements impacted Indigenous trade networks and competed for access to inland resources. Indigenous resistance characterized these times, reflected in the frequent flights of fugitives and the theft of Spanish livestock, which was a response to increasing competition for natural resources.³⁰⁶ Those who remained on mission lands learned to navigate their rapidly shifting worlds by interpreting and adapting Spanish society through traditional values and practices. Mission Santa Cruz became a hub of Indigenous networks, supplementing and altering traditional trade and interrelations with new connections to incoming strangers.

This chapter explores the emerging social world within the mission community,

³⁰⁶ Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 35—9. Monroy argued that military pursuits of flights of fugitives, and the retrieval of fugitives along with unbaptized Indigenous people helped to fuel the expansion of the spiritual conquest. A similar pattern is found in Santa Cruz, as will be explored in this and ensuing chapters.

taking a close look at the diversity of Indigenous responses to these new circumstances. Those who remained at the mission faced harsh treatment and exposure to disease that led to demographic collapse. Survivors took on new spiritual, political, economic, and social roles that helped them to navigate the imposed Spanish society. New leaders emerged, some from existing political networks and others from new alliances formed between tribes that had previously been separated by great distances. The ecological impact of Spanish colonization reduced the availability of traditional resources, reinforcing the need to learn new skills and labor practices such as farming, weaving, livestock management, metal working, and building construction.

This period has been historically viewed as a moment of forced assimilation, where Indigenous peoples learned Spanish culture and traditions at the cost of their own histories and culture.³⁰⁷ Yet a close examination of the sources and documents with an eye to the underlying tribal and Indigenous histories reveals that this rich period is best understood as a time when local peoples renegotiated political and social boundaries by drawing on Indigenous values and practices. Despite the undeniable demographic collapse and constant challenges, a diversity of Indigenous peoples used a variety of strategies to survive. Indigenous people within and outside of the missions relied on traditional practices and values to adapt and persevere through this time of perpetual change and adversity.

Scholarship has only recently begun to illuminate the complex social worlds found

³⁰⁷ Stephen W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian–Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005). Hackel’s work, which explores the history of Indigenous peoples of Monterey from a perspective of forced assimilation, includes an example of this narrative. While the book does a fine job of exploring the dynamics of Spanish conquest, little attention is given to the perseverance of tribal or precontact influences or connections.

within California mission communities.³⁰⁸ This chapter, by tracing tribal and precontact interrelations, helps to broaden an understanding of the fabric of social life within and around this newly formed mission. I argue that the diversity of relations within the mission community is best understood by examining the persistence of tribal identities, illuminating new social and political roles that were formed out of traditional relations. This approach reveals a diverse Indigenous world where traditional allies and enemies at times exploited these differences in negotiating new rights within and without mission communities. The oceanfront territories around Mission Santa Cruz became home to a greater number of peoples from traditional homelands to the east. By 1810 these new arrivals greatly outnumbered Indigenous peoples from the nearby mountains and local territories.

Indigenous resistance and challenges to Spanish occupation continued after the Quiroste rebellion in late 1793.³⁰⁹ In addition to ongoing concerns about growing discontent and challenges from these folks in the Santa Cruz Mountains, a confrontation took place north of San Francisco.³¹⁰ In mid-April of 1795, a group of baptized Indigenous peoples engaged in battle with Indigenous villagers north of San Francisco, while attempting to bring

³⁰⁸ The best examples of these are Steven W. Hackel, “The Staff of Leadership: Indian Authority in the Missions of Alta California,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (April 1997): 347–76, and James A. Sandos, “Early California Reconsidered: Mexicans, Anglos, and Indians at Mission San José,” *Pacific Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (November 2014): 592–625.

³⁰⁹ The rebellion and pantribal resistance movement is discussed at length in chapter 1.

³¹⁰ Friar Jose Perez Fernandez to Governor Borica, January 1, 1794, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 7, 78. Fears of Indigenous confrontation echoed between Santa Cruz and San Francisco. For example, in January 1794, at the height of the Quiroste Rebellion, three additional guards were sent from San Francisco to Santa Cruz to reinforce Spanish military presence. This was met with anxiety in San Francisco, as reflected in a letter from Padre Jose Perez Fernandez to the governor, who noted that they were concerned about the reduced battalion, “porque a cualquier momento podria ocurrir se les algun mal pensamiento a los Indios” (because at any moment the Indians could have bad thoughts).

back a group of runaways who had fled Mission Dolores (San Francisco).³¹¹ This group had fled because of a combination of factors, including an outbreak of an unknown epidemic in March, poor sanitary conditions, food shortages, overwork, and harsh corporal punishment at the hands of missionaries and soldiers.³¹² By summer the flights escalated as hundreds fled Mission Dolores for their traditional homelands. Meanwhile, ongoing Indigenous attacks on Spanish livestock continued in the lands between Missions Santa Cruz and Santa Clara, spurred on by a combination of three consecutive years of drought and growing hostility towards the colonizers.³¹³ Spanish authorities responded by increasing military presence and civilian settlements in an attempt to increase Spanish control over the region.

Tribes further to the east became increasingly impacted by Spanish colonial expansion. Concern over English and Russian Pacific expansion, and particularly English naval prowess, motivated Spanish officials to increase the Spanish settler population and hegemony in Alta California.³¹⁴ These plans resulted in the founding of three new

³¹¹ Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1995), 136–46. The initial flight, skirmish, and aftermath are discussed here at length.

³¹² Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 144. The outbreak was likely typhus and was limited to Mission Dolores, unlike later outbreaks that passed from one mission community to another. The reasons for this event are given in a number of recorded testimonies, kept at the Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter referred to as AGN).

³¹³ Report by Commander Jose Arguello, April 29, 1796, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 8, 3, and Commander Hermenegildo Sal to Governor Diego Borica, January 31, 1796, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 8, 4. Military commander Jose Arguello released from San Francisco presidio a group of six prisoners who had served time for killing (and eating) some mares and cattle belonging to settlers at the Pueblo of San Jose. Curiously one is named Ambrosio, and could be one of two people—a Yamnisi (SCLB#2198, baptized as Ambrosio) who lived at Mission Santa Clara until he was killed by a bear in 1800, or Euxexi (SCZB#232, also baptized as Ambrosio), a Somontoc who lived at Mission Santa Cruz but baptized his daughter at Mission Santa Clara two weeks before the founding of Mission Santa Cruz, and who would later be arrested and imprisoned for playing a part in the assassination of Padre Quintana (which will be discussed at length in chapter 3).

³¹⁴ Florian Guest, “The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (March 1962): 29–50. These ambitions were intertwined, as Spanish expansion required a larger military presence. The recent Nootka confrontation and concerns that the English

settlements in 1797 (in order of construction)—Mission San Jose, Villa de Branciforte, and Mission San Juan Bautista. The civilian settlement Villa de Branciforte was built just across the San Lorenzo River from Mission Santa Cruz.³¹⁵ These three sites increased the overall Spanish impact on the lives of Indigenous communities throughout the region in a variety of ways. The tribes living in the vicinity of the new Mission San Juan Bautista, which was built midway between Missions San Carlos (Monterey) and Santa Cruz, had their own long histories of contact and engagement with Spanish explorers. With the creation of the new mission, Spanish military parties began a process of relocating tribal members, often splitting communities between mission sites. Spanish authorities sought to redefine and redraw existing tribal territories and boundaries into recruiting zones between Missions Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, and San Juan Bautista.

Ecological and Colonial Impact on Eastern Tribes

For local tribes that had already relocated the majority of their peoples to Mission Santa Cruz lands by 1797, the ensuing years provided a number of challenges in terms of simple survival.³¹⁶ Disease and poor sanitary and work conditions combined to make mission life difficult. In 1798, local people made up nearly 60 percent of the total mission population. By 1809, local tribes made up just over 25 percent of the mission population

were seeking to disrupt Spanish monopoly of trade in the Pacific had led to the 1793 attempt to settle on Bodega Bay. As Viceroy Marques de Branciforte made plans to expand civilian settlement of the region, letters from engineer Miguel Costansó advocated for military expansion to support the expansion.

³¹⁵ David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992). The Spanish colonial frontier consisted of three types of settlements: missions, pueblos, and presidios. The missions served as sites of relocation of Indigenous peoples for Catholic instruction, Spanish acculturation, and the production of goods and services for the other settlements. Pueblos were to be homes for settling Spanish citizens, while the presidios housed and equipped Spanish soldiers.

³¹⁶ The removal of these local tribes—Uypi, Cotoni, Sayanta, Aptos (Cajastaca), Achistaca, and Chaloctaca—to Mission Santa Cruz lands is the subject of chapter 1.

(see figure 2.1). As more tribes relocated to mission lands, groups of Uypi, Cotoni, Chaloctaca, Achistaca, Sayanta, Aptos, and Cajastaca represented a decreasing percentage of the overall mission population (see figure 2.2).³¹⁷ Incoming tribes, who spoke distinct Ohlone languages Mutsun or Tamyen, had to learn to live alongside local tribes. Mission Santa Cruz became a hub of Indigenous networks of diverse tribes.³¹⁸

Epidemics swept through the community, as local peoples had little immunity to pathogens brought northward by Spanish settlers. These pathogens spread through a variety of ways. Pathogens like measles ravaged mission populations, often passing between mission communities. Meanwhile chronic endemic diseases such as dysentery, tuberculosis, and pneumonia spread through poor sanitation, exposure to fecal matter, and parasites that lived in the wool clothing missionaries required neofitos to wear.³¹⁹ The impact of these new diseases and the inability of traditional healing methods to take effect would have had an additional impact on survivors. Infected fugitives, who may have fled to interior lands in

³¹⁷ While the Cajastaca were not discussed at length in chapter 1, it is likely that they were a subgroup or village name of the larger Aptos tribe, living farther south into the Pajaro Valley. A large number of people identified as Aptos in their baptismal records were listed as Cajastaca (or San Antonio, as the missionaries referred to Cajastaca) in their burial records. See SCZB#718 and SCZD#531, SCZB#719 and SCZD#556, SCZB#687 and SCZD#565, for examples.

³¹⁸ Renya K. Ramirez, *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007). The idea of “native hubs” suggested by Ramirez suggests, like the hub of a wheel, a center of native community in which individuals continue to have connections to homelands and other communities. While her study examines nearby Silicon Valley in the twentieth century and the circumstances and individuals differ, a similar framework helps to understand the persistence of Indigenous networks and the creation of connections that took place within the new setting of the mission in the nineteenth century.

³¹⁹ Robert H. Jackson, “Disease and Demographic Patterns at Santa Cruz Mission, Alta California,” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 5, nos. 1–2 (1983): 38. The Spanish and Franciscans used the problematic term *neofito* (neophyte) to refer to baptized Indigenous people, distinguishing them from *gentiles*, or unbaptized people. The term reflects colonially imposed categories of identity and did not reflect the much more complex and nuanced tribal or kinship terms of identity used by Indigenous people. While recognizing the problems with this term, I use ‘neofito’ to signify people whose baptismal status influences their treatment and experiences.

hopes of healing, may have unwittingly spread disease among native villages.³²⁰ In 1802 an unknown disease passed through missions from San Luis Rey to San Carlos and San Juan Bautista, though it didn’t appear to have reached Santa Cruz.³²¹

	Mission population	
Year	1798	1809
Total population	508	449
Original tribes	298	116
% of total surviving	58.66%	25.86%

Figure 2.1: Percentage of local tribes in overall Mission Santa Cruz population

Tribe	Total # baptized	Total # alive in 1798	Deaths between 1798 and 1810	Total # alive in 1810	% of total baptized by 1810
Achistaca	84	41	25	16	19.0%
Aptos	116	78	49	29	25.0%
Cajastaca (Aptos)	68	62	40	22	32.4%
Chaloctaca	40	19	12	7	17.5%
Cotoni	93	48	26	22	23.7%
Sayanta	69	35	28	7	10.1%
Uypi	104	56	37	19	18.3%

Figure 2.2: Number of local people still alive in 1810, by tribe³²²

In 1806 measles broke out in February or March and lasted until June.³²³ Within a mere four months, seventy-eight people died: sixty adults and eighteen children. Within the

³²⁰ William Hardy McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1976). The transmission and impact of smallpox and other diseases outside of the realm of European settlement and official documentation is explored effectively by Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–82* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).

³²¹ Discussed in three separate letters, all found in Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS, C-A 11, Monterey, January 30, 1802, February 27, 1802, and February 28, 1802, on pages 186–88, 193, and 197, respectively.

³²² This table is based on my own work with the baptismal and burial records, which I have updated to include tribal designations where they were missing. Franciscan records at Mission Santa Cruz tended to include tribal identities more consistently in baptismal records, but often omitted them in burial records. My methodology has included tracing these tribal affiliations across the various registries (including baptismal, marriage, and burial).

³²³ Conclusive evidence of this outbreak was first discussed in depth by Jackson, “Disease and Demographic Patterns,” 40.

mission community, tribes tended to live among their own, resulting in a degree of separation within the larger community. The Aptos tribe was hit hardest by the disease, as nineteen of the burials belonged to Aptos people or the children born to them, while another eight burials belonged to the Aptos subtribe, Cajastaca.³²⁴ Reports of various diseases passing through the mission population in San Francisco in December 1805 suggest that this outbreak also passed through the Bay Area.³²⁵

Mutsun speaking tribes from the east had felt the impact of the missions in economic, ecological, and militaristic ways. Tribes traditionally relied upon longstanding trade networks connecting neighboring territories. Coastal Awaswas speakers and inland Mutsun speakers traded ocean resources, red paint from Cinnabar deposits on the eastern side of the Santa Cruz Mountains, and salt gathered from saline rivers and lakes flowing through the southern Santa Clara Valley.³²⁶ Inland tribes relied on coastal goods such as mussels and shellfish, marine mammals, sea salt, Monterey chert (for making arrowheads), abalone shells, and Olivella shells (used for commerce and ornamentation), and exported piñon nuts and obsidian from eastern Yokuts territories. While trade continued through the

³²⁴ As with most of the statistical work in this chapter, these numbers are based on my own computation of baptismal records. I have built my own databases, heavily aided by both the online baptismal records of Stephen Hackel and Huntington Library’s Early California Population Project, as well as Randall Milliken, who generously shared his personal database, which contains forty years of notes and research. I have worked to connect tribal identities to these records, helping to locate patterns along tribal lines, which were often omitted by the Franciscan missionaries, especially in the case of children born within the mission.

³²⁵ Commander Jose Argüello to Governor Arrillaga, San Francisco, December 31, 1805, Provincial State Records, Bancroft MSS C-A 16, 281. “En las Misiones de la jurisdiccion existen varias enfermedades de galico, tisis, disentería de sangre y otras no conocidas, en sus neofitos de las que mueren con frecuencia” (In the missions of this jurisdiction exist various diseases including syphilis, tuberculosis, dysentery of the blood, and other unknown maladies, and the neophytes are frequently dying from them. Translation mine.)

³²⁶ Cinnabar clay, which leaves a red coloring, was used traditionally in ceremony and for paint and decoration. Cinnabar ore has been used to produce mercury, which led to the development of the New Almaden mines during the Gold Rush.

mission years and later, limited access to resources as well as the diminishing of these resources due to ecological impact would have affected trade relations far inland.³²⁷ These traditional trade relations weakened as newly baptized peoples shifted from traditional labor practices to livestock tending and agricultural pursuits. Archaeological findings suggest that while certain traditional practices maintained their importance, like the consumption of mussels to supplement their diets, other practices, like the harvesting of traditional plant resources and hunting of birds and wild animals, diminished.³²⁸ The relocation of peoples to mission lands often included official restrictions on traditional harvesting practices. As President of the California Franciscan Missions Fermín de Francisco Lasuén observed that the gathering of goods in the forest “is something the pagans can enjoy because they have greater freedom, and because they have the assurance that the neophytes, because of the orders they have received [will not appear].”³²⁹

This disruption of traditional trade networks would have impacted inland tribes, likely playing a part in the hostility encountered by Spanish soldiers in eastern lands. Spanish anxiety over these inland tribes is reflected in their reluctance to pursue runaways that

³²⁷ Rebecca Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz, 1791–1834: Interpreting the Archaeological Record* (Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 95.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

³²⁹ June 19, 1801, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library (hereafter referred to as SBMAL), California Mission Documents (hereafter referred to as CMD), 510. Lasuén served as President of the Franciscan Missions of Alta California following the death of Friar Junípero Serra in 1784 until his own death in 1803. Lasuén, stationed in neighboring Monterey, personally visited Mission Santa Cruz on a number of occasions, including in May of 1793, when he served as *padrino* for SCZB#214. This quote refers to unbaptized Indigenous peoples as “pagans” (*gentiles*), as was customary for the missionaries, as opposed to the baptized “neophytes” (*neofitos*). Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, June 19, 1801, CMD 510. James A. Sandos explores the life and policies of Lasuén in his sixth chapter, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 83–98. Sandos argued that Lasuén employed a more cautious approach, in contrast with his predecessor Serra. Lasuén, for example, favored the educating and training of neofitos, 95–6.

travelled into what the Spanish called the *tulares*, the swampy tule-filled lands of the San Joaquin Valley. Spanish authorities began to fear confrontation with members of inland tribes after being met with aggression.³³⁰ While the Spanish characterized the inland tribes as more warlike and confrontational, it is more likely that the aggression the Spanish witnessed was a response to three things: increasing awareness of and frustration with Spanish expansion and occupation, ecologic and economic disruption of resources and trade goods by Spanish livestock and agricultural projects, and collaboration with an increasing number of fugitives from the mission sites.³³¹

Spanish settlements during this time increased both agricultural production and livestock pasturelands, both of which disrupted existing Indigenous grasses and vital resources (see figures 2.3 and 2.4). The relative isolation of Santa Cruz made it difficult to send provisions during winter months, which spurred aggressive agricultural development.³³² Pasturelands also increased to accommodate growing numbers of livestock, especially cattle, horses, and sheep, the latter of which grew to over two thousand head by 1800 (see figure 2.4). The horse population grew to such an extreme by 1806 that it threatened to overtake pasturelands for cattle; the issue was widespread enough

³³⁰ Governor Borica to Friar Marcelino Ciprés, Monterey, September 29, 1796, SBMAL, CMD 279. Borica responded to Padre Ciprés worries about having to deal with runaways in the *tulares*, noting that the *Tulareños* “intentaron atropellado y muerto a los emisarios segun sucedio el año anterior” (tried to run over and kill the missionaries the year before. Translation mine). Borica later noted, “El sistema de esta conquista es pacifico... seria imposible o muy dificil si desde luego tratemos a de comprometerlos con los Yndios de los Tulares” (Our system of conquest is peaceful ... which will be impossible or more difficult if we try to engage with the Tulare Indians. Translation mine).

³³¹ Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006). I argue that to truly understand European and Indigenous encounters in this region we must look at how existing colonialism impacted people across distances, along the lines of Blackhawk. Blackhawk argues for the centering of ripples of violence as a lens to understand colonial encounters, pointing out the impact of years of warfare and occupation on tribes outside of the realm of immediate encounter with Europeans.

³³² Vallejo to Borica, December 14, 1797, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 8, 359.

throughout local missions that padres called for the systematic slaughter of over 20,000 horses.³³³ At Mission Santa Cruz, the number of horses fell from 3,200 in 1806 to 1,000 in 1809 (see figure 2.4). The introduction of livestock also led to an increase in predators, such as bears and wolves, which in turn would have impacted traditional game like elk, deer, and other wild animals. This ecological reorganization greatly diminished availability of traditional plants and animals around the mission, and this ecological transformation extended beyond the immediate scope of Spanish settlements.

Year	Wheat	Barley	Corn	Pinto beans	Chickpeas	Lentils	Peas	Beans
1791	12							6
1792	120	44	250	9	8		5	
1793	100	20	180	24			5	
1794	400		450	60			50	
1795	1100		600	60			26	
1796	2000		140	90		2	13	
1797	1400		200	5		3		
1798	450		303	111		7	5	
1799	333		103	8		34	46	
1800	1640	170	1000	40	3	14	10	10
1801	1097	200	700	23	17	10		70
1802	550		100	20	17	11	50	
1806 ³³⁴	2074	414	680	40				
1809	2006	360	0	4	3		138	4
1810	1178	400	80	68	5.5		17	136

Figure 2.3: Agricultural crops planted, in fanegas, at Mission Santa Cruz

The introduction of swine to the Santa Cruz and neighboring regions by 1797 had an especially harmful impact. Recently arrived pigs would have targeted foods such as underground vegetation, carefully tended resources which formed an important part of

³³³ Reports of the Governor of Monterey informing Russian explorer Von Langsdorff in 1806, discussed in Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz*, 49. This slaughter was ostensibly to prevent overpopulation, but it is likely that Spanish fears of mounted Indigenous resistance played a role. Local settlers would have been aware of the transformation and mobility that horses brought to the Comanche (to name one example). For a look at this in the Southwest, see Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

³³⁴ Yearly accounts for years between 1800 and 1810 are sporadic, as many are missing.

diets for local peoples. Wild pigs would have eaten through Indigenous fields and gardens at a rapid rate, taking advantage of the rich resources in the carefully tended fields while depriving local tribes of these important foods.³³⁵ By the end of Mission Santa Cruz’s first year, missionaries counted twenty-eight pigs on mission lands, yet none appear in the records a mere six years later. Flooding during the first winter had caused a relocation of the initial mission site, and it is likely that some of these pigs escaped and became feral. It is also possible that missionaries were negligent in their accounting of swine, as evidenced by the omission of chickens from their reports, despite letters discussing the faulty construction of chicken coops near the mission.³³⁶

At times, Spanish officials used existing conflicts between local tribes over available resources as a pretext for expanding military influence. This is exemplified in a conflict over access of salt deposits, a crucial resource. A letter from mid-1799 by Governor Borica reported about hostilities by the inland Ausaima tribe, and reveal that Spanish authorities interpreted Ausaima aggression as a response to Spanish and neofito encroachment on local salt deposits.³³⁷ It is also possible that neofitos utilized Spanish rewriting of territorial boundaries to take advantage of resources that previously had belonged to territories of

³³⁵ Personal correspondence with Rick Flores, Curator of the California Native Plant Collection, Associate of the Amah Mutsun Land Trust, and PhD student in the Environmental Studies Department at UCSC. Flores works closely with the Amah Mutsun tribe, descendants of Indigenous residents of Mission Santa Cruz and San Juan Bautista, in the Amah Mutsun Relearning Program, which is a collaborative effort between the tribe and UCSC Arboretum to assist tribal members in efforts of cultural revitalization, recuperation, and relearning of dormant cultural knowledge. The impact of swine on the ecology is explained by Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900*, Studies in Environment and History, Cambridge (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

³³⁶ Gonzalez and Carranza to Governor Borica, January 14, 1799, SBMAL, CMD 420. In 1799, Friars Gonzalez and Carranza reported that the henhouse (*gallinero*), which Engineer Extraordinaire Alberto Cordoba had spent considerable time building, had fallen in the rains, burying some hens beneath the ruins.

³³⁷ Borica, Monterey, June 7, 1799, Provincial State Records, Bancroft MSS C-A 10, 327–30.

neighboring tribes.³³⁸ Ausaima hostilities prompted further military advancement by the Spanish, ostensibly as a response to Ausaima aggression, which was itself a response to Spanish encroachment on Indigenous resources and territories.

Year	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	Horses: mares and foals	Mules
1791	130	146	28	36	6
1792	180	170	0	36	7
1793	260	300	0	44	5
1794	350	400	0	60	5
1795	530	1100	0	183	10
1796	650	1150	0	360	12
1797	750	1500	14	500	47
1798	997	1006	12	544	20
1799	1015	1457	34	775	34
1800	1232	2047	36	985	50
1801	1300	2203	52	1013	53
1802	1407	2915	102	1800	61
1806	2400	5400	120	3200	20
1809	2000	3499	50	1000	23
1810	800	4944	33	800	19

Figure 2.4: Livestock in pasturelands surrounding Mission Santa Cruz

Incoming Mutsun Ohlone

The individuals and families that relocated to Mission Santa Cruz over the ensuing years came from tribes and villages that had their own history of interactions with Spanish colonizers dating back over twenty years, to the early days of Spanish regional occupation. As missionaries sought to increase the spiritual colonization of the region, they targeted territories to the east and north. Spanish overland expeditions had passed through these lands as early as 1770, while charting overland routes connecting Monterey and San

³³⁸ This theory is supported by the incident discussed in chapter 1, when tribal villagers from the Santa Clara area labored near Monterey in exchange for access to abalone and seashells.

Francisco through the series of inland valleys. Crespí and later Anza expeditions encountered numerous eastern valley tribal villages, likely homelands of the Unijaima and Ausaima.³³⁹ By 1792, shortly after the founding of Mission Santa Cruz, these eastern valley tribes had taken to robbing Spanish and baptized native convoys and shipments that passed through their lands.³⁴⁰ These attacks came from the same groups, likely Ausaima, Mutsun, and Unijaima, that threatened and repeatedly attacked cattle and livestock in pastures south of Mission Santa Clara and the civilian pueblo San Jose.³⁴¹ In 1796, these same tribes, along with other neighbors who bordered the Pajaro River, such as the Calendaruc, had to deal with the threatening and incendiary proselytizing of Friar Manuel Fernández, who almost instigated attacks.³⁴²

The majority of Indigenous people relocated by Spanish soldiers and missionaries to Mission Santa Cruz in the years following 1798 came from two directions. A smaller percentage came from lands northward, in the direction of Santa Clara, where the two missions worked to complete the removal of the tribes living along the northern edges of the Santa Cruz Mountains (see figure 2.5). The northern groups included the Partacsi,

³³⁹ Robin Grossinger *South Santa Clara Valley Historical Ecology Study, Including Soap Lake, the Upper Pajaro River, and Llagas, Uvas-Carnadero, and Pacheco Creeks* (Oakland, CA: San Francisco Estuary Institute, 2008).

³⁴⁰ Sal to Arrillaga, September 30, 1792, State Provincial Papers, Bancroft Library, BSS C-A 55, 70–71. While delivering goods from Mission Santa Cruz, a Spanish soldier accompanied by two baptized men from said mission was robbed by a group of unbaptized villagers.

³⁴¹ The villagers most likely attacked the cattle in an attempt to stave off hunger, but they may have seen it as an exchange of cattle and livestock for the grasslands and resources that the cattle destroyed.

³⁴² Father Fermin de Lasuén to Fray Manuel Fernández, May 23, 1796, in *Writings of Fermín Francisco De Lasuén*, ed. Finbar Kenneally (Academy of American Franciscan History, 1964), 1:380. This incident is described in chapter 1. The Calendaruc were a large group who lived along the coastal edge of the Pajaro River. They were generally divided into two communities—south of the river lived the Locuyusta and on the northern side lived the Tiuvta, who bordered the southern Aptos community, Cajastaca. A small number of Tiuvta received baptism at Mission Santa Cruz, but the majority of the Calendaruc relocated to Mission San Carlos (Monterey), with a smaller number at Mission San Juan Bautista.

Ritocsi, and Somontoc groups. The majority of incoming people came from eastern tribes, from the eastern side of the Santa Cruz Mountains, down along the Coyote Reservoir, upper Pacheco Creek drainage, and the inland Pajaro River, in what is now southeastern Santa Clara Valley. The largest of these tribes included the Chitactac/Pitac, Ausaima (Chipuctac), Auxentac, Pagsin, Mutsun (or Motsun), and Unijaima. Following the establishment of Mission San Juan Bautista on Mutsun lands a mere forty miles from Mission Santa Cruz, many of these peoples became divided between neighboring missions. Around 1806, missionaries began to bring in people from even farther east, along the outer border of Ohlone-speaking territories, namely the Tomoi and Sumus.

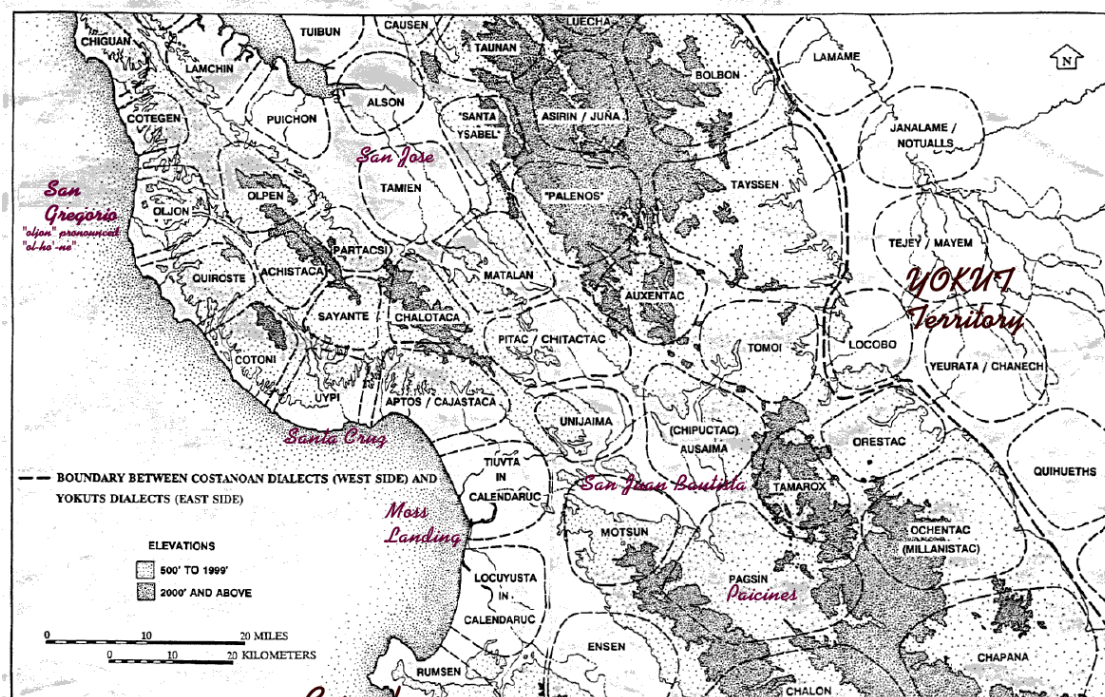


Figure 2.5: Tribal boundaries of larger region

Franciscan missionaries kept careful records of each baptism, marriage, burial, and confirmation taking place at the mission, recording important tribal names and information. Each new baptism was given a specific baptismal number. This number was used to keep

track of each member of the mission. The specificity of the information varied depending on the missionaries who kept the records. Incoming missionaries typically arrived with little regional knowledge or experience and relied on their predecessors for instruction (see figure 2.6). In the early years at Mission Santa Cruz, Friars Baldomero Lopez and Isidro Salazar kept careful notation of tribal affiliation. Following the arrival of Friar Manuel Fernández, whose antipathy towards the Natives is well documented, missionary record keepers shifted their focus.³⁴³ Fernández began to implement a more generalized assignment of ethnic or tribal identity, less attuned to Indigenous categories and much more in line with that found in the records at Mission Santa Clara, where Fernández had served before his arrival at Mission Santa Cruz.³⁴⁴ By 1798, Friars Francisco Gonzales and Domingo Carranza had arrived, and Fernández would have been the one to introduce them to the their new home as well as to record-keeping protocols.³⁴⁵ Ambiguities and contradictions characterize the records of Fernández and those who came after him, reflecting either a lack of interest in tribal identities or confusion over political and social boundaries, or both.³⁴⁶

Beginning in 1795, missionaries assigned large groups of incoming people one of

³⁴³ Maynard J. Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769–1848: A Biographical Dictionary* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library), 1969. Friar Manuel Fernández is discussed in detail in chapter 1. Biographic information on the padres comes from Geiger.

³⁴⁴ The missionaries at Mission Santa Clara tended to use designations for directional homelands. People arriving from the south received the designation “San Carlos” (in the direction of Mission San Carlos), from the west received “San Bernadino,” etc.

³⁴⁵ Salazar left in July 1795, while Lopez left a year later, in July 1796. Friar Jose de la Cruz Espi served the interim alongside Fernández, from the end of 1795 until the arrival of Gonzalez in May 1797.

³⁴⁶ Friar Manuel Fernández finally received permission to depart, as Governor Borica reported that he had permission, “considering his indifference (disdain) and violence that was due” (“en atencion a su displicencia y violento que le era el destino”). State Provincial Records, Bancroft BSS C-A 10, December 12, 1798, 187. Apparently, as he was leaving he took two barrels of mescal from the mission, more than his fair share. Commander Jose Argüello to Borica, December 11, 1798, State Provincial Records, Bancroft MSS, C-A 10, 63.

two general designations—from “el paraje de San Juan” or from San Francisco Xavier.³⁴⁷

The groups noted as San Juan referenced tribes that lay to the east of Mission Santa Cruz, in the direction of the newly established Mission San Juan Bautista. San Juan–designated peoples included members of Chitactac, Ausaima (Chipuctac), Pitac, Cajastaca, Unijaima, Auxentaca, Uculi, Achachipe, Tomoi, and even the first Yokuts tribe, the Locobo—basically any of the eastern tribes. Groups designated as San Francisco Xavier included Uculi, Tomoi, Chitactac, Orestac, and Acastaca. While the San Francisco Xavier groups appear to come from farther east in Ohlone territory, members of the same tribes crossed over between these two designations, making tribal affiliation more difficult to discern.

Padre name	Home region	Years in Americas	Years in California	Age on arrival in Santa Cruz	First entry	Final entry	Baptisms performed
Baldomero Lopez	Valladolid, Spain	5	0	30	9/1791	6/7/1796	384
Isidro Salazar	Cantabria, Spain	7	0	33	9/1791	3/29/1795	168
Manuel Fernández	Galicia, Spain	2	1	28	2/25/1795	10/15/1798	229
Francisco Gonzalez	Spain (unknown)	unknown	0	23	6/24/1797	8/17/1805	287
Domingo Carranza	Calahorra, Spain	2	0	28	10/26/1798	7/10/1808	65
Andres Quintana	Calahorra, Spain	1	0	28	11/19/1805	9/25/1812	186

Figure 2.6: Missionaries assigned to Mission Santa Cruz

Understanding tribal identity is further complicated by the complex identity politics of local peoples. While the missionary records reflect a simple inclusion of region or tribal name, often individuals appear to have identified themselves in a more plural, complex manner. Tribal names reflected the names of specific territories, but individuals often referred to themselves based on village or large kinship-network identities. Neighboring

³⁴⁷ The first to be marked as “San Juan” are found in entries by Baldomero Lopez, made about a month after the arrival of Fernández, in SCZB#529, March 12, 1795. This group included members of the Chitactac and Chipuctac (Ausaima) tribes.

tribes intermarried frequently, reflecting fluid identity politics; some individuals identified as members of different groups in marriage, burial, and census records. Nonetheless, an examination of patterns of intermarriage and multiple tribal identities allows for a general understanding of regional polities.

The northern tribes included the Partacsi and Ritocsi, both of which had a history of tribal members baptized at Mission Santa Clara. Partacsi traditional lands included the Saratoga Gap in the high mountains and valleys of the upper Pescadero Creek, Stevens Creek watersheds on the eastern slope of the Santa Cruz Mountains. About thirty members received baptism at Mission Santa Cruz, mostly under the name “San Bernardo.” Many more relocated to Mission Santa Clara under a similar title, “San Bernardino,” between 1787 and 1801. Partacsi was likely a village name, along with four other village sites named in the Santa Clara records—Lamaytu, Muyson, Pornen, and Solchequis.³⁴⁸

Members of the Ritocsi, who lived in the upper drainage of the Guadalupe River and in the central part of the Coyote Creek in Santa Clara Valley, joined Mission Santa Cruz as early as 1793 and up until 1801. Around fifteen people of the Ritocsi tribe received baptisms at Mission Santa Cruz, under the designation of “San Jose,” or “San Josef.” Missionaries had already baptized and relocated to Mission Santa Clara the majority of tribal members, listed as coming from the village of “San Juan Bautista,” and possibly as “Santa Teresa Hills” and as part of the large southern “San Carlos” label.³⁴⁹ Another fourteen from the nearby

³⁴⁸ Unless otherwise noted, much of the geographical designation of these tribes comes from the work of Randall Milliken, who has done the most extensive work towards locating tribal territories and interconnections.

³⁴⁹ As previously mentioned, Mission Santa Clara missionaries appear to have been the most negligent in recording village and tribal identities, preferring to use saints’ names as directional pointers, e.g., “San Carlos” for those coming from the south (roughly the direction of Monterey-based

Somontoc tribe received baptisms locally, likely the last of a large group that had begun receiving baptisms in the 1780s.³⁵⁰

While small numbers of people came from the northern tribes, the majority came from the east. The first to arrive were the Chitactac people from the Uvas Creek region of the eastern side of the Santa Cruz Mountains, who arrived as early as 1795 and continued to arrive until around 1802. At a village site now known as Chitactac-Adams County Park, near Gilroy, CA, petroglyphs and grinding stones that line the rock formations alongside Uva Creek can still be seen today (see figure 2.8). Scholars have noted that these “cup-and-ring” petroglyphs appear throughout the world and often are associated with rain-making, fertility enhancement, puberty rites, or shamanic ritual.³⁵¹ The Chitactac were the largest and primary group that was listed by padres as from “el paraje de San Juan.” Parents of some of the children baptized under this name later identified themselves as Pitac, suggesting that Spanish missionaries were confused about the political boundaries between the Pitac and the Chitactac, or, more likely, that the two names indicate separate villages of the same larger tribe. Members identified as Pitac received baptism later than the Chitactac, suggesting that the Pitac lived farther from Mission Santa Cruz. Around ninety Chitactac and another seventy Pitac people entered Mission Santa Cruz beginning in 1795.

Three Unijaima tribal members, who neighbored the Chitactac territory, came to

Mission San Carlos). This makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine exact tribal identity of many of those who arrived in large groups.

³⁵⁰ The Somontoc, though only a small number ended up at Mission Santa Cruz, are discussed in chapter 1.

³⁵¹ Donna L. Gillette, “The Rock Art of Chitactac-Adams Heritage Park and Environs,” in *A Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast*, ed. Linda Yamane (Santa Cruz, CA: Museum of Art & History, 2002), 117–29. Also see Robert Mark & Evelyn Newman, “Cup-and-Ring Petroglyphs in Northern California and Beyond,” in *Rock Art Studies in the Americas: Papers from the Darwin Rock Art Congress*, ed. Jack Steinbring (Oxford, England: Oxbow Books, 1995), 13–21.

Mission Santa Cruz, with most of their kin going to Mission San Carlos. The fragmented baptismal records reflect the splitting of local tribes into multiple smaller groups. Unfortunately, the records aren’t entirely clear as to why villages and families split in this way, but the pattern suggests that village members had conflicting plans and motivations regarding relocation into the missions.



Figure 2.7: Map of territories and tribal regions

The Auxentaca village site was home to a large number of people relocated to Mission Santa Cruz. The village was situated along Coyote Creek in the hills to the east of Morgan Hill, in the area of Gilroy Hot Springs and Henry Coe State Park. Overall, around

forty Auxentaca entered Mission Santa Cruz, mostly around 1800. Many more received baptism at Mission Santa Clara under the name of “San Carlos” between 1802 and 1805. These entered with village names including Maynucsi, Murcuig, Quemate, Sojues, and “San Antonio.” It is likely that the small number listed under the tribal names of Achachipe, Muistac, and Taratac at Mission Santa Cruz came from the larger Auxentaca group. The name Churistac, which likely refers to a village site, was given by eight Auxentaca people on marriage, death, or census documents.³⁵² They listed Muistac and Tauí, which are likely village sites within the larger Auxentaca territory. Churistac may have been a cover term for a cluster of villages in the area.



Figure 2.8: Cup-and-ring petroglyph stone from Chitactac-Adams County Park, Gilroy, CA

One of the largest and most powerful of the tribes of this region, the Ausaima, became split between Mission Santa Cruz and the newly founded Mission San Juan Bautista. It is possible that the Ausaima divided between two large village groups. The Ausaima tribe, which numbered well over 300 individuals, lived among their two large villages, Chipuctac

³⁵² SCZB#s 912, 915, 980, 1040, 1058, 1059, and 1201.

and Ausaima.³⁵³ The former made up the majority of people relocated to Mission Santa Cruz, while the latter aggregated at Mission San Juan Bautista. The Chipuctac village is estimated to be located near present-day Cañada de los Osos, northeast of Gilroy. It is likely that the name Chipuctac was applied to Ausaima at Mission Santa Cruz, as missionaries themselves frequently determined the names given. Some of these tribal members had brought their children to be baptized at Mission Santa Clara, though they later received their own baptism at Mission Santa Cruz.³⁵⁴ Around twenty Ausaima were among the early baptisms at Mission San Carlos, in the early 1790s. Linguistic studies suggest that the Ausaima spoke a dialect somewhere between the Awaswas of the Santa Cruz Mountains and Mutsun of the San Juan Bautista area.³⁵⁵ Ausaima territory bordered Mutsun lands, and while none of the Mutsun are recorded as arriving at Mission Santa Cruz, this large tribe made up the majority of people at Mission San Juan Bautista, while some also lived at Mission San Carlos.

The Ausaima tribe, who held lands with the rich salt deposits that the Spanish and other tribes coveted, resisted relocation the longest and with the most direct conflict.³⁵⁶ The

³⁵³ Further complicating this geography is the fact that some Chitactac members show up on later census self-identified as being Chipuctac. An example of this is Yrachis (Ostiano, SCZB#629). Yrachis, who will be discussed in more depth in chapter 6, shows up in the 1834 Padron as “Chiputac” [sic.], despite being listed as Chitactac in his baptismal record.

³⁵⁴ Carchas, a nine-year-old boy, baptized as Doroteo on December 8, 1798, SCLB#3699. His father, Elelis, baptized at Mission Santa Cruz on January 16, 1805, renamed Tomas, SCZB#1143. His son was relocated to Mission Santa Cruz, as noted on his burial record, SCLD#3245.

³⁵⁵ David Leedom Shaul, *A Prehistory of Western North America: The Impact of Uto-Aztecan Languages* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 2014. More information is found in his later online publication, *A New Costanoan Variety: Ausaima*, 2012, <http://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/cost1250>.

³⁵⁶ Friar Mariano Payeras to Borica, August 2, 1798, SFAD, #148. The Ausaima were certainly not the only people who challenged Spanish colonization. The coastal Calendaruc and the inland Mutsun also received specific condemnation for their resistance, as seen in this letter complaining that tribal members were not conforming to Catholic practices. These two tribes, the majority of whom received

Ausaima provide an example of how tribal identities complicated and were complicated by relocation. Around forty people identified as Chipuctac received baptism at Mission Santa Cruz, while 278 Ausaima received baptism at Mission San Juan Bautista.³⁵⁷ The Ausaima appear to have both aided and challenged Spanish colonizers, engaging with them in different ways over time.³⁵⁸

In an incident in late 1798, Ausaima members aided the Spanish in retaliating against a common enemy – from an unidentified Indigenous village. That November, members of this unidentified village killed six Christianized Indigenous men and captured two Ausaima women. The previous year, members of this same unnamed village had killed a neofito from Mission Santa Clara. In response to the recent capture of the two Ausaima women, a party of ten Spanish soldiers, eight neofitos, and twenty-four unbaptized Ausaima people, joined together to track down the “evildoers.” A battle ensued, in which Spanish soldiers and their allies killed the chief of the villagers, recorded as Fatilloste, and a few others. The Spanish and Ausaima party arrested two of these villagers and brought them to Mission San Carlos to be taught Spanish, in the hopes that they would become translators.³⁵⁹

By 1799, Ausaima villages began to harbor fugitives from the missions, reflected in the letter from Governor Borica articulating rules for engagement with the Ausaima villagers. That April, members of an Ausaima village killed a neofito while travelling

baptisms at Missions San Carlos and San Juan Bautista, respectively, fall outside the parameters of this study.

³⁵⁷ This is in addition to the twenty at Mission San Carlos who had received baptisms in years before the establishment of Mission San Juan Bautista.

³⁵⁸ The Ausaima were not alone, as many tribes formed complicated relations with Spanish colonizers. The Ausaima case, being more visible, serves as an example of this complexity.

³⁵⁹ Governor Borica to Virrey, November 27, 1798, State Provincial Records, Bancroft MSS C-A 24, 430–31.

between missions San Carlos and Santa Clara. By June, this same village harbored fugitives from Missions San Carlos, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and the newly erected San Juan Bautista. This pattern of fugitive flight and shelter in Indigenous villages had begun locally with the Quiroste movement of the 1790s, and would continue throughout the mission era. In response to the gathering group of fugitives in this Ausaima village, Borica’s gave specific instructions to utilize the help of a neofito from Santa Cruz. This unidentified man claimed the Ausaima had been his traditional enemies and offered to help track down the fugitives. The ensuing search party included fourteen Spanish soldiers, ten neofitos from San Carlos and San Juan Bautista, and ten more neofitos, likely Ausaima, who could help navigate and act as interpreters. Spanish authorities instructed the party to arrest the individuals responsible for killing the neofito two months earlier, imposing Spanish legal practice on these villagers.³⁶⁰ Conflicts with the unbaptized Ausaima continued, as in 1802 Spanish authorities sent Sergeant Moraga with troops to “visit” the Ausaima village.³⁶¹ Possibly as a result of these militaristic engagements, the Ausaima villagers did not hold out much longer. By 1805 the majority of Ausaima lived close by their homelands at Mission San Juan Bautista, with smaller numbers at Mission Santa Cruz.³⁶²

From 1806 to 1808, the Tomoi were the largest group to come to Mission Santa Cruz. The Tomoi traditionally lived in the east coast range of the San Luis Creek watershed,

³⁶⁰ State Provincial Records, Bancroft MSS C-A 10, 327–30.

³⁶¹ Raymundo Carrillo to Arrillaga, February 1, 1802, State Provincial Records, Bancroft MSS C-A 11, 192.

³⁶² A large group of ninety-seven Ausaima entered Mission San Juan Bautista during 1800, a few years after the baptisms of Ausaima chief Tetimure (Bernabe), SJBB#212, and his family in August 1798. A second Ausaima chief, Llomoi (Jose Maria Estudillo), SJBB#1215, entered in October 1803. It is likely that Tetimure was chief of the Chipuctac village, as his nephew, Uthaña (Jose Domingo), SJBB#610, married and relocated to Mission Santa Cruz, where he was listed as Chipuctac in the 1834 Santa Cruz Census.

somewhere east of Pacheco Pass.³⁶³ People baptized as either Acastaca, Puchenta, Sitectac, or Uculi were likely part of the larger Tomoi tribe.³⁶⁴ It is likely that these are names of specific village sites within the larger Tomoi territory. Along with the Tomoi came another group, the Sumus. The Sumus (alternatively listed as Sumu or “de la sierra de la Sumus”) lived along the central and eastern coast ranges southeast of the Santa Clara Valley.³⁶⁵ Some Sumus had familial connections to a group listed as Tayssens at Mission Santa Clara.³⁶⁶

Fugitives

Twice in the year they receive permission to return to their native homes. This short time is the happiest period of their existence; and I myself have seen them going home in crowds, with loud rejoicings. The sick, who cannot undertake the journey, at least accompany their happy countrymen to the shore where they embark, and there sit for days together, mournfully gazing on the distant summits of the mountains which surround their homes; they often sit in this situation for several days, without taking food, so much does the sight of their home affect these new Christians.³⁶⁷

The quote above suggests the hardships of relocation, the longing to return to ancestral lands that continued to hold deep meaning for people well beyond their relocation

³⁶³ Randall Milliken, Laurence H. Shoup, and Beverly R. Ortiz, “Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and Their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today” (National Park Service, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, CA: June 2009), 144.

³⁶⁴ Two of the seven Sitectac were later identified as Tomoi in burial or census records, SCZB#s 1080 and 1087, as was one Acastaca, SCZB#1114.

³⁶⁵ The reference to the hills of the Sumus (“de la sierra de Sumus”) suggests that this may have been a subgroup of Tomoi, whose homeland included the eastern hills. This notation is found in the notes on SCZB#1292, Chaparis (Bruno), who was one of the first Sumus to arrive. Chaparis is the father of Xuclan (Ricardo), SCZB#1377, the mission song leader, onetime land owner in Santa Cruz, and close friend of Lorenzo Asisara. Xuclan will be discussed at more length in later chapters.

³⁶⁶ For example, Coayat (Justa), SCRB#1287, was baptized at Mission Santa Cruz, which notes that her father, Jesecori, SCLB#5236, was baptized as Tayssen at Mission Santa Clara, while her mother, Najasa (Odorica), SCZB#1109, was baptized at Mission Santa Cruz.

³⁶⁷ Otto von Kotzebue, *The Visit of the “Rurik” to San Francisco in 1816*, ed. August C. Mahr (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press), 62. This was from the Russian expedition of Otto von Kotzebue, which spent a month near San Francisco in 1816. This passage is quoted in Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 219.

to the mission. Similarly, the ongoing flights of fugitives attest to the importance of a return to these homelands. Throughout the 1790s and 1800s, baptized Natives increasingly challenged Franciscan control by leaving mission communities, returning to homelands, or joining with other villages.³⁶⁸ The prevalence of these fugitive flights casts doubt on the accuracy of the population figures reported by missionaries.³⁶⁹ As the missions increased their encroachment and sought to relocate a larger geography of peoples, large groups fled. The missionaries granted seasonal *paseos* (passes) to individuals and families, realizing that they needed to grant them access to traditional homelands or lose them altogether.³⁷⁰ Frequently, Individuals or families refused to return from seasonal *paseos*, but the practice continued. Padre Lasuén recognized that these seasonal visits were crucial to keeping the peace, reporting:

the greatest hindrance in civilizing the Indians lay in the allowing them to go to their beaches and mountains... and they are right, because by enjoying once more their old freedom the Indians remain attached to it, and so they lose in a few weeks the progress in knowledge and civilization

³⁶⁸ Soler to Fages, April 10, 1787, Provincial State Papers, C-A 4, 139. Reports of runaways go back even further. Mission San Carlos reported groups returning to homelands as early as 1787, as seen in this report about a Calendaruc group returning to their rancheria. The phenomenon of fugitivism in California and specifically in Monterey, has been explored by Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 90—95. Hackel argues that "because most mission-born Indians did not live to adulthood, and life outside required skills that many mission-born Indians did not have, fugitives were far more likely to have been baptized as adults," 95. Many fugitives from Mission Santa Cruz were indeed adults, but many of these are listed along with their children. I believe that Hackel overestimates the amount of cultural knowledge lost for this first mission-born generation. Hackel also suggests that Indigenous people of Mission San Carlos stopped building traditional homes by around 1808 because they lacked the "expertise necessary to build these huts," 83. I find it hard to believe that knowledge could be lost so quickly, especially considering the constant influx of new families.

³⁶⁹ Examples of over-reportage at Mission Santa Cruz are discussed in this section. These inaccuracies suggest that Spanish control over Indigenous peoples was not as complete as missionaries would have liked Spanish officials to believe.

³⁷⁰ Brooke S. Arkush, "Native Responses to European intrusion: Cultural Persistence and Agency Among Mission Neophytes in Spanish Colonial Northern California," *Historical Archaeology* Vol. 45, No. 4 (2011): 62—90. Arkush argues that these seasonal leaves (*paseos*) played a key role in facilitating the retention of Indigenous worldviews and semitraditional cultural practices.

gained in many months... In that case they are slower to return, for their pagan relatives keep on inviting and entertaining them; and if they notice that they do not come, or that they are slow in doing so, and they are told as an excuse that the Father does not like to give permission, they hesitate very much about becoming Christians. We must remember that the majority of our *neofitos* are so attached to the mountains that if there were an unqualified prohibition against going there, there would be danger of a riot....³⁷¹

One of the earliest of these movements was the aforementioned flight of at least 280 people from Mission Dolores in 1795. As discussed in the first chapter, the reasons for entering the mission included a mix of environmental factors (scarcity of resources), political and social disruption from the loss of large numbers of villagers, and aggressive proselytizing. And yet, despite the uncertainties of the changing world outside of the missions, the situation at Mission Dolores was in such turmoil that this large flight resulted from a confluence of overcrowding, poor sanitary conditions, disease (likely typhus), heavy-handed corporal punishment, and a lack of warm food during the harsh winter of 1795. A group of newly baptized Saclan people left Mission Dolores on a sanctioned vacation, but decided not to return by late April. Spanish authorities sent a neofito in pursuit, resulting in a confrontation between runaways and their pursuer. The common factor in the majority of fugitive flights was their recent arrivals to the missions. This suggests that those who hadn't bought in to the Spanish Catholic system or those who still had strong connections with family or relatives living in traditional lands were less likely to remain and endure poor

³⁷¹ Lasuén, SBMAL, June 19, 1801, CMD 510.

conditions and treatment.³⁷²

The recovery of fugitives motivated Spanish expeditions eastward. In 1796, Governor Borica commented on the flight of two men from Mission San Carlos into the eastern swamp-filled tulares of the San Joaquin Valley. His letter reflected a growing apprehension by the Spanish towards the people of the tulares, most likely Yokuts tribes, who had been hostile towards Spanish invading expeditions.³⁷³ His concerns about dealing with the hostile Yokuts renewed discussions about the extent of military accompaniment with Franciscan expeditions. Back in 1788, Friar Lasuén had suggested that expeditions to recover or recapture fugitives rely on Native scouts, although in some cases they could require military assistance.³⁷⁴

By 1796, reports of runaways had become so frequent that the governor set guidelines for when missionaries could request military assistance in pursuing them. Borica stated that the military could only be used in this capacity when runaways were considered dangerous or when they escaped to difficult lands with hostile villages. While these open stipulations left room for Franciscan interpretation, Borica emphasized the established practice of sending Auxiliaries to find nonthreatening fugitives.³⁷⁵ Borica made it clear that he didn’t want the padres calling on soldiers for every incident of escape, attesting to the frequency of these occurrences.³⁷⁶

³⁷² Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 137–46. Milliken explores this large flight and the subsequent confrontations in detail.

³⁷³ Borica to Friar Marcelino Cipres, September 28, 1796, SBMAL, CMD 279.

³⁷⁴ Lasuén to Fages, August 18, 1788, SBMAL, CMD 84.

³⁷⁵ While these were Borica’s instructions, it isn’t clear how missionaries determined which fugitives were dangerous.

³⁷⁶ Borica to Mission San Juan Bautista, July 22, 1799, “Recogimiento de Indios Huidos” (Recovery of Runaway Indians), Provincial State Records, Bancroft MSS C-A 24, 565.

Deaths of fugitives reported by 1810	Tribes	Location
10	Aptos, Sayanta, Uypi, Chaloctaca, Achistaca	Local (Santa Cruz)
46	Cajastaca, Pitac, Partacsi, Somontoc, Chitactac	Eastern and northern mountains
14	Auxentaca, Locobo, Orestac, Sumus, Chipuctac	Inland vlleys and hills

Figure 2.9: Fugitive deaths by region

At Mission Santa Cruz reports of runaways were first recorded in 1797, coinciding with the arrival of new converts from eastern lands.³⁷⁷ Yearly burial reports began to record reports of runaways who had died while away from the mission beginning with records at the end of 1796.³⁷⁸ At the end of most ensuing years, burial records listed the confirmed deaths of fugitives that had received baptism at Mission Santa Cruz, presumably incorporating reports and accounts from various expeditions that had taken place throughout the year. By 1810, there had been seventy burial records for fugitives. Of those, only ten reported for local tribes (including Aptos, Uypi, Chaloctaca, Sayanta, and Achistaca), while forty-six belonged to those tribes just farther east and north, and the other fourteen for people from further inland valleys and hills (see figure 2.9).

The increase of fugitive flights in 1798 from Missions Santa Cruz, San Carlos, and San

³⁷⁷ Of course, these were not the first to flee from Mission Santa Cruz. Small groups of runaways were involved with the Charquin-led Quiroste movement that began in 1793, and reports of folks within the mission collaborating with this pantribal resistance movement are discussed in chapter 1.

³⁷⁸ The first records to list people who had died “en sus rancherías” appear in the burial records of a group of three males, SCZD#s 206–08. All three came from the eastern side of the mountains, away from the mission. One was an eleven-year-old Chipuctac boy, SCZB#367, and the other two were a sixty-year-old Chitactac and twenty-five-year-old Pitac who had arrived together, SCZB#s 623 and 624.

Juan Bautista reflects resistance to increasing Spanish expansion and incursion into eastern lands. Missionaries at the newly established Mission San Juan Bautista reported runaways fleeing westward into Calendaruc territory near Monterey.³⁷⁹ Meanwhile at Mission Santa Cruz, Friar Manuel Fernández reported a large group of 138 fugitives that had gone missing.³⁸⁰ By the end of April, Joaquin Mesa, a Spanish soldier celebrated for his recapturing of fugitives, returned 52 of the runaways back to the mission.³⁸¹ Burial records at the end of 1798 report fifteen dead afar of the mission (“fallecido en la gentilidad”); presumably these had been confirmed by Mesa or other soldiers scouring the region.³⁸²

The actual number of people living at the mission was typically below the annual reported figures, because of the constant flights. For example, while the year-end census of 1797 reported 509 individuals living at the mission, taking into account the 138 that had fled, the total population was effectively 371. Governor Borica observed this over-reportage and used this discrepancy to challenge the missionaries’ concerns about the potential encroachment on mission lands by the foundation of the Villa de Branciforte and the incoming settlers.³⁸³ These erroneous population figures suggest that overall numbers were inflated to justify continued funding and land claims, not only in 1798, but potentially in other years as well. Missionaries responded to tensions over land usage between the Church and Civic authorities by overstating the needs and even numbers of the Indigenous population.

³⁷⁹ Provincial State Records, August 3, 1798, Bancroft MSS C-A 24, 542.

³⁸⁰ Fernández to Governor Borica, January 27, 1798, SFAD, Alexander Taylor Collection, #128.

³⁸¹ Fernández to Governor Borica, April 29, 1798, SFAD, Alexander Taylor Collection, #134.

³⁸² Ibid. SCZD#s 337–51. The document suggests that Mesa reported a number of deaths that he learned about, “pienso que se han muerto bastantes segun averiguo Joachin,” while also noting that he helped to conquer missing relatives of some of the earliest baptized at Mission Santa Cruz.

³⁸³ Borica, February 6, 1798, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 24, 393. Borica argued that the mission’s small, over-reported population could survive the influx of additional settlers.

The reasons for flight were numerous. Clearly one of the main reasons that people fled was to return to their ancestral lands and kin. At Mission Santa Cruz, the majority of fugitives came from villages and tribes distant from the mission. However, despite the emphasis on meticulous record keeping by the missionaries, nine individuals from local tribes disappear from the records, without burial information or other documents accounting for them.³⁸⁴ This suggests that they left the mission community, either joining with other runaways, meeting up with kin who lived outside the mission, or living on their own in ancestral territories. A document in 1799 reported that recovered fugitives explained that they were returning to their old haunts (“antiguas querencias”).³⁸⁵ On some occasions, it appears that certain villages harbored fugitives. The Ausaima, in particular, were reported as consistently welcoming runaways.³⁸⁶ Farther east, in 1799, a report listed an Orestac village as antagonistic to Spanish expeditions.³⁸⁷

Other times intertribal relations predating Spanish arrival appear to have motivated movement and flight. While Spanish expeditions to recapture runaways served to explore inland regions to inform future expansion, these forays delved into lands and territories that had their own histories and complex interrelations with coastal peoples. At times, Spanish officials exploited traditional conflicts to convince Christianized natives to aid them to pursue and capture fugitives. Governor Borica urged Santa Cruz missionaries to accept help in finding fugitives from one unidentified neofito. Borica noted his familiarity with the lands

³⁸⁴ These include two Uypi, SCZB#s 44 and 91, two Aptos, SCZB#s 162 and 696, three Achistaca, SCZB#s 59, 120, and 475, one Sayanta, SCZB#306, and one Cajastaca, SCZB#441. As previously noted (see figure 2.9), ten others were confirmed as having died while fugitive from the mission. The Franciscans’ obsession with accounting and documentation supports the theory that these folks fled and lived out their lives outside of the sphere of the mission.

³⁸⁵ Provincial State Records, May 15, 1799, Bancroft MSS C-A 24, 563.

³⁸⁶ Provincial State Records, March 4, 1798, Bancroft MSS C-A 24, 430–01.

³⁸⁷ Friar Marte to Borica, May 9, 1799, SFAD, #193.

surrounding Mission San Juan Bautista, where he believed the fugitives to have run, as well as his antipathy for the runaways, who he claimed were his traditional enemies.³⁸⁸ To what extent this individual may have also used the Spanish soldiers to his own ends in enacting revenge is unknown, as the history of animosity between these people was not further commented upon.

While these pre-existing conflicts may have motivated some, records show that other Indigenous individuals within the mission community worked to help fugitives escape. While the motivation for these collaborations remains unknown, it is possible that kinship, tribal alliances, or frustration with Spanish conquest may all have played a part. Historians have noted that fugitives shared knowledge and insight from Spanish society, including skills like horse riding and care.³⁸⁹ An undated report mentions Ules (Andres), head of the most prominent family of Achistaca, as becoming a particular problem.³⁹⁰ This letter, which must have been written shortly after 1798, referred to Ules as “incorrigible” with a reputation for consistently disrupting and challenging Franciscan control.³⁹¹ The padres also mention his involvement assisting newly baptized people to flee from the mission. The padres cite a concern about the small numbers of women as motivation for flight. The Franciscans claimed that the Indigenous men were frustrated with their inability to give in to their desires. Indigenous testimonies, such as the aforementioned ones from the Mission Dolores

³⁸⁸ Provincial State Records, Bancroft MSS C-A 10, June 7, 1799, 327–30.

³⁸⁹ Lisbeth Haas, *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2014), 39.

³⁹⁰ Undated correspondence from Friar Gonzalez and Friar Carranza to Governor Borica, SFAD, #126.

³⁹¹ Carranza worked at Mission Santa Cruz between October 1798 and August 1808, while Gonzalez was assigned there from May 1797 to June 1805. The letter mentions that they were unfamiliar with Ules, except through his reputation, and that the previous padres were unsuccessful in containing him, suggesting that this letter was written shortly after they arrived. For information on padres in the area, see Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California*.

fugitives suggest that flight was motivated by a combination of hardships, abuses, and lack of resources. It is certainly possible that the lack of women played into dissatisfaction, but even this was more likely linked to rejection of Spanish Catholic marriage impositions rather than simple desire. The missionaries emphasis on Indigenous desire likely reflects a projection of Catholic sexual anxieties. It is more likely that many struggled with the imposition of Catholic marriage rituals and the requirement of lifelong monogamy, which must have been difficult for a people who traditionally practiced a relative fluidity in partnerships.³⁹²

Some Indigenous fugitives may have fled with their families to avoid the imposition of Franciscan rules regarding childrearing and education. Some of these flights may have been motivated by a desire to protect Indigenous children from Catholic indoctrination. Missionaries administered daily instruction to children five years and older, teaching them Christian doctrine, and, undoubtedly, instructing them on the evils of their parents’ “pagan” culture.³⁹³ Missionaries often remarked on the targeting of the young to succeed as a strategy to spiritual conversion and to break them of their traditional practices and culture. Friar Lasuén noted that spiritual training was least effective with the elders: “with these young people this instruction is quite effective; with those of middle age it is fairly satisfactory; but with the very old the bare essentials alone can be taught, and this with

³⁹² Missionaries commented on the Natives’ fluid partnerships in the 1814 questionnaire. For example, in the Mission San Juan Bautista response to Question 14 regarding matrimony, the priests recorded that “they were readily satisfied, even in the case of adultery of one of the parties or both, to come together again even if the man had two or three wives if it was feasible to keep them all, for they looked more to the procreation of children than to the stability of the marriage bond.”

³⁹³ Edith Buckland Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 35.

much difficulty.”³⁹⁴ The 1798 report by Friar Fernández shows that of the 138 fugitives, 58 were children.³⁹⁵ These families may have wanted to preserve traditional parental relationships rather than having the missionaries interfere. A Chipuctac family that arrived in early 1796 illustrates this point. The family consisted of the father, Toyup (Niceforo), and his six children, ranging in age from one to twelve.³⁹⁶ Toyup and three of his children appear to have left later, as their deaths were reported back to the mission during expeditions for fugitives.³⁹⁷ These three were between five and ten, the ages which would have been required to receive direct instruction.³⁹⁸

A group of forty-one runaways fled Mission Santa Cruz in 1809, illustrating the degree of difficulty the missionaries had in keeping newly baptized people on mission lands.³⁹⁹ This list is entirely composed of people from eastern lands, a mix of Tomoi, Sumus, Chitactac, and Auxentaca. Among them are seven children, as well as five women who left

³⁹⁴ Lasuén to Fages, July 9, 1789, SBMAL, CMD 95.

³⁹⁵ Friar Fernández to Borica, January 27, 1798, SBMAL, CMD 355.

³⁹⁶ Toyup (also spelled Toyop, Toiop, and Taupo), SCZB#660. His children were twelve-year-old Seynte (Projecto), SCZB#626; eight-year-old Yrachis (Ostiano), SCZB#629; five-year-old Sichirimas (Novato), SCZB#640; four-year-old Ceyuén (Rita), SCZB#655; three-year-old Megeroa (Vicencia), SCZB#643; and one-year-old Tallap (Prisco), SCZB#627. The tribal identity of the family is uncertain. The baptismal records suggest Chitactac and Pitac identities, while later census of Yrachis say Chipuctac. The previously mentioned Yrachis lived into the 1870s and achieved some local fame as Justiniano Roxas, discussed at length in chapter 6. The mother of the elder five is listed as Murejate (also spelled Morejaste, Mugerate, and Yumeraste) and does not appear to have been baptized. The mother of the youngest child was Aschi (Nicefora), SCZB#667. It is possible that the children fled with the father to be with their mother, though there is no evidence to suggest this.

³⁹⁷ See SCZD#s 468, 701, 708, and 713. Tayup was reported dead at the end of 1800, and his three children were reported dead at the end of 1805.

³⁹⁸ Of the other three kids, one died in 1810, SCZD#992, one in 1820, SCZD#1427, and the third, Yrachis (Ostiano) lived into the 1870s, famously known as Justiniano Roxas, and will be discussed in detail in chapter 6.

³⁹⁹ Tapis and Quintana to governor, May 22, 1809, SBMAL, CMD 801b.

without their husbands, a list headed by Yaquenonsat (Fausta), a Sumus leader.⁴⁰⁰ At the bottom of the list are six more names listed as being from the plains (“de los llanos”), Locobo people from the Yokuts lands far to the east. The flight of these folks attests to the pattern of flight by people whose homelands were far from the mission.

Missionaries and Spanish civic authorities imposed a system of punishment and consequences onto recaptured fugitives, in one case giving twenty-five lashes to three recaptured native women at Mission San Carlos.⁴⁰¹ These authorities commonly enlisted baptized men, referred to as Indian Auxiliaries, to help track and capture runaways. In some instances they sent these Auxiliaries with messages and proposals to offer the fugitives. For example, in May of 1809 the padres instructed the Auxiliaries to travel east to tell the fugitives that they could avoid punishment by returning in a timely manner.⁴⁰² There are no reports of any who accepted their offer.

Imposition of Spanish Notions of Crime and Punishment

Indigenous tribes had well established systems of justice and punishment. Within the missions, the padres policed Indigenous behavior and imposed Spanish concepts of crime, right and wrong, and consequences as an integral part of their instructions.⁴⁰³ Spanish

⁴⁰⁰ Yaquenonsat (Fausta), SCZB#1318, will be discussed later in this chapter and the next. After her return to the mission she was one of the key participants and planners of the Padre Quintana assassination, which will be explored in depth in chapter 3.

⁴⁰¹ Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 24, September 26, 1796, Monterey, 496–97.

⁴⁰² Friar Tapis and Friar Quintana, May 22, 1809, SBMAL, CMD 801a. The padres wrote of having told the 1809 runaways “that they could be pardoned, those that voluntarily returned to the mission within fifteen days; but only two of the plains people returned with those sent to deliver the notice” (que serian perdonados los que se presentasen voluntariamente a la Mision en el termino de quince dias; y solos dos de los llanos vinieron con los que fueron enviados para darles el referido aviso).

⁴⁰³ These traditional rules and practices were not fixed, in the sense that they changed and adapted over time, like all other human societies. Colonial cruelty in the California missions is explored in depth by Elias Castillo, *A Cross of Thorns: The Enslavement of California’s Indians by the Spanish Missions* (Fresno, CA: Craven Street Books, 2015).

officials took steps to ensure the implementation of punishments, including floggings, the use of shackles, forced labor, and public displays meant to make examples out of rule breakers.⁴⁰⁴ The procurement of instruments of penal control came along with the establishment of the mission, as Captain Hermenegildo Sal ordered a pair of shackles and chains to be brought along with the initial supplies for Missions Santa Cruz, “for when the need to punish arises.”⁴⁰⁵ Spanish notions of legal and cultural mores informed rules governing punishment, and Spanish authorities frequently punished Natives for not adhering to Franciscan and Spanish practices.⁴⁰⁶

Corporal punishment was tied to parental instruction, or at least a critique of Indigenous parenting styles. Governor Borica argued that corporal punishment was meant to correct for a lack of parental guidance.⁴⁰⁷ Yet Borica also cautioned the missionaries at Santa Cruz that, even “when they wanted to castigate an Indian in a stronger way than can be applied [by the rules] of the mission, to follow [Spanish] instructions,” suggesting that the friars frequently overstepped these instructions.⁴⁰⁸

Mission San Juan Bautista quickly imposed systems of punishment for the crime of eating cattle, despite the increasing encroachment of pastures or livestock on traditionally tended grasslands and resources. Prescribed punishments for this breach included

⁴⁰⁴ Governor Borica to Comandante de Escolta de San Francisco, October 23, 1796, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 24, 94–95. An example of the public display took place in 1796, when Borica ordered that one neofito be put in chains and administered whippings as punishment.

⁴⁰⁵ Provincial State Papers, San Francisco, July 31, 1791, Bancroft MSS C-A 55, 69.

⁴⁰⁶ For an excellent book that mixes family memoirs and tribal history to closely examine abuses, as well as the impact of Spanish cultural denigration and trauma across generations, see the work by Ohlone Esselen scholar Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2013).

⁴⁰⁷ Governor Borica to Friar Fernández, Monterey, September 15, 1796, SBMAL, CMD 276.

⁴⁰⁸ Borica, March 12, 1799, Provincial State Records, Bancroft MSS C-A 24, 557. “Cuando quieren se castigue un Indio de una manera mas fuerte que la que se puede aplicar en la Mision, que lo evisen y lo mandera hacer.” (Translation mine.)

imprisonment, and twenty whippings every fifteen days over two months.⁴⁰⁹ A young Esselen man named Gonzalo was similarly punished at Mission San Carlos for theft of cattle by serving time in the presidio and being shackled, likely publicly displayed to discourage theft.⁴¹⁰ Gonzalo was cited for this theft as well as for being “incorrigible,” reflecting his lifelong conflict with Spanish soldiers—as his father was killed by Spanish soldiers when he was five years old. Gonzalo continued to challenge Spanish authority throughout his life, escaping from the presidio in San Diego, and making it back to the mountains between San Francisco, Santa Cruz, and Santa Clara. Spanish soldiers reportedly found his body a few months after his escape in 1823.⁴¹¹

Indians, Mestizos, and the Villa de Branciforte

A report in 1805 claimed that Mission Santa Cruz had “concluded its conquest, baptized all of the gentiles that occupied the immediate area between there and Missions Santa Clara and San Juan Bautista, for all around to the north from Monterey and through the hills are no gentiles to be found.”⁴¹² This explains why the distant Tomoi tribe dominated baptismal efforts beginning in 1806. While it is impossible to say whether there were any

⁴⁰⁹ Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 11, February 1, 1802, 198.

⁴¹⁰ This must be Gonzalo Jose, SCAB#521, baptized as an infant in 1778. The letter of his arrest, imprisonment, and being put in shackles for “stealing cow and incorrigibility” (translation mine) is Carrillo to Arrilaga, May 1, 1802, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 11, 201.

⁴¹¹ Gonzalo connected with his friend Pomponio after his escape. Pomponio, SFRB# 2546, is the famous outlaw who caused problems for Spanish authorities through the early 1820s, eventually dying at soldiers’ hands in 1824. Cause of Gonzalo’s death is not listed, but it is entirely possible that it was also at the hands of soldiers. Information on his death and connection to Pomponio is found in the notes of his death record, SCAD# 2472.

⁴¹² Goycochea report, Provincial State Records, December 20, 1805, Bancroft MSS C-A 12, 15. “La espresada mision tiene concluida su el dia su conquista (sic), bautizada toda la gentilidad que ocupaba las inmediaciones de sus dos laterales Sta Clara y Sn Juan Bautista, porque desde su situacion en la ribera (sic) norte de la bahia de Monterey por toda la sierra que intermedia con las dos referidas no se encontraba gentil alguno.” (Translation mine.) In this report, Goycochea unsuccessfully advocated for the closing of Mission Santa Cruz and dividing of the neofitos between Missions Santa Clara and San Juan Bautista.

who continued to live in the dense forests outside of the scope of Spanish control, the last recorded baptism of individuals from local tribes took place in 1802.⁴¹³ Spanish civic establishment and occupation of the immediate lands was limited to the coastal terraces and plains that make up the modern city of Santa Cruz and surrounding agricultural and pasturelands. Other than pathways and trade routes that connected Santa Cruz to the neighboring Spanish settlements, the vast majority of the lands consisted of dense forest that could have sustained ongoing Indigenous settlement, especially considering the large number of runaways who stayed outside of Spanish view.

Identity politics for local Indigenous revolved around tribal, linguistic, territorial, familial, and kinship connections and relations. After the arrival of Spanish colonizers, Indigenous people became enmeshed in identity politics that had been shaped by the long history of Spanish colonial relations.⁴¹⁴ The Spanish colonial world involved a complex set of identity politics, in which society was split between the *gente de razon* (people of reason) and *gente sin razon* (people without reason). This worked as a dichotomy along the lines of civilized or uncivilized, with those qualifying as “sin razon” being those considered under the social category of “Indian.” The category of “Indian” was applied to a diversity of people, exemplified by the Spanish-born Marques de Branciforte’s reference to a group of mixed casta peoples as “Indios.”⁴¹⁵ In Spanish society there were a diversity of “Indians.” In Alta

⁴¹³ Five Cajastaca received baptism on December 3, 1802 (SCZB#s 1023, 1025–1027, and 1029). The youngest of these was thirty-four-year-old Ojeti (Justina, SCZB#1029); the others ranged from forty-five to seventy years old, fitting the pattern of elders resisting baptism longer than the targeted youth. This group would appear to be the final baptisms among locals.

⁴¹⁴ Haas examines the introduction of Indigenous people into Spanish identity politics as a process of “becoming Indian.” This is the focus of her second chapter in *Saints and Citizens*, 50–82.

⁴¹⁵ Branciforte to governor of California, November 28, 1797, State Provincial Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 8, 464. For a discussion on how Spanish racial categories changed and adapted in the San Francisco

California, the category of “Indian” could be applied to colonists with Indigenous roots, local Indigenous peoples, or others relocated to the region through colonial relations—like the Aleutians, whom the Russians brought southward to hunt seal and sea mammals along the coast.

These Aleutians, referred to by the Spanish as “Russian Indians,” began to interact with local peoples through the early 1800s and spent time hunting seal just north of Santa Cruz, along the San Mateo coastline in the fall of 1810.⁴¹⁶ This coastline was traditional land of the Quiroste, Oljon, and Cotoni, currently around Año Nuevo, known for its abundance of sea mammals. The removal of these sea-faring tribes would have contributed to an increase of these mammals, benefitting the Aleutians.⁴¹⁷ By spring of 1811, this hunting group had moved southward, with sightings made in Santa Cruz.⁴¹⁸ A month later, “Russian Indians” complained of a stolen boat, leading to suspicion that the Uypi might be responsible.⁴¹⁹

Spanish racial categories (*sistema de castas*) suggested a hierarchy organized around gradients of racial mixture ranging from the top categories of “pure” Spanish blood

Bay Area, see Barbara L. Voss, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

⁴¹⁶ Commander Jose Argüello to Arrillaga, September 19, 1810, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS, C-A 12, 275–79.

⁴¹⁷ The only observation of the usage of tule boats along the Pacific in Ohlone territory comes from Fray Palou during the Rivera Moncada expedition in 1774. Robby Quinn Cuthrell, “An Eco-Archaeological Study of Late Holocene Indigenous Foodways and Landscape Management Practices at Quiroste Valley Cultural Preserve, San Mateo County, California” (dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2013), 80.

⁴¹⁸ Commander Jose Argüello to Arrillaga, March 30, 1811, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS, C-A 12, 306–09.

⁴¹⁹ Jose Maria Estudillo, April 9, 1811, Santa Cruz Pre-Statehood Documents, letter #44. This letter reports that a group of Russian Indians woke up to find their Cayuco (seal skin boat) stolen. Local officials suggested that an inquiry be made with “Zoquel,” a name that started to be used to refer to the Uypi around this time. The name comes from the late Uypi chief Soquel, a name later given to the local township.

to various mixtures of European, Indigenous American, and African.⁴²⁰ For Spanish citizens, the movement northward into the new territories became an opportunity to transcend restrictive social and racial categories by becoming gente de razon, by virtue of being among the colonists.⁴²¹ Franciscan friars meanwhile further designated local Indigenous peoples into two categories—those baptized (neofitos) and those unbaptized (*gentiles* or pagans).⁴²² These distinctions reflect Franciscan values, but had real impact, as missionaries viewed baptized villagers as their charges. After baptism, missionaries required newly baptized people to live on mission lands, under the guidance and oversight of the missionaries.

In an attempt to reinforce Spanish occupation and claim to the region, Spanish authorities worked to expand their settlements. This expansion went hand in hand with an escalation of military presence, ostensibly to prepare for potential conflict with the English or Russians, but additionally to help secure Spanish settlements against potential Indigenous military challenges.⁴²³ Viceroy in charge of Alta California at the time, the Marques de Branciforte intended the Villa de Branciforte to address both the civilian and military expansion goals by providing homes for retired soldiers.⁴²⁴ The plan was to grant lands in the new villa to soldiers upon the completion of their service. Governor Diego de Borica and engineer extraordinaire Alberto de Córdoba chose the site from three potential

⁴²⁰ For an in-depth look at the racial system of the Spanish, see María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008).

⁴²¹ On colonial relations on the Spanish frontiers and the development of social status, see Cynthia Radding Murrieta, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700–1850*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

⁴²² As stated before, I use these problematic terms to distinguish between Indigenous previously baptized and those unbaptized still living outside of the mission community.

⁴²³ Authorities stationed in Mexico City spoke frequently of anxiety about English challenges to Pacific control, yet their local counterparts emphasized their fears about growing discontent and challenges by Indigenous peoples. This is reflected in the shipments of both arms and warships to Alta California.

⁴²⁴ Guest, “Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte,” 32.

destinations: the Alameda, the Arroyo del Pajaro, and the area surrounding Mission Santa Cruz.⁴²⁵ Ultimately, they chose the coastal lands near Mission Santa Cruz in order to fortify the coast, adding potential naval support to the San Francisco and Monterey settlements.⁴²⁶ They also noted the abundance of resources—woods, water, fields to convert to pasturelands, stone, lime, and the right kind of soil for adobes, brick, and tile. Branciforte and other Spanish officials implemented a plan to build Villa de Branciforte across the San Lorenzo River from Mission Santa Cruz by December 1796.

Plans for the Villa de Branciforte included the construction of dwellings for the chiefs of neighboring Indian villages. Officially the plans instructed that “between the officers’ houses are to be incorporated sites in order that chieftains of *rancherías* may be invited to live among Spaniards and thus assure the loyalty of their subjects.”⁴²⁷ The intention was to facilitate cultural adjustment by placing the Indian community alongside the Spanish colonists. Spanish authorities additionally wrote rules prohibiting bows and arrows in the villa. None of these aspects of the plan were put into practice, as the local Christianized community remained within mission lands. The intention and ultimate rejection of these plans highlight the ideological gulf between the religious orders and the secular Spanish government and military. While the former continued to view Indigenous peoples through a paternal and condescending lens, in need of instruction and close

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 33.

⁴²⁶ December 27, 1796, Provincial State Records, C-A 55, 308–09. Instructions to provide two warships and weapons in preparation for the construction of the villa.

⁴²⁷ Daniel Garr, “Villa de Branciforte: Innovation and Adaptation on the Frontier,” *The Americas* 35, no. 1 (July 1978): 98–100. This is examined in depth by Garr, who contextualizes this order as following the 1780 plan by Teodoro de Croix to establish this type of multifunctional town along the Colorado–Gila frontier. His suggestions were met with ridicule by missionaries such as Friar Francisco Palou, who wanted to keep the rowdy, typically mestizo frontier settlers away from the Catholic teachings of the missions.

oversight, some within the Spanish government advocated for a quicker route to Indigenous citizenship.⁴²⁸

The Franciscan missionaries complained about the villa when they first learned of the plans, which was merely two weeks before settlement was to begin.⁴²⁹ Though no records confirm this, the short timeline of notification reveals that the governmental officials anticipated a critical Franciscan reception. Father President of the Missions Friar Fermin Francisco de Lasuén complained that the villa was “the greatest misfortune that has ever befallen mission lands ... this is a flagrant violation of all law. If any remedy can be found, it would be wrong not to apply it.”⁴³⁰ The violation that Lasuén referred to was of rules governing the proximity of towns to missions. Concerns over encroachment on mission lands formed the basis of complaints from throughout the Franciscan order.⁴³¹ Lasuén also complained about the potential negative influence on the recently baptized.⁴³²

Governor Borica responded with three counterarguments. First, he noted the overreporting of population mentioned earlier. Second, the lack of local unbaptized Indigenous peoples in the surrounding lands meant that the mission population was unlikely to grow. Third, he felt that the high death rates reduced the needs for expanding mission lands. The reports of resource abundance left the governor confident that there would be little infringement by the settlers on the mission needs and lands. He further contended that

⁴²⁸ The intention of these liberal governmental members was not necessarily altruistic, as they shaped policy more in the interest of expanding the tax base and diminishing the power, and subsequently the land base, of the church.

⁴²⁹ Governor Borica to missionaries of Santa Cruz, May 2, 1797, SBMAL, CMD 322.

⁴³⁰ Lasuén to Fray Pedro Callejas, San Carlos, May 1, 1797, in *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén*, ed. Kenneally, 1:26.

⁴³¹ San Fernando College, headquarters of the Franciscan order in Mexico City, Friar Pedro Callejas, SBMAL, October 23, 1797, CMD 337.

⁴³² The details of these debates are covered in depth by Garr and Guest. Garr, “Villa de Branciforte,” and Guest, “The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte.”

the villa would provide a market for excess agricultural products made by Indigenous laborers.⁴³³ The missionaries filed complaints, but to no avail. Once the settlement had been founded, these complaints increased. At the heart of the objections were the padres’ concerns that the villa would encroach upon pasturelands used by the mission. Governor Borica pointed out the low population numbers, the high mortality rates, and the ongoing problems with runaways, which had increased dramatically in 1797 with the influx of new recruits from farther east.

Conflicts between the villa and the nearby Franciscans revolved principally around issues of land usage and control. While the government delineated the San Lorenzo River as the natural boundary, missionaries complained that the lands to the east, under control of the villa, consisted of the ideal pasturelands. By 1807, Friars Quintana and Carranza petitioned for control of Rancho Corralitos, which lay across the river and beyond the neighboring villa—a site which remained contested between the two communities for a few years.⁴³⁴ Meanwhile members of the villa complained that the ideal agricultural lands lay on the west side of the San Lorenzo, under control of the mission. The situation left each side complaining about their lack of access.

Governor Borica suggested that retired soldiers living at the villa be augmented by colonizers from throughout New Spain. Spanish officials sent out word to recruit volunteers throughout Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Potosí, Guanajuato, and Valladolid, but finding families to volunteer to settle the remote northern reaches proved difficult, despite the promise of

⁴³³ Governor Borica, “...de los cuales se hallan huidos—46 hombres adultos, 34 adultas, 27 niños de 8 años abajo y 31 niñas—en todo 138—dejando en efectivo 371. Dice que no tiene probabilidades la Mision de aumentarse porque no hay gentiles por agregar—y los de neofitos se mueren muchos.” February 6, 1798, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 24, 393.

⁴³⁴ Friar Andrés Quintana and Friar Domingo Carranza to Governor Arrillaga, Santa Cruz, June 28, 1807, SBMAL, CMD 745.

land. Spanish officials organized two principal groups. The first, from Guadalajara, consisted of eight men condemned for crimes including theft, rape, drunkenness, vagrancy, and refusal to pay taxes.⁴³⁵ Of these eight men, Spanish officials recorded three as full-blood Indians.⁴³⁶ The inclusion of convicts at the villa prompted concern from locals—padres, soldiers, and civilians. A couple of these convicts attempted to kill Spanish authorities like Governor Borica and Commander Hermenegildo Sal. Missionaries continually filed complaints about the Villa de Branciforte colonizers corrupting the Christian and pagan Indians.⁴³⁷ The second group of colonizers, which included sixteen men, women, and children, arrived from Guanajuato. This group included a number of trained artisans—including a carpenter, tailors, farmers, miners, and a saddler.⁴³⁸

The mixed-blood status of the colonizers was so apparent that in one report the Marques de Branciforte referred to them as “Indios.”⁴³⁹ By the end of 1797 the Villa de Branciforte consisted of forty settlers, the majority of these made up of those with mixed blood, or *casta* status. Of these, only one identified as “Indian,” while nine identified as “mestizo.” The discrepancy between the three “Indios” of the Guadalajara group and the one girl identified as “Indio” in the local census suggests a difference in self-identification

⁴³⁵ The list of these men, their crimes, their sentences, marital status, job qualifications, and their *casta* (racial) status is found in the document at the Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter referred to as the AGN), Californias (17), vol. 49, fjs. 172.

⁴³⁶ The area of Guadalajara was homeland to the Caxcán, Tecuexes, Chichimeca, or Cocas, until Spanish occupation in the 1530s, culminating in the Mixtón Rebellion (1540–01). Actual Indigenous identity of the three settlers is not recorded, and while it is possible that they trace their lineage to local Indigenous peoples, Spanish colonialism involved a process of reorganization that has led to large numbers of Huichol or Nahuatl speakers, which form the majority of Indigenous residents today.

⁴³⁷ Mexico, December 31, 1801, AGN, Californias 49. Raymundo Carrillo complains that their vices and bad conduct were a corrupting influence.

⁴³⁸ AGN, Californias (017), vol. 49.

⁴³⁹ Branciforte to Gobernador de California, November 28, 1797, State Provincial Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 8, 464. Regarding goods and people arriving in Monterey, “the 17 Indians transported in the ship *Concepcion*.” (“las 17 indios transportados en la fragata *Concepcion*.”)

after arrival. The move north into Alta California allowed for the construction of new identities, enabling some people to shed the stigmatized “Indian” status. The mixed-blood status of the majority of settlers is reflected in the inclusion of only four under the status of “Pale colored.”

Two brothers who arrived in 1798, Jose Antonio and Felipe Hernandez, are listed as “Indios” from Guadalajara. Yet, despite their secondary social and racial status, the two became full citizens at the Villa de Branciforte. In 1805, Felipe Hernandez served as Commissioner of the villa. Jose Antonio Hernandez served as marriage witness in twelve marriages in 1817, alongside two Indigenous men from the neighboring mission.⁴⁴⁰ Their acceptance as part of the settling gente de razon reflects the shifting racial status of settlers in Alta California, transcending the limitations of the “Indio” status that they had been noted as at their arrival.

The complicated racial identities of the settlers resulted in a society of many “Indians.” The Villa de Branciforte combined with Mission Santa Cruz to create a local population that included many who could be considered within the social category of “Indian.” The settlers of the villa included couples like Marcos Villela and his wife María Bibiana, a young Rumsen woman from the village of Achasta, the land where the city of Monterey was built.⁴⁴¹ Another couple in the area included Francisco Tapia and his wife, Maria de Nutka, who had been brought to the region from her homeland on the northern

⁴⁴⁰ Jose Antonio Hernandez shows up as the third witness in SCZM#s 574–85, for a group of recently arrived Tejey (Yokuts tribe), including the chief, Malin (Coletto), SCZB#1478, and his son Moctó (Agustin), SCZB#1480. The other two marriage witnesses are the mission interpreters, Chachoix (Silvestre), SCZB#304, and Chogiore (Macario), SCZB#1320.

⁴⁴¹ María Bibiana, SCAB#173. They lived in the area as early as June of 1800, when María Bibiana gave birth to her daughter Gertrudis Jesus Villela, Villa de Branciforte Baptismal number (hereafter referred to as VdBB#) 5.

Nootka Sound.⁴⁴² As early as 1809, the three children of infamous Tongva revolutionary Toypurina moved to the villa along with their father, Spanish soldier Miguel Montero. The two daughters, Juana de Dios Montero and Clementina Montero, became fixtures in the community despite their ongoing feuds with the local missionaries.⁴⁴³

Interactions between the settlers of Branciforte and the Indigenous people at Mission Santa Cruz suggest that these two communities shared some cultural values, at least more so than with the missionaries. Branciforte residents and the mission community got together to play cards and other games of chance. Gaming between the villa and mission communities forged bonds outside the Franciscans’ influence and understanding. It appears likely that the predominately mestizo colonizing community found greater connection with Indigenous locals than with the Spanish-born missionaries. In addition to concerns about sharing lands with the settlers, many of the critiques leveled by the missionaries against the Villa de Branciforte residents revolved around fears of corruption of the Indigenous people.⁴⁴⁴ The padres complained that they drank and gambled with the townsfolk.

Local Indigenous people had long used games and gambling as a form of social

⁴⁴² Maria was one of the Nuu-chah-nulth people of the Mowachaht village baptized down in Monterey in 1790, SCAB#2088. She was subsequently married to Tapia, SCAM#529. The couple first appear in local records in the Villa de Branciforte Baptisms book, on September 22, 1800, with the birth of their daughter, Maria Mauricia Tapia, VdBB#7.

⁴⁴³ The story of Toypurina has been explored in depth recently by scholars including Stephen W. Hackel, “Sources of Rebellion: Indian Testimony and the Mission San Gabriel Uprising of 1785,” *Ethnohistory* 50, no. 4 (2003): 643–69. The first documentation of the family’s presence in the area appears in the Villa de Branciforte Baptisms book, with the birth of Juana de Dios’s daughter, Maria Policarpa Bonavides, VdBB#48, January 27, 1809. The daughters’ ongoing issues with the local padres will be explored in later chapters. I will contend that their mistreatment stems from the padres’ awareness of and disdain for their mother.

⁴⁴⁴ Lasuén, SBMAL, June 19, 1801, CMD 510. Lasuén complains that Baja missions did not encounter “the same incidence of card-playing or drunk Indians,” finding it evidence that great interaction between settlers and Natives leads to vice.

cohesion, and they quickly learned and excelled at the settlers card games. Ohlone people, like all Native Californians traditionally played within and between neighboring communities. Archaeological evidence and oral histories both show that these games continued within the mission community throughout its duration.⁴⁴⁵ Friar Lasuén observed that Indigenous people picked up the nuances of card playing quickly, and that some neofitos and gentiles learned to regularly beat their teachers.⁴⁴⁶ His specific mention that both baptized and unbaptized people came to play reveal the social ties that persisted outside of the dichotomies imposed by the Franciscans.

Labor and Gender within the Mission

Traditional economic relations continued to inform labor and trade, even as the missionaries imposed new labor practices. Traditional labor involved the careful management of grasses, roots, seeds, and other plant resources. Indigenous communities divided labor roles along gendered lines in different ways than the Franciscans. Indigenous women tended the grasses and plants, including the gathering of acorns and other nuts, berries, tubers, and resources, while Indigenous men hunted and gathered food.⁴⁴⁷ Trade relations between tribes revolved around available resources within given territories.

⁴⁴⁵ Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz*, 84. Evidence of bone, shell, beads, and even roof tile fragments fashioned into gaming pieces have been observed in digs in Native housing at Mission Santa Cruz.

⁴⁴⁶ SBMAL, June 19, 1801, CMD 510. Lasuén wrote that “all the games which the Natives of either sex knew in their pagan state are permitted them, with the exception of those which are in conflict with Christianity. Card playing is one of the things they have picked up from the white people, and to this they have become inordinately addicted ... some of our neophytes, and even some pagans, have become so adept at cards that they win from their teachers. There is an Indian at this Mission of San Carlos, and at a single sitting he won more than thirty pesos from two of the gente de razon.” While Lasuén believed that they became “addicted” to playing, perhaps they found some familiarity or peace through gaming, that was hard to find in an otherwise stressful situation.

⁴⁴⁷ Virginia M. Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence* (University of Arizona Press, 2004). Bouvier examined the changing gender roles in relation to labor and age within the missions, 83—9.

Coastal tribes were rich in valued resources like seashells, sea salt, and raw materials for arrowheads, as found in the Quiroste lands around Año Nuevo. Drastic ecological reorganization of the region altered and impacted trade and resource access, but Indigenous peoples continued to draw on traditional resources, often supplementing new material customs within the missions.

Missionaries imposed strict rules on separation between men and women. While pre-contact Indigenous society had divided labor along gendered lines, Catholic practice insisted on a greater degree of separation, especially between young men and women. Furthermore, missionaries imposed strict gender lines, demanding that third-gender (or two-spirit) peoples in local Indigenous communities identify along biological lines, corresponding to deep-seated Spanish and Catholic sexual rules.⁴⁴⁸

Indigenous people, both baptized and unbaptized, negotiated with Spanish authorities, offering their labor in exchange for goods, such as cloth, grains, beads, or food. In the case of unbaptized villagers, the Spanish negotiated with local chiefs, who provided laborers for projects. Sometimes Natives contracted labor in exchange for access to new resources that may not have otherwise been available in their home territories.⁴⁴⁹ In some cases the availability of goods from labor exchanges resulted in less interest in relocating to mission lands, suggesting that access to Spanish goods provided one major incentive for

⁴⁴⁸ Deborah A. Miranda, “Extermination of the *Joyas*: Gendercide in Spanish California,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16, no. 1–2 (2010): 253–84. Miranda (Onlone–Costanoan Esselen Nation, Chumash) explores the existence of queer or non-heteronormative identities in local Indigenous history.

⁴⁴⁹ Governor Pedro Fages to Viceroy Miguel de la Grúa Talamanca y Branciforte, August 12, 1793, Bancroft MSS, State Provincial Records, C-A 7, 405–13. This is illustrated in the example where villagers from Santa Clara were hired in San Carlos (Monterey) and allowed to gather abalone in exchange for their labor, which was talked about in chapter 1.

receiving baptism.⁴⁵⁰ At times, working for Spanish settlers appears to have caused problems between tribes. In 1797, a group of unbaptized Indigenous villagers were working on construction projects in the Pueblo of San Jose, when a different Indigenous group targeted and threatened to attack them.⁴⁵¹ The reason for the friction was never stated, but it may have been a response to the group engaging in labor for the Spanish, though it also could have been related to pre-existing tensions and had nothing to do with the Spanish altogether. Perhaps this was part of an ongoing conflict between the two groups. In any case, compared to Spanish laborers, those Indigenous laborers who received payment were paid a flat rate, comparable to the bottom of the Spanish pay scale.⁴⁵²

As the majority of Indigenous people received baptism and relocated to mission lands, they no longer negotiated labor terms. As a result, their labor became compelled instead of contracted, and they faced tougher working conditions. In 1799 Governor Borica instructed Santa Cruz missionaries to avoid excessively working Natives in the construction of Mission structures.⁴⁵³ Borica would not have spoken out if there was not a compelling reason for concern, and a pattern of compelled labor. Following this relocation, labor became negotiated between the church missionaries and Spanish government officials or local civilians, resulting in a de facto system of compelled Indigenous labor. Mission authorities administered punishments for refusing to follow directions and complete labor

⁴⁵⁰ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 76–77. Friars Naboa and Peña complained about those who did business with the pueblo of San Jose without joining the mission, that their “conversion is being hampered by their frequent stays at said pueblo, in which many of both sexes have taken up nearly full-time residence, employed as servants and laborers by the citizens ... through their work they receive their food, they refuse to take up the yoke of evangelism and the laws of Christianity.”

⁴⁵¹ Alejo Miranda to Commander Jose Argüello, San Jose, July 3, 1797, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft BSS C-A 9, 91.

⁴⁵² Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders in Hispanic California, 1769–1850* (Tucson, AZ: Southwestern Mission Research Center, 1994), 28.

⁴⁵³ January 22, 1799, Provincial State Records, Bancroft MSS C-A 53, 553.

tasks.⁴⁵⁴ Furthermore, presidios often used convicts for public works projects.⁴⁵⁵ The use of terms such as “labor” is problematic in this situation. Within mission communities, missionaries conceived of the teaching of Spanish labor skills, housing, and daily meals as “payment” for services rendered.

The building of Spanish settlements required specialized artisan craftsmen including blacksmiths, carpenters, and masons. Over time, baptized Natives gained access to training in these fields.⁴⁵⁶ The construction of Spanish settlements required a more skilled artisans than were available, so Spanish authorities agreed to train Indigenous workers. The first four craftsmen recruited from Mexico City specifically to teach these skills to baptized Natives arrived at Monterey in March of 1791.⁴⁵⁷ Disputes over payment of the artisan instructors resulted in Father Lasuén reluctantly agreeing to have local missions, including Mission Santa Cruz, send four men to the presidios to learn a craft.⁴⁵⁸

While the documents don’t reveal the names of those trained at the presidios, census documents from the 1830s show that they continued to utilize their specialized

⁴⁵⁴ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 89. These authorities at times included Native American overseers in the hierarchical mission system.

⁴⁵⁵ Commander Jose Argüello to Borica, September 30, 1797, Provincial State Records, Bancroft MSS C-A 9, 31. The letter reports that one man who had been sentenced to two months of work at the presidio fled for his homelands while still in shackles (“en la noche se huyó para su tierra y con grillete un Gentil de los presos condenado por dos mesas a los trabajos del Presidio”—translation mine).

⁴⁵⁶ Sandos, *Converting California*, 9—10. Sandos argues that the padres organized the mission community in hierarchies replicating Spanish society, with skilled artisans at the top of the order. In Santa Cruz, it does appear that members of the community learned different skills, but the hierarchies are not as clearly defined. Additionally, some Indigenous individuals appear to have changed jobs over time. I agree with Monroy in that social and political stratification occurred within the mission population, although I contend that the specific contours of these labor rankings are not so easily understood.

⁴⁵⁷ Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders*, 16; and Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 277. Hackel has pointed out that the learning of these skills helped some Indigenous people to “mix with and assimilate into the soldier-settler society of California.” I agree that these skills helped some to navigate the Mexican era, but I disagree about the extent of integration with the Californios, as I will discuss at length in chapter 5.

⁴⁵⁸ Father Fermin de Lasuén to Don Diego de Borica, July 23, 1796, AGN, Californias 49, 265–67.

training. The use of skills such as masonry and carpentry would have been instrumental in the many labor projects engaged in by Indigenous people during the mission era. Young men between the ages of seven and thirteen received training. Four men, each of whom would have been within these age by the late 1790s, are listed in the 1834 census as artisans.⁴⁵⁹ In that census Chugiut (Geronimo Miguel), a young Sayanta who was baptized as a ten-year-old in early 1793, is listed as a mason.⁴⁶⁰ The Aptos man Chalelis (Roque Guerrero), who had been an infant when baptized in the early months after the mission’s establishment, is later listed as a smith.⁴⁶¹ The other two, the Cotoni man Chomor (Daniel) and the Partacsi man Gemos (Sebastian Aparicio), worked as carpenters.⁴⁶² The coastal Cotoni used tule boats. Perhaps young Chomor incorporated experience with traditional boat-building in his later woodworking and carpentry.

Indigenous labor practices included work in construction and building, albeit in different forms and materials than Spanish styles. Despite the insistence by Spanish officials that local Natives were unskilled, it is likely that traditional Indigenous construction practices continued to hold value for local Natives. In 1794, laborers built a structure to house single women and widows nearby Mission Santa Cruz.⁴⁶³ Families continued to live in

⁴⁵⁹ 1834 Padron, Santa Cruz Mission *Libro de Padrones*, Monterey Diocese Chancery Archives, Monterey, CA I draw on the 1834 Padron because it points towards the identities of the trained young men, but I recognize that these labor categories were not static. Early training did not mean that they did not learn other skills along the way. It is possible that the jobs identified on the 1834 document reflected only the current work of the individual.

⁴⁶⁰ Chugiut, SCZB#184, was known by many names, including Geronimo Miguel Pacheco Leal. Like many others at Mission Santa Cruz, he continued to incorporate his Native name in the baptism records of his children. Chugiut, as well as the continuance of Native names, will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.

⁴⁶¹ Chalelis, SCZB#68, was baptized on November 29, 1791.

⁴⁶² Chomor (Daniel), SCZB#345, was baptized in 1795, while Gemos (Sebastian Aparicio), SCZB#456, arrived from the eastern side of the Santa Cruz Mountains in 1796.

⁴⁶³ Annual report for 1795, original at SBMAL.

tule-style houses on lands behind the mission, while the first buildings in the area were made of a rough palisade plastered over with mud and roofed with local tules and earth, a construction style similar to Indigenous style known as *jacal*.⁴⁶⁴ Complaints made after a visitation to the Villa de Branciforte in 1806 suggest that despite grand construction plans, the settlers similarly lived in small houses of mud and timber, with roofs thatched with tule.⁴⁶⁵ While the Spanish administrators saw this as a sign of laziness and avarice on the part of the settlers, it is possible that the traditional tule thatched housing of the Indigenous peoples living in lands behind the mission proved to work well for the unfamiliar environment of Santa Cruz.

Native trade networks persisted, as archaeological findings at Mission Santa Cruz show that shell money and Spanish glass beads, long incorporated into existing Indigenous economic systems, continued to be used throughout the mission period.⁴⁶⁶ Goods produced at the mission became incorporated into existing trade networks, according to a report by Father Fermín Lasuén. Lasuén reported that Indigenous people used goods produced at the mission in exchange for beads or seeds, establishing their own rates of exchange.⁴⁶⁷ In the 1814 questionnaire, Mission Santa Cruz padres responded that, while Indigenous families continued to eat salmon, codfish, seals, and lamprey, which they caught in the nearby rivers and ocean, they also maintained their own cornfields, aside from the mission fields.⁴⁶⁸ In this way, it appears that Natives within the missions integrated production from the mission and

⁴⁶⁴ Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz*, 10.

⁴⁶⁵ Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders*, 26.

⁴⁶⁶ Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz*, 96–97.

⁴⁶⁷ Lasuén, June 19, 1801, SBMAL, CMD 510. This is contained in the long report of life in the northern missions: “our neophytes sell one measure of wheat, or corn, etc. (it is true; they sell them, and they even keep them in order to sell them) for four strings of beads. They can buy a like quantity of forest seeds for just two. The Indians themselves have established this rate of exchange.”

⁴⁶⁸ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, question 17.

their own agricultural endeavors into existing trade networks, altering but not destroying long-established economic relations with eastern tribes.

Indian Alcaldes – New Political Hierarchies

Spanish society had a long tradition of permitting Indigenous political infrastructure.⁴⁶⁹ Established in the early years of Spanish conquest, Indian councils and self-government preserved or reinterpreted Indigenous politics into newly created positions of self-government.⁴⁷⁰ In Alta California laws required that each mission hold elections, beginning five years after establishment. The governor instructed missionaries to oversee these yearly elections, to pick three candidates, then allowing the remaining neofitos to elect two *alcaldes* (mayors) and two *regidores* (councilmen).⁴⁷¹ The oversight of the candidates was a concession following concerns by missionaries that the elected men would hold too much control within their communities.⁴⁷² At some of the missions the padres chose former leaders to serve as alcaldes. In some cases, these alcaldes actively worked against the padres and advocated for their communities.⁴⁷³ The newly elected served as mouthpieces for the missionaries, upholding and communicating mission rules for the residents. While the majority of people spoke their own diverse Indigenous languages, these alcaldes would have worked as translators and intermediaries, communicating between the padres and the tribes. Although official letters did not stipulate that only men could hold

⁴⁶⁹ Hackel, “The Staff of Leadership.” Hackel’s study examines the powers and limitations of the alcalde system.

⁴⁷⁰ William F. Connell, *After Moctezuma: Indigenous Politics and Self-Government in Mexico City, 1524–1730* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011). Connell’s study focuses on the creation and Indigenous elements of these early systems of self-government.

⁴⁷¹ Governor Borica, September 22, 1796, Circular sobre eleccion de Alcaldes, Provincial State Records, Bancroft BSS, C-A 24, 496.

⁴⁷² Governor Pedro Fages, 1787, Bancroft Library, Provincial State Records, BSS, C-A 52, 144.

⁴⁷³ Hackel, “Sources of Rebellion.” Hackel discusses an example of both with Nicolás José, former leader and one of the principal organizers of the rebellion at Mission San Gabriel in 1785.

these positions, the conspicuous absence of any elected women demonstrates the male-dominated view of the missionaries.⁴⁷⁴

Despite the appearance of political powers for elected *alcaldes*, Franciscan missionaries continued to exercise control. Missionaries reserved the right to subject these officials to corporal punishment while prohibiting them from bringing charges against the Franciscans.⁴⁷⁵ The latter prohibition differed importantly from Indian political and legal rights in central Mexico, where appeals of charges of mistreatment, excessive labor demands, or manipulated elections offered opportunities to seek protection through legal channels. In northern New Spain, Indians were left without legal protection.⁴⁷⁶ But these officials conveyed news and instructions from the *padres*, becoming especially proficient in Spanish as well as in Catholic teachings.⁴⁷⁷ It is likely that these elected *alcaldes* exercised a degree of their own control over the friars’ messages, considering that they interpreted and relayed the missionaries’ instructions. Linguistic fluency may have afforded these *alcaldes* social and political power within their own communities.

At Mission Santa Cruz, the first of these elections was held at the end of 1796,

⁴⁷⁴ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 235—58; and James A. Sandos, “Between Crucifix and Land: Indian-White Relations in California, 1769–1848,” in *Contested Eden: California, Before the Gold Rush*, ed. Ramón A. Gutiérrez (San Francisco: University of California Press, 1997), 210—1.

⁴⁷⁵ For the flogging of and right to flog Indian officials, see Serra to Neve, January 7, 1780, *Writings of Serra*, ed. Tibesar, 3:407–17, and Serra to Lasuén, April 25, 1780, *ibid.*, 4:3–11. For restrictions on charges against the *padres*, see general report by Governor Pedro Fages, 1787, paragraph 33, Bancroft Library, BSS, C-A 52, 144.

⁴⁷⁶ Charles R. Cutter, *The Legal Culture of Northern New Spain, 1700–1810* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995). Unlike Alta California, New Mexico offered legal options, as the *protector de Indios* played a key role in assisting Indians with judicial matters.

⁴⁷⁷ Lisbeth Haas, *Pablo Tac, Indigenous Scholar: Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial History, c. 1840* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011). Pablo Tac, a Luiseño who wrote about his experiences and life within the missions, spoke of the *alcaldes* gathering with the missionaries in order to relate and translate their instruction.

resulting in the election of Geturux (Canuto) and Lacah (Julian).⁴⁷⁸ In the 1814 questionnaire, Mission Santa Cruz padres reported that elected *alcaldes* and *regidores* oversaw laborers and administered punishments to those they deemed lazy or negligent.⁴⁷⁹ Only sporadic records of the *alcalde* elections remain today, but what we do know still shows certain patterns. At Mission Santa Cruz traditional chiefs did not dominate *alcalde* elections. The chief of the Uypi, Soquel (Hermenegildo), died earlier in the year 1796, before the first elections, so it is possible that he would have been elected. Molegnis (Balthazar), chief of the Aptos, and his children, survived another decade beyond these elections, but none of his family served as *alcalde*. Perhaps the missionaries deliberately promoted representatives from outside of existing power structures. Or, alternatively, maybe Molegnis was not interested in the position.

Certain patterns appear among the *alcaldes*. They tended to be mature adults in their thirties or forties, among the earliest recruits at the mission, and all men. The selection of *alcaldes* would have likely prioritized those who had best learned Catholic practices and Spanish language, as the padres would have picked those who best exemplified new Christian cultural practices. Each *alcalde* came from a different tribe, likely to influence a larger breadth of *neofitos*. While the earliest *alcaldes* came from regional tribes, by 1799, a Chitactac man from the eastern side of the mountains became *alcalde*, presumably helping to spread Catholic instruction to his people. Only Lacah shows up as serving more than once. Fewer records survive regarding the *regidores*, but similar patterns of gender and age appear in these as well (see tables 8 and 9).

⁴⁷⁸ AGN, Californias 17), March 30, 1796, vol. 65, exp. 8, 310–11.

⁴⁷⁹ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, question 31.

Year of election	Baptism year	Baptism #	Alcalde—Spanish name	Native name	Tribal affiliation	Age while serving	Special title
1796	1795	389	Canuto	Geturux	Aptos	47	
1796	1793	141	Julian	Lacah	Chaloctaca	29	
1797	1793	179	Valerio	Guichiguís	Uypi	36	de hombres
1797	1793	141	Julian	Lacah	Chaloctaca	30	de mujeres
1799	1797	754	Erasmus	Cunumaspo	Chitactac	38	
1799	1791	44	Antonio	Yucuquis	Uypi	40	
1809	1793	220	Pedro Antonio	Saguexi	Aptos	26	de mujeres
1809	1792	99	Rufino	Tucumen	Uypi	43	de hombres
1810 and 1811	1794	262	Donato	Yachacxi	Achistaca	19	de mujeres
1811	1795	413	David Fluallas	Guallac	Sayanta	23	de hombres

Figure 2.10: Indigenous alcaldes⁴⁸⁰

At Mission Santa Cruz, alcaldes appear to have had some control over the sexual division of young men and women. As early as 1797, Mission Santa Cruz alcaldes had special gendered titles, as some of the alcalde notations suggest that the two leaders were specifically designated as “alcalde de mujeres” (mayor of women) or “alcalde de hombres” (mayor of men). No other mission recorded these gendered designations. Other than translation and communication, the Franciscans never specified roles of these alcaldes in the documents, but given the use of separate locked dormitories for men and women, it is likely that these alcaldes were responsible for locking up the young and elder single men and women.⁴⁸¹ Father Fermín de Lasuén claimed that “only in very few of the missions

⁴⁸⁰ Sources: 1796 election—AGN, Californias 17, vol. 65, exp. 8, March 30, 1796, 310–11. 1797 election—Fernández to Borica, December 13, 1797, SFAD, 120. 1799 election—Gonzalez and Carranza to Borica, January 15, 1799, SBMAL, CMD 421. 1809 election—margin notes, SCZM#s 471, 472, and 274. 1810 election—*Padrino* note on SCZB#s 1440–43, 1445, 1446, SCZM#s 495, 524–32. 1811 election—notes on SCZM#s 524–31.

⁴⁸¹ Years later, Lorenzo Asisara recalls special roles within the mission of “key-keeper.” In his recollections of the Padre Quintana assassination, discussed in detail in chapter 3, Asisara mentions the unlocking of the dormitories.

unmarried men are kept under lock at night.”⁴⁸² It would appear that Mission Santa Cruz was one of these, and given the presence of Friar Manuel Fernández at the time of the building of these dormitories, it is probable that he was involved with the selective enforcement of these separate dormitories. Franciscans required that young men and women, as well as widows and singles, stay within dormitories at night. The separation of young men and women would have been drastically different from life before Spanish arrival, imposing new gendered dynamics.⁴⁸³ The women’s dormitories (*monjerios*) were notorious for their filth and lack of proper sanitation.⁴⁸⁴ The padres obsessed about what they viewed as a lack of chastity or virtue, highlighting Spanish preoccupation with sexual relations, reflected in the admission by Mission Santa Cruz missionaries in the 1814 questionnaire that “unchastity is the vice most dominant among them.”⁴⁸⁵

Despite their absence from official political structures, it is clear that hereditary leaders and elders continued to influence the community. Mission Santa Cruz padres reported that at night outside of the mission grounds Indigenous groups held secret, nocturnal dances.⁴⁸⁶ At Mission San Carlos, the question about Indian leadership prompted the following admission: “even today they show more respect and submission to their chiefs

⁴⁸² Friar Fermín de Lasuén, June 19, 1801, SBMAL, CMD 510.

⁴⁸³ Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California*, 82.

⁴⁸⁴ Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 12

⁴⁸⁵ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, question 24.

⁴⁸⁶ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, question 10. The padres further reported that “the old man whom they respect as their teacher or soothsayer” speaks to spirits (which the padres interpreted as the devil). The accuracy of the padres report is highly questionable. How would the padres have known about these dances, other than hearsay? Still, given the numerous reports by foreign travelers of dances and songs performed within mission spaces, we know that song and dance continued. It is easy to believe that Indigenous spiritual leaders continued to practice sacred songs and dances outside of view of the padres.

than to the *alcaldes* who have been placed over them for their advancement as citizens.”⁴⁸⁷

New political designations such as *alcalde* entered Indigenous politics alongside traditional leaders, not replacing them as the missionaries intended. Furthermore, collaboration between elected *alcaldes* and traditional political leaders in the coming years would testify to the persistence of Indigenous political leadership.⁴⁸⁸

New Spiritual and Kinship Connections through Godparentage

Catholic baptism required the selection of a *padrino* (godparent) at the time of baptism. For Franciscans, *padrino* responsibilities appear to have served as a mix of symbolic prestige and responsibility for spiritual (and potentially material) guidance for baptized infants or children in the case of parental loss.⁴⁸⁹ In the early years after the founding of Mission Santa Cruz, this role was fulfilled by members of the *gente de razon*, or Spanish settlers.⁴⁹⁰ These included a mix of Spanish soldiers, artisans, visiting officials, and servants, typically baptized individuals from the Baja California missions. In these early years, the role of godparent was typically divided by gender, as men or boys received a *padrino* (godfather) and women or girls received a *madrina* (godmother). The gendered use of godparents changed as Indigenous community members began to serve as godparents in later baptisms, as kinship relations and linguistic fluency became more central to the godparent role.

Beginning in 1794, three Indigenous women began to fulfill the role of *madrina*. One

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., question 31.

⁴⁸⁸ The best example of this is in the assassination of Padre Quintana in 1812, to be discussed at length in chapter 3.

⁴⁸⁹ I suggest that serving as *padrino* was largely symbolic as in cases where visiting dignitaries performed this role for adults. Examples of this include Bernardo Jauregui (*padrino* on SCZB#149), who served as master carpenter on the frequently used ship *Concepcion*, and Commander Hermenegildo Sal (*padrino* on SCZB#s 88, 89, 90, 119, and 120).

⁴⁹⁰ Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 21. Haas found a similar pattern at Mission San Juan Capistrano.

of the women, Maria Rafaela, was Indigenous to the San Diego area and had moved northward with her Spanish husband.⁴⁹¹ The other two, young Uypi women Feliciana Savedra and Columba, received baptisms at the local mission and married Spanish soldiers, Jose Azebes and Jose de la Cruz, respectively, on the same day in 1794.⁴⁹² In these early years it appears that only the Indigenous wives of respected Spanish citizens performed this important role, likely reflecting a trust by Franciscan missionaries that these women were well versed in Spanish and Catholic culture through virtue of their marriages.

Year of election	Baptism year	Baptism #	Regidore—Spanish name	Native name	Tribal affiliation	Age while serving
1797	1791	43	Pedro	Virguis	Uypi	36
1797	1791	46	Gaspar Pablo	Orcheriu	Cotagen or Oljon (San Gregorio)	32
1799	1795	550	Eufrasio	Luchuchu	Chitactac	38
1799	1791	43	Pedro	Virguis	Uypi	38

Figure 2.11: Indigenous regidores

By late 1796 and early 1797, Indigenous people began to serve as padrinos, reflecting a slow shift of responsibilities to members of the mission community. The transition to Indigenous participation in godparentage could also indicate the potential integration of these roles along Indigenous kinship and relational politics. The early introduction of Indigenous madrinass reveals both how kinship bonds often informed padrino/madrina relationships, as well as the influence of new missionaries. A thirteen-year-old Uypi woman, Chaitin (Agueda), was the first Indigenous woman not married to a

⁴⁹¹ Maria Rafaela, SDB#1315, was from the village of Matamó and baptized at Mission San Diego in 1788. On May 7, 1792 she married Antonio Domingo Enríquez, a master weaver from the state of Querétaro, north of Mexico City. The baptism record of their second child, San Carlos Baptismal number (hereafter referred to as SCB#2033, lists the family as living in San Carlos. It is likely that they spent considerable time at Mission Santa Cruz, working and possibly instructing Santa Cruz neofitos. Both Maria Rafaela (forty-three times) and her husband (twenty times) were listed on numerous baptisms as godparents. Enríquez is credited with instructing neofitos in weaving earlier at Mission Santa Bárbara, see Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders*, 187.

⁴⁹² Felician Savedra (Ojoc), SCZB#140, and Uychilli (Columba), SCZB#73. Their marriage records are SCZM#s 61 and 62, both dated March 3, 1794.

Spaniard to serve as madrina.⁴⁹³ The baptized child, Joaquin, was tied to Chaitin through family as her half-brother, sharing the same Uypi father, Maguen (Thomas).⁴⁹⁴ While not all of the padrinos reflect clear kinship ties, the majority of these early Indigenous godparents were of the same tribe as at least one of the parents. The sixth child to receive an Indigenous godparent demonstrates the complexity of many of these ties, as a young Cotoni infant received his father’s mother-in-law as godparent.⁴⁹⁵

The overall use of Indigenous people as godparents increased dramatically in 1806, when 32 of the overall 108 baptisms included Indigenous godparents.⁴⁹⁶ This shift towards Indigenous godparenting corresponds to the changing of the guard among the missionaries. Notably, the malcontent Friar Manuel Fernández never utilized Indigenous godparents in his baptisms. The use of Indigenous godparents corresponds to the baptisms performed by Jose Espi and Francisco Gonzalez through 1800. By 1807, 57 of the total 61 baptisms involved Indigenous godparents. Many of these included incoming Sumus, Tomoi, and Locobo. While these dropped to only 16 out of the total 53 over the next two years, by 1810, when large numbers of Yokuts arrived, Indigenous community members served as the vast majority of all godparents (see figure 2.12).

⁴⁹³ Chaitin (Agueda), SCZB# 77, served as godparent for Joaquin, SCZB#726, on November 22, 1796.

⁴⁹⁴ Their father, Maguen, SCZB#203, and Joaquin’s Aptos mother Oregit (Marcelina), SCZB#302. Maguen’s first wife, Vuiles (Thomasa), SCZB#204, had died in late 1795, SCZD#93.

⁴⁹⁵ Carlos’s baptism is listed as SCZB#738. His father, Sucul (Marcelo), SCZB#310, was the son of deceased Tugilua (also recorded as Tujilo, baptized as Jose Antonio), SCZB#217, an elder Cotoni. Tugilua’s wife, Masilon (Maria Trinidad), SCZB#218, was young (twenty-two at her baptism in 1793, compared to the sixty-year-old Tugilua).

⁴⁹⁶ Table 10 shows 32. Two of these baptisms included two Indigenous padrinos, SCZB#’s 1306 & 1307. Similarly 61 of the 131 baptisms performed in 1810 included two Indigenous padrinos.

Year	# of baptisms with Indigenous godparent	# of overall baptisms	Padrinos (male godparents)	Madrinas (female godparents)
1796	2	111	0	2
1797	4	33	2	2
1798	4	88	0	4
1799	0	40	0	0
1800	5	52	4	1
1801	4	25	1	3
1802	1	56	0	1
1803	3	31	1	2
1804	0	75	0	0
1805	6	74	6	0
1806	31	108	33	0
1807	57	61	57	0
1808	11	46	8	3
1809	5	7	2	3
1810	131	131	160	32

Figure 2.12: Baptisms with Indigenous godparents (padrinos)⁴⁹⁷

For women, excluded from formal political participation by the friars, the role of *madrina* was one of few roles of prominence within the missions.⁴⁹⁸ Although women performed just over 5 percent of the godparent roles allocated to Indigenous community members between 1796 and 1810, some women served as *madrina* repeatedly, such as Yuñan (Serafina).⁴⁹⁹ A young Cajastaca woman, Yuñan entered the mission in early 1795 as a six-year-old. She eventually served as *madrina* thirty-six times, more than anyone else. One record listed her as a *monja*, which appears to be an honorific title, shared with only one

⁴⁹⁷ Source: Mission baptisms compiled by author via the Early California Population Project (ECP) & original records held at the Monterey Archdiocese.

⁴⁹⁸ Indigenous women held influence within the community, despite being excluded from the imposed Franciscan political order. chapter 3 will explore a few examples of women who retained influence and power within the community.

⁴⁹⁹ Yuñan (Serafina), SCZB#381.

other woman.⁵⁰⁰ It is likely this title reflected that Yuñan served as midwife, assisting the women with their pregnancies. The only other woman to be recognized in the documents by the title of monja was a Sumus woman named Yaquenonsat (Fausta).⁵⁰¹ The Tejey parents of this child, Francisca de Salas, had recently arrived pregnant at the mission.⁵⁰² It is likely that Yaquenonsat, hailing from the neighboring hills of the Sumus, aided them with the birth of their daughter. Unfortunately, the mother, Pipicachi (Plasida), died one month after giving birth, her daughter eleven days later.⁵⁰³

Along with padrinos, Franciscans assigned other ecclesiastical roles to Indigenous youth, including pages or acolytes (*pajes* or *acólitos*) and the sacristan.⁵⁰⁴ Those holding these roles frequently served as marriage witnesses, as they would have been assisting with the ceremonies. The page was typically a young boy who served as assistant to the friar with Catholic ritual. At Mission Santa Cruz missionaries selected pages from among the children,

⁵⁰⁰ She is listed as monja in SCZB#1567, when Yuñan would have been around twenty-two. At this time, Yuñan already was married and had one child (she would later have five more), so she was clearly not the traditional chaste Catholic nun.

⁵⁰¹ This is in SCZB#1562, earlier the same year as the record with Yuñan listed as monja. The record lists the madrina as “Fatita,” the only godparent listing by this name. I believe this to be a reference to Yaquenonsat (Fausta), SCZB#1318 for a few reasons: Fausta is the only name close to “Fatita” among mission women; Yaquenonsat was clearly an important woman within her tribe, as revealed by her marriage to Lacah and listing in prominent order; and the parents of the child who received baptism were Tejey, a tribe in the eastern range, near Sumus territory. Yaquenonsat played a primary role in later mission events (chronicled in chapter 3), which relate to the rebellion and assassination of Padre Quintana.

⁵⁰² The father, Larirjachi (Placido), SCZB#1483, and mother, Pipicachi (Plasida), SCZB#1484, arrived late May of 1810. Their daughter was born January 30, 1811, roughly seven to eight months after their arrival.

⁵⁰³ Pipicachi (Plasida) died March 1, 1811, SCZD# 1064, her daughter, March 12, 1811, SCZD#1068. The father, Larirjachi, remained at the mission for a number of years, remarried six years later in 1817 to a Locobo woman, Moquem (Matilde), SCZB#1232a. They had a son together, Matheo, SCZB#1714, who died a month after birth as well. This may have pushed Larirjachi too far, as he and Moquem left the mission sometime after. Moquem’s death while a fugitive in eastern lands was reported at the end of 1820, SCZD#1404, while Larirjachi’s death was similarly reported back to Mission Santa Cruz at the end of 1825, SCZD#1639. Yaquenonsat’s involvement in this birth and subsequent death may have helped shape her disdain for the mission, and influenced her involvement in the assassination.

⁵⁰⁴ The terms *paje* and *acólito* are used interchangeably, see SCZM#s 742–45.

and likely kept them close to ensure Catholic instruction and limit traditional influences as a strategy for ensuring indoctrination, which the friars considered “instruction.” Those born within the mission, or after the parents had received baptism, seem to have received special attention. This is reflected in the case of young Lino, eldest of the mission-born children, and son of Ules, the Achistaca upstart previously noted for his reputation for challenging the friars. In one baptism for which Lino served as padrino, he is noted as “paje de Padre Quintana,” the only note of a personal page made in all mission records.⁵⁰⁵

The sacristan—a role that is first identified in marriage records beginning in early 1816—according to Franciscan Catholic tradition, was the person in charge of setting up and maintaining rituals and the various books, oils, candles, chalices, and other tools of Catholic ritual.⁵⁰⁶ At Mission Santa Cruz this was assigned to men who had lived within the mission for a considerable time, like Acogüen (Urbano), an Aptos man who, as one of the earliest to arrive as a young boy, had lived at the mission for almost thirty years by the time he became sacristan in 1816.⁵⁰⁷ Serafin, a mission-born Sumus man, rose from page to sacristan, earning the promotion as a young man of fourteen in 1816.⁵⁰⁸

The use of some Indigenous people as interpreters also influenced godparent assignments. Spanish colonialism depended greatly upon Indigenous translators, and local

⁵⁰⁵ The note is made in SCZB#1563. The relationship between the two is suspect, not only for the antipathy between the friars and Lino’s father, which was likely connected to the special attention given to his son, but also for Lino’s later central role in the assassination of said Padre Quintana, to be discussed at length in chapter 3.

⁵⁰⁶ The first record that listed an identified sacristan is SCZM#562, February 26, 1816.

⁵⁰⁷ Acogüen (Urbano), SCZB#67, arrived November 29, 1791, within two months of the founding of the mission.

⁵⁰⁸ Serafin, SCZB#1573, had been named after his madrina, the aforementioned monja or midwife, Yuñan (Serafina). Serafin, who had previously been noted as paje, is first mentioned as sacristan in SCZM#709, on October 21, 1824. Acogüen may have been sick, as he died shortly after, on April 15, 1825, SCZD#1602.

missionaries recognized the need to utilize existing linguistic skills of mission residents to communicate with incoming peoples.⁵⁰⁹ Local tribes had members who served as orators—likely multilingual people who helped facilitate trade, commerce, and diplomatic relations.⁵¹⁰ It was these orators who often greeted early Spanish expeditions, and the job of interpreter likely fell to them. Within the new mission communities, interpreters would have served multiple functions—as cultural mediators teaching newly baptized people to navigate Spanish and Franciscan cultural worlds.⁵¹¹ Governor Borica recognized the existing linguistic skills of some locals, as well as the need to single out and teach Spanish to those with linguistic skills, even recent captives.⁵¹² Additionally, interpreters acted as guides for Spanish expeditions, as an unidentified person at Mission Santa Cruz acted as interpreter and guide in a Spanish military pursuit of runaways in 1799.⁵¹³ The motivations of these

⁵⁰⁹ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 135—43. Hackel examines the need and development of interpreters in religious instruction as well as the difficulties of the missionaries in learning local Ohlone languages.

⁵¹⁰ John P. Harrington, *Central California Coast*, Anthropological Records 7:1, Culture Element Distributions: XIX Central California Coast (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1942), 33.

⁵¹¹ I say “worlds” plural. Despite the obvious overlap between Spanish and Franciscan cultural values, increasing disconnects between ecclesiastical and civilian life are seen throughout the Spanish Americas. Growing discontent between government and church officials characterized the shifting culture before the independence wars against Spain, 1810–21. This is reflected in official complaints and tensions between the two local communities.

⁵¹² Borica to Virrey, Monterey, November 27, 1798, State Provincial Papers, Bancroft BSS C-A 24, 431. Governor Borica used two men captured in a confrontation near Mission San Juan Bautista, singling out the captives to “dice que guía dará los dos indios la mision para ensenas les el espanol y para emplearlos de guias y interpretes. Dice ‘me hallo en mil trabajos para poder a clasas cual es quies cosa que ocurre entre los gentile por la variedad de sus idiomas, pues sucede que ese la distancia de 12 leguas se hallan tres o 4 tan distintos—que no se entienden mas rancherias con otras’” (He says he will guide the two Indians to the mission to teach them Spanish and to employ them as guides and interpreters. He says “There are a thousand jobs for those who do this thing [interpret] that happens between the gentiles because of the variety of languages, within a distance of 12 leagues there are three or four distinct [languages or dialects]—they don’t understand some rancherias more than others.” Translation mine.)

⁵¹³ June 7, 1899, State Provincial Papers, Bancroft BSS C-A 10, 330. The letter delineating Spanish rules of engagement with the Ausaima mentions that “...enviara libre a Santa Cruz, al indio que va sirviendole de guia y de interprete, avisandolo a sus PP Mtros [Padre Ministros] a quien informara del

guides are difficult to pinpoint, but in some cases precontact rivalries and conflicts inspired some to offer assistance with capturing fugitives.⁵¹⁴

At Mission Santa Cruz at least three different Indigenous individuals worked as interpreters. The first among these was Aror (Juan Francisco), a young Uypi boy who arrived at the mission as a five-year-old in 1791, among the first wave of baptisms.⁵¹⁵ Aror appears in the documents as a padrino in 1807, shortly after serving as marriage witness.⁵¹⁶ A young Cotoni man, Chachoix (Silvestre), also served as interpreter for the mission.⁵¹⁷ Chachoix, who entered the mission in 1794 as a ten-year-old, first appeared as a padrino in August of 1800.⁵¹⁸ While both Chachoix and Aror appear to have helped interpret the diverse Ohlone dialects within the mission, the addition of Yokuts speakers beginning in 1806 required greater linguistic range, which fell to two other men from tribes farther east than the coastal Uypi and Cotoni.

A twenty-eight-year-old Tomoi named Putiltec (Macario) arrived at the mission in early 1807.⁵¹⁹ As the Tomoi tribe lived along the border of the Yokuts-speaking territories to

mode que se haga portado” (...sending free from Santa Cruz the Indian who is going to serve as guide and interpreter for the Padre Ministers, and who will inform them so that the [runaways, and/or enemies] are made to behave. Translation mine.)

⁵¹⁴ Borica to the padre of Mission Santa Cruz, Monterey, March 4, 1798, State Provincial Records, Bancroft BSS C-A 24, 530–31. The letter relates that one unidentified man offered to assist in the recapturing of escapees (*huidos*) who had returned to their homelands near Mission San Juan Bautista. The governor, in supporting the use of this man’s skills and knowledge, pointed out that he was enemies with some of them, and that he himself was from nearby lands (“porque tengo entendido son enemigos unos con otros, y se que su tierra esta muy inmediata a esta Mision”).

⁵¹⁵ SCZB#29.

⁵¹⁶ Juan Francisco appears as padrino first in SCZB#s 1361a, 1362a, 1363a, 1364a, in June of 1807. He served in this role seven times, the final one SCZB#1575, on September 8, 1812, before his death on November 6, 1814, SCZD#1196. He appears as a witness to marriages along with a note of serving as “Interprete” on records beginning in 1809, SCZM#461, 462, 551–53. Overall he served as marriage witness twenty-three times.

⁵¹⁷ SCZB#304, baptized February 16, 1794.

⁵¹⁸ SCZB#945, August 17, 1800.

⁵¹⁹ SCZB#1320.

the east, Putiltec quickly became the chief translator for the incoming Yokuts. A recent study of a Yokuts-language catechism entitled “Lengua de los Llanos,” written shortly after his arrival, concluded that Putiltec wrote this catechism by translating from his native Ohlone dialect into a Yokuts dialect.⁵²⁰ His role as interpreter led to him serving as “interpreter of the Tulareños [Yokuts]” and padrino thirty times at Mission Santa Cruz, beginning in 1817.⁵²¹ Putiltec’s elevated status as interpreter may have eventually helped him gain mobility, as he appears to have worked in San Francisco in a similar role.⁵²² The last man identified by the records as an interpreter at Mission Santa Cruz, Huilgen (Juan Bautista), was originally baptized by officials from Mission San Carlos (Monterey) on a military expedition into Yokuts territory.⁵²³ He lived at Mission Santa Cruz and helped to interpret for the incoming Yokuts.

Conclusion

Following the induction of the majority of local Indigenous people to Mission Santa Cruz by 1798, a new wave of Mutsun speaking Ohlone began to arrive. The disruption of economic, ecological, political, and social relations between Indigenous polities during this

⁵²⁰ Norval S.H. Smith and John R. Johnson, “Lengua de los Llanos: A Northern Valley Yokuts Catechism from Misión Santa Cruz, Alta California,” *STUF: Language Typology and Universals* 66, no. 3 (2013): 299–313. The article argues that Putiltec (Macario) worked with Friar Andrés Quintana in translating this prayer from similar catechisms written in his native Ohlone dialect, based on particular phrasing used. It further concludes that the Yokuts dialect used was that of the Locobo tribe, which were the first of the Yokuts speakers to arrive at Mission Santa Cruz between 1806 and 1807.

⁵²¹ Putiltec clearly worked as translator and interpreter prior to his role as padrino, given his involvement with the catechism (see note above). His work as padrino began with a group of Achila, Sagim, Copcha, and Notuall Yokuts in SCZB#s 1683–93. The first of these baptisms was Cholé (Leon), chief of the Sagim village.

⁵²² Putiltec appears as interpreter in Mission San Francisco Solano in modern Sonoma, San Francisco Solano Baptismal number (hereafter referred to as SFSB#1031, January 19, 1834.

⁵²³ Huilgen, SCAB#2920, was baptized on September 11, 1814, as a military group led by General Vallejo encountered the injured eleven-year-old in the field. He recovered and was brought back to the coastal mission. His specific tribal affiliation is unknown, as his baptismal record notes “Tulares.”

time impacted tribes and villages to the east. This time was characterized by increasing Spanish colonial settlement and military presence in the region, with the building of new pueblos and missions throughout the greater region. Meanwhile, the growing Indigenous population learned new labor practices, and participated in the political and spiritual hierarchies of the mission. They took on these new roles by incorporating their own traditional practices and values. These Indigenous translators, builders, laborers, and Christians were fundamental in the expansion of Spanish colonial settlement.

And yet, Indigenous people did not passively enter the mission community, as many chose to resist and fight against this rapid Spanish expansion. Frequent flights of fugitives attest to regular rejection of these new conditions. Eastern villages harbored these fugitives, forging bonds and learning from each other. Fugitives offered unique insights into Spanish colonial practices and perspectives, information that aided resistant communities. Baptized and unbaptized Indigenous people sometimes collaborated in resisting missionization. At times they competed for resources, or otherwise sought to undermine traditional enemies. They participated in an Indigenous politics of negotiations, alliances, and conflicts, charting a diversity of pathways in this ever changing colonial world.

Chapter 3: “We are not animals”

On October 12, 1812, just twenty years after the founding of Mission Santa Cruz, a group of more than fifteen Indigenous men and women conspired to and succeeded in killing Padre Quintana. The motives and intentions of the conspirators include a challenge to the specific cruelty of Padre Quintana, as well as an assertion of leadership and authority within the Indigenous communities forming around Mission Santa Cruz. Previous scholarship has characterized the assassination as a moment of Indian resistance, a rebellion against the cruel sadism of Padre Quintana.⁵²⁴ Although this explanation is accurate in a broad sense, by relying on categories of erasure such as the social and racial category of “Indian,” this interpretation fails to recognize the diverse tribal and familial interrelations linking the individuals involved as well as the centrality and influence of Indigenous women. A closer examination reveals the assassination to be a multicausal event, serving as an example of communication and collaboration across the greater San Francisco Bay Area. Local families drew on tactics formulated by Chocheño-speaking Ohlone in the northeast, imported through Mutsun-speaking Ohlone from the east. This exchange of tactics and ideas across geographic and political lines resulted from new alliances forged within the mission community.

This assassination was neither an anticolonial nor anti-Catholic expression, but rather a rejection of the practices of a particularly sadistic friar. The Indigenous residents articulate a sophisticated understanding of Catholic teachings, as well as the gulf between Padre Quintana’s sermons and his actions. The evidence suggests that they navigated the

⁵²⁴ Edward D. Castillo, “The Assassination of Padre Andrés Quintana by the Indians of Mission Santa Cruz in 1812: The Narrative of Lorenzo Asisara,” *California History* 68, no. 3 (1989), 116–25.

Spanish Catholic world through the lens of their Indigenous practices. While they took part in Catholic ceremony by day and attended sermons by the missionaries, they also continued to practice their songs and dances and use their earthen sweat lodges.⁵²⁵ In the months and years leading up to the assassination, this community witnessed both the introduction of large numbers of Yokuts speakers, as well as extremely high levels of infant mortality. Recognizing this struggle to bring children into this world helps us to understand the stakes involved in protecting the youth from the abuses of Quintana.⁵²⁶

This examination of the shifting tribal demographics within the mission as well as the connections between those involved in the assassination reveals the existence and persistence of pre-Hispanic communities and kinship networks binding together the conspirators. The conspirators drew on traditional Ohlone practices and newly developing

⁵²⁵ Throughout colonial California, Spanish authorities requested that missionaries respond to a questionnaire of thirty-six questions relating to social, political, tribal, and family life of local Indians. Fray Marcelino Maquinez and Fray Jayme Escudé wrote the responses for Mission Santa Cruz on April 30, 1814, a year and a half after the assassination. As they had very little experience with the Indigenous people living at Mission Santa Cruz, there is reason to cast doubt on the veracity of these friars' words and insights. For an example of the cultural bias clouding their vision, in response to question 20 the Santa Cruz friars claim with a degree of certainty that the local Indians are “descendants of the ten tribes of Israel.” Most of the original responses are held at the Santa Bárbara Mission Archive Library (hereafter referred to as SBMAL), though the Santa Cruz books are at the archives of the Monterey Archdiocese. Father Maynard Geiger collected and printed all the responses in 1976; Geiger and Clement W. Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813–1815* (Santa Barbara, CA: Santa Bárbara Mission Archive Library, 1976). Responding to question 10, regarding retention of superstitions, the Santa Cruz friars reported “they hold at times secret, nocturnal dances always avoiding detection by the fathers. We are informed that at night [they] gather together in the field or the forest.” Additionally, throughout the California missions, Indigenous communities continued to practice dances and songs within the missions, as observed by numerous travelers. The persistence of sweat lodges and rituals in the surrounding mountains is mentioned in response to question 15, regarding health and healing practices. The use of these lodges persisted at least into the 1870s, as a newspaper report about a Native man, Mereijildo (SCZB#2172), and his attempted suicide mentions blood being found in his sweat house, see *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 18, 1874, 3:5.

⁵²⁶ As this chapter will show, Quintana frequently targeted the youth with excessive corporal punishment.

strategies of resistance in challenging and recognizing spiritual hypocrisy and abuses. The majority of the men and women involved were connected through long-standing kinship networks between members of the original tribes of the region, with the exception of the woman credited with developing and ensuring the success of the plot. These local leaders engaged in their own direct political action to protect their growing mission community against a padre who overstepped the social contract. Moreover, these leaders held positions of authority within the mission community, walking between worlds in navigating Spanish Catholicism as well as their Indigenous communities in articulating and acting upon their own conceptions of justice.⁵²⁷

The continued prominence of surviving conspirators and their descendants reinforces oral histories in revealing a level of hero status and veneration for these protectors of the community. Furthermore, the collective conspiracy of silence following the assassination attests to the influence and power demonstrated by these leaders. At the same time the eventual arrest and removal of those caught left a vacuum of Indigenous leadership within the mission, much of which was filled shortly after by incoming Yokuts chiefs and leaders.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁷ This examination of Indigenous leadership within the mission community builds on works such as that of Steven W. Hackel, “The Staff of Leadership: Indian Authority in the Missions of Alta California,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (April 1997), 347–76. Hackel argues that Indian *alcaldes* and leaders were able to maintain control over some aspects of their communities. While Hackel argued that Indian leaders often acted on behalf of their own familial ties, this case shows an example of *alcaldes* acting to protect a much larger body of people, collaborating across newly formed kinship networks. The creation and particularities of Indigenous leadership and *alcaldes* within Mission Santa Cruz is examined in depth in chapter 2.

⁵²⁸ The best example of this is found with the Teje (Yokuts) chief Malimin (Coletto), SCZB#1478, and his sons. Coletto Malimin (in chapters 4 and 5, I stick with the contemporary naming practice and use a combination of Spanish and Native names, as I will explain) and his sons will be discussed at length in chapter 4.

This close examination of the assassination and the people involved sheds light on the rich social world within and surrounding the mission. More than an isolated moment of rebellion, this story reveals the complex interrelations between mission communities along with the prominence of women leaders. By revealing the centrality of women leaders, this study also exposes their subsequent erasure from the documents, and a greater understanding of roles and leadership within the missions. This deeper reading of the assassination further shows that Indigenous leaders and members of their kinship network engaged in a politics of justice and punishment informed by traditional understandings. . These leaders ultimately made critical and consequential decisions to protect an increasingly diverse mission community through this time of little choice.⁵²⁹

Knowledge of the Quintana murder is handed down through a variety of sources, including official correspondence and reports by Spanish authorities, as well as the account given in the interview with Lorenzo Asisara in 1877.⁵³⁰ Asisara, son of one of the conspirators, was born in 1820, eight years after the assassination took place. Asisara was of the same generation of other Indigenous people and Californios who would share their stories of this time during the latter years of the 1800s.⁵³¹ Asisara himself is a complex individual, who lived through the changes of Mexican and American eras into the 1890s.⁵³²

⁵²⁹ Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1995). For an in-depth look at the lack of options leading to mission settlement, see Milliken.

⁵³⁰ José María Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” Bancroft Library (hereafter referred to as BL), BANC MSS C-D 28, 58–77.

⁵³¹ Lisbeth Haas, *Pablo Tac, Indigenous Scholar: Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial History, C. 1840* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). There are very few first hand accounts by Indigenous people who lived in the California missions. Asisara and his contemporary, Pablo Tac, represent two of the most vivid accounts that remain.

⁵³² This will be explored in more detail in a chapter 5.

Asisara’s account is found within the interview with José María Amador, a retired Spanish soldier who invited Asisara to participate and relate his story, a connection facilitated by Asisara’s shared military background. His narrative, although it provides many details and Spanish names, at times contributes to the erasure and marginalization of Indigenous women that is commonly found in the Spanish documents. Read as an oral history, the account relates how the story itself has been remembered within this community, showing a level of reverence and heroification for these leaders and the sacrifices they made while naming individuals involved and details that have been erased by the official Spanish accounts.⁵³³

Spanish government correspondence, confirmed by Asisara’s narrative, relates that the assassins targeted Padre Quintana due to his excessive reliance on corporal punishment, via lashings from his whip.⁵³⁴ The timing of the assassination corresponded to inside knowledge of the upcoming unveiling of a new horse whip, the tip of which Quintana had had specially equipped with iron.⁵³⁵ The assassination plan was put into motion following

⁵³³ The validity of some details of the Asisara account was debated following its first publication by Edward D. Castillo. See Doyce B. Nunis Jr. and Edward D. Castillo, “California Mission Indians: Two Perspectives,” *California History* 70, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 206–15. Nunis argues that many details do not stand up, including the use of silver coins and the lack of correspondence of dates cited. He further charges that Castillo “simply doesn’t take the [Spanish reports] at face value,” (211). Castillo rebuts Nunis’s dismissal of the Asisara account by arguing that Asisara’s testimony lies within the realm of oral tradition, as “non-literate peoples treat the spoken word more carefully than do those from literate cultures,” and that one “can hardly expect native documents to conform explicitly with documents authored by colonial authorities. To do so would assume that only one truth and one reality existed, that of the colonist.” *Ibid.*, 212–13.

⁵³⁴ Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá, February 5, 1816, Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter referred to as AGN), Californias (017), exp. 15, foja 501. Solá similarly relates his account of the conspirators’ testimonies given in a letter dated June 2, 1816, SBMAL, CMD 1145.

⁵³⁵ Solá, February 5, 1816, AGN, Californias (017), exp. 15, foja 501. Solá reports that Indian motivation included that Quintana had “mandado hacer una Quarta de hierro para azotarlos” (made a whip of iron for lashings). Asisara’s account claims that a new horsewhip, made with wire straws (“la nueva cuarta que había hecho con pajuelas de alambre”), was to be unveiled the next day. See

the beating of two people nearly to death.⁵³⁶ The use of corporal punishment as a means of social control is well documented in mission correspondence and testimony from various Indian rebellions and trials, which frequently cited excessive physical abuse as the primary motivating factor for justified violent retaliation.⁵³⁷

The assassination was planned collectively and secretly by a coalition of Indigenous residents, who then, along with many of the men and women of the mission community, successfully concealed the assassination from the Spanish priests and soldiers for the greater part of a year. According to the account given by Asisara, a gathering of fourteen men and women took place at the home of the gardener in response to several nearly fatal beatings administered by Quintana. The group debated a response, settling on a plan suggested by the gardener's wife, the Sumus woman Yaquenonsat (Fausta). The plan involved summoning Quintana to the bedside of the gardener, who was frequently ill, under the pretense of administering last rights. The plan was put into action, and the conspirators assassinated Quintana while he was coming to visit the gardener. The conspirators placed Quintana's dead body back in his quarters, making it appear as if he had died in his sleep. The assassins then proceeded to unlock the single men's and women's dormitories, letting

Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 61. At the time of this attack, iron worker and blacksmith José María Larios lived in Las Aromas (which is halfway between Santa Cruz and San Juan Bautista, in present-day Aromas), supporting the availability of local skilled labor able to make this weapon. See Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders in Hispanic California, 1769–1850* (Tucson, AZ: Southwestern Mission Research Center, 1994): 76–77.

⁵³⁶ Colonial Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá, AGN, Californias (017), exp. 15, fojas 500–05. The recent beatings are mentioned in numerous documents, including the defense of Quintana by Governor Solá, who reports that “a dos fué castigo con la mencionada quarta se vieron a junto de morir” (the two punished with the said whip were both dying). Governor Solá, April 5, 1816, BL, Provincial Records, vol. 9, 139.

⁵³⁷ Brian T. McCormack, “Conjugal Violence, Sex, Sin, and Murder in the Mission Communities of Alta California,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 16, no. 3, Latin American Sexualities (September 2007): 391–415.

everyone out to enjoy a night of celebration.⁵³⁸ Before dawn everyone returned to their quarters, allowing the assassins to cover up the murder. This large group, the assassins as well as the single men and women, who surely would have learned about the nights’ events, suggests keeping the secret was a collaborative effort.

The events of the assassination remained hidden from the Spanish soldiers and padres for almost a year.⁵³⁹ The death of Padre Quintana was officially declared to be a result of his lingering illness.⁵⁴⁰ Some questions remained, as a coroner was sent to exhume the body, though his report supported a conclusion of death by natural causes.⁵⁴¹ It was only in 1813, after one of the soldiers overheard two women discussing the assassination, that Spanish authorities arrested the conspirators. Soldiers marched sixteen prisoners to the presidio in San Francisco, where the Spanish authorities convicted nine of the murder.⁵⁴²

⁵³⁸ While Asisara does not give details about the nature of the celebration, it is clear that this is a rejection of Spanish sexual impositions, which frequently discussed the forced separation of the sexes. Virginia M. Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence* (University of Arizona Press, 2004). I agree with Bouvier, who examined Asisara’s account to conclude that “the seeds of rebellion were nourished by Franciscan efforts to control indigenous sexuality,” 135. The horrible conditions of the women’s dormitories, referred to as *monjeríos*, have been frequently discussed by historians. These dormitories were described by Governor Diego Borica in 1797 as “small, poorly ventilated, and infested.” Quoted in Steven Street, *Beasts of the Field: A Narrative History of California Farmworkers, 1769–1913* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 42.

⁵³⁹ Certainly suspicions existed, as seen in the call for autopsy and in later letters. Padre Luís Jayme to José de la Guerra, September 3, 1814, SBMAL, DLG 537, Letter 1. Here Jayme asserts, about a year after the conspirators have been caught, that he never believed that Quintana died of natural causes.

⁵⁴⁰ José Darío Argüello to Governor José Joaquín de Arrillaga, October 13, 1812, BL, Provincial State Papers, vol. 19, 1805–15, 323.

⁵⁴¹ Padre Marcelino Marquez to José Maria Estudillo, October 15, 1812, in 1797–1850, SCPSP, MS8, Box 3:16. The autopsy is considered by some to be the first conducted in California, and it has been written about as such. See Robert J. Moes, “Manuel Quijano and Waning Spanish California,” *California History* 67, no. 2 (June 1988), 78–93. It appears that he was looking primarily for the presence of poisoning, given other attempts at poisonings farther south.

⁵⁴² Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 78. Amador claims that he was among the soldiers who escorted the sixteen prisoners.

After hearing their testimonies, the Spanish government handed down sentences for the nine men. They convicted four of them of murder and sentenced them to ten years’ imprisonment, convicted three as accomplices to the murder and sentenced them to six years, and sentenced one person to two years. The final prisoner was released after serving seven years, following his testimony that he had not been directly involved.⁵⁴³ Soldiers marched the other seven, who testified but were not convicted, back to Santa Cruz. These remain unnamed directly by any accounts.⁵⁴⁴ The participation of Indigenous women appears to have been overlooked by the Spanish officials. All nine convicted were men, and it is likely that the patriarchal Spanish men underestimated the central role of Yaquenonsat.

Each of the nine convicts also received two hundred lashes in addition to their years of hard labor. Two hundred lashes, and the lack of medical attention, almost certainly proved to be fatal for many of these men. Of the nine prisoners convicted of the crime, four died in the San Francisco Presidio before charges had been established. While the cause of their deaths is unrecorded, the excessive corporal punishment surely played a role. Three more died while serving their sentences in the Santa Bárbara Presidio. The remaining two prisoners survived their sentences, one living in the mountains outside of Monterey until his death in 1832, while the other lived in Santa Cruz until his death by smallpox in 1838.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴³ See report dated February 5, 1816, AGN, Californias (017), exp. 15, foja 504, about penalties handed down. The prisoner who testified for his release is Ètop. BL, Provincial State Papers: Benicia, Military, 1767–1845, Banc MSS C-A 17, vol. 49, 59–61.

⁵⁴⁴ The exception is Asisara’s father, Llencó (Venancio, SCZB#215). Llencó will be discussed later this chapter.

⁵⁴⁵ This chapter will explore the stories of all of those involved in greater detail.

Native name	Spanish name	Baptismal #	Tribal affiliation	Kinship connection
	Lino	226	Chaloctaca	
Lacah	Julian Apodeca	141	Chaloctaca	
Ules	Andrés Cañizares	97	Chaloctaca	Lino's father
Sirinte	Fulguncio Cañizares	111	Chaloctaca	Lino's uncle
Quihueimen	Quirico	65	Uypi	
Ètop	Antonio Alberto	755	Aptos	<i>Padrino</i> for Quihueimen's son, Rustico (SCZB#1561), in 1811.
Euxexi	Ambrosio	232	Somontoc	First wife was Ules's sister
	Leto Antonio	SCL 1015	Santa Cruz Mountains (San Carlos)	Parents baptized their sister at Mission Santa Clara (SCL#1902) along with Lino's older brother, Cucufate (SCL#1903)
	Secundino	SCL 1016	Santa Cruz Mountains (San Carlos)	Parents baptized their sister at Mission Santa Clara (SCL#1902) along with Lino's older brother, Cucufate (SCL#1903)

Figure 3.1: Conspirators arrested for the assassination, and their tribal and kinship connections

Demographic Shift: Arrival of the Yokuts

By 1812, the Indigenous community at Mission Santa Cruz included a diversity of tribal polities and families. This community included the survivors of various Ohlone-speaking local peoples, increasingly intermarried with Yokuts-speaking people who began to arrive at Mission Santa Cruz around 1805. By the time of the assassination members of the original regional polities made up only 20 percent of the total mission population, as they

were outnumbered by a combination of Mutsun-speaking Ohlone and Yokuts.⁵⁴⁶ In order for these leaders to hold power, it was necessary for these Awaswas speaking leaders to expand their kinship networks. Drastic loss and demographic collapse characterized the Indigenous world surrounding Mission Santa Cruz, and the survivors needed to form new alliances within the community as it experienced linguistic and cultural change.⁵⁴⁷ In the first twenty years of its existence, Mission Santa Cruz underwent three major “recruitment” phases; the first two were primarily composed of a diversity of Ohlone-speaking tribes of increasingly larger geographic range, and the third saw the arrival of Yokuts speakers.⁵⁴⁸ By 1812, this third wave of Yokuts arrivals was in its early phase.

Following the founding of Mission Santa Cruz in 1791, the phase of baptisms dominated the first fifteen years, recruiting primarily from the five local groups that lived in the immediate vicinity—the Uypi, Cotoni, Sayanta, Achistaca, and Aptos (see figure 3.5).⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁶ This is based on there being 92 out of a total population of 437 (21 percent). There are more, if you include children born in the mission to local families, as well as an increasing number of intermarriages (and children from intermarriage), but, as will be discussed, infant mortality rates were extremely high. Robert H. Jackson argues that population stability at Mission Santa Cruz related to increased recruitment, as the number of children in relation to the total population remained small.. In addition to high infant and child mortality rates, the mission suffered heavy mortality among women and girls. By 1812, children under ten represented merely 6 percent of the total population of 437. See Jackson, “Disease and Demographic Patterns at Santa Cruz Mission, Alta California,” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 5, nos. 1–2 (1983): 33–57.

⁵⁴⁷ Jackson, “Disease and Demographic Patterns at Santa Cruz Mission,” 40. The losses at Mission Santa Cruz are explored by Jackson, who concludes, “The missions can be compared to death camps.” For an extensive look into Indigenous population decline throughout California, see Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988).

⁵⁴⁸ The first two waves have been covered in the respective first two chapters, while the third wave, that of the Yokuts, will be explored in this chapter.

⁵⁴⁹ Details regarding these tribes and their histories are covered in chapter 1, quickly summarized here. There are typically seven major polities baptized from this region, but two of these, the Chaloctaca and Cajastac, appear to be smaller subgroups of the larger Sayanta and Aptos, respectively, based on intermarriage patterns. Smaller numbers of individuals from nearby tribes like the Somontoc arrived during these early years along with the others, but the vast majority belonged

These are the principal groups from which the majority of the conspirators hailed. The second wave of tribes, who spoke the Mutsun Ohlone dialect, distinct from the local Awaswas, arrived in the years between 1797 and 1808. These people came from territories on the eastern side of the Santa Cruz Mountains, near modern towns Gilroy and Morgan Hill across toward Henry Coe State Park, bordering on the San Joaquin Valley, homelands of the Northern Valley Yokuts tribes.⁵⁵⁰ Included with the Mutsun-speaking Ohlone peoples that made up the second wave was one crucial member of the conspirators, the Sumus woman Yaquenonsat (Fausta).⁵⁵¹

While 1808 and 1809 saw very few incoming baptisms, in 1810 mission recruitment increased rapidly. A large group of 123 Yokuts speakers, known by the Spanish collectively as the Tulareños, arrived from the swampy *tulare*-filled San Joaquin Valley.⁵⁵² The mission community was not isolated from other peoples, as seen in interactions with settlers and “Russian Indians,” or Aleutians.⁵⁵³ Across the San Lorenzo River lay the neighboring settlement of Villa de Branciforte, founded in 1797, which numbered thirty-five settlers by

to the aforementioned tribes. The most exhaustive study of the geography of these early peoples to date is found in the work of Randall Milliken. See Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*.

⁵⁵⁰ This second wave of Indigenous peoples is covered in depth in chapter 2.

⁵⁵¹ The Sumus, who can be considered connected with the larger Tomoi tribe, are also considered part of the larger “Ohlone” designation, though they hail from the Henry Coe State Park region, in the mountain range east of Morgan Hill. Yaquenonsat (Fausta), SCZB#1318, arrived early 1807. Her story will be detailed in this chapter, while the story of the Sumus and Tomoi is discussed in chapter 2.

⁵⁵² These came from two tribes, the Tejey and the Yeurata, the latter of which had members baptized at Missions San Juan Bautista and Soledad as Chaneche or Tchanécha.

⁵⁵³ José María Estudillo, April 9, 1811, Letter 44, Santa Cruz Pre-Statehood Documents (hereafter referred to as SCPSD), UC Santa Cruz, McHenry Library. There is evidence that interaction existed between Mission Santa Cruz residents and “Russian Indians,” or Aleutian seal hunters, as seen in the letter suggesting to talk to the Zoquel (Uypi) people about the Russian Indian complaints about a missing Cayuco, or seal skin boat.

1812.⁵⁵⁴ Interaction between these settlers and mission residents is confirmed by the ongoing complaints by the padres regarding the corrupting influence of the villa residents on the “Christian and pagan Indians.”⁵⁵⁵

At the time of the assassination of Quintana in 1812, the Indigenous community at Mission Santa Cruz was undergoing a demographic shift, as Mutsun speaking Ohlone and incoming Yokuts from the eastern San Joaquin Valley began to outnumber remaining members of local tribes (see tables 2, 3, and 4). Spanish colonizers had succeeded in relocating the majority of Ohlone-speaking peoples from their homelands to Missions Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, San Juan Bautista, and, to a lesser extent, Dolores and San Carlos.⁵⁵⁶ Spanish military expeditions looked farther east towards the tule-filled San Joaquin Valley, where diverse groups of Yokuts speakers lived. Increasingly hostile military expeditions into the eastern lands in Yokuts territories to capture fugitive *neofitos* frequently involved capturing new villagers to bring back to the missions.

⁵⁵⁴ Robert H. Jackson, “An Introduction to the Historical Demography of Santa Cruz Mission and the Villa de Branciforte, 1791–1846” (senior thesis, UC Santa Cruz, 1980). This community included relocated settlers from Guadalajara, Baja California, and other parts of Alta California, including the husband and children of famed Mission San Gabriel Rebellion leader Toypurina. Her family relocated to the villa by 1808, as discussed by John R. Johnson and William M. Williams, “Toypurina's Descendants: Three Generations of an Alta California Family,” *Boletín: The Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* 24, no. 2 (2007): 31–55. The details of some of this community will be discussed in later chapters. Her life has recently been examined by members of the Gabrieleño Band of Mission Indians Kizh Nation, in Ernest P. Salas Teutimes, Andrew Salas, Christina Swindall-Martinez, and Edwin Gary Stickel, *Toypurina, the Joan of Arc of California* (2013).

⁵⁵⁵ Florian Guest, “The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (March 1962): 40, and in Daniel Garr, “Villa de Branciforte: Innovation and Adaptation on the Frontier,” *The Americas* 35, no. 1 (July 1978): 107.

⁵⁵⁶ The latter two, existing at the northern and southern periphery of Ohlone territories, had much larger numbers of non-Ohlone peoples – Coast Miwok in San Francisco, and Esselen at San Carlos.

Year	Native baptisms	Natal baptisms	Burials	Population
1791	82	0	2	89
1792	73	1	5	158
1793	78	4	6	233
1794	119	11	27	332
1795	242	16	75	507
1796	97	14	91	523
1797	20	13	64	495
1798	72	16	45	504
1799	26	14	70	468
1800	41	11	51	472
1801	15	10	51	442
1802	42	14	61	437
1803	17	14	33	437
1804	63	12	49	461
1805	61	13	53	464
1806	90	15	105	466
1807	49	12	53	492
1808	31	15	49	485
1809	1	6	49	449
1810	120	11	61	507
1811	1	9	56	462
1812	0	9	30	437

Figure 3.2: Mission population numbers.⁵⁵⁷

	Mission population in 1812, by origin		
Year	1798	1809	1812
Total population	508	449	437
Original tribes	298	116	82
% of total surviving	58.66%	25.84%	18.76%

Figure 3.3: Percentage of population of local tribes: Aptos/Cajastaca, Achistaca, Chaloctaca, Cotoni, Quiroste, Sayanta, and Uypi

⁵⁵⁷ Santa Cruz Mission Libro de Padrones, Baptisms, and Burials, all at Monterey Diocese Chancery Archives, Monterey, CA.

Mission population in 1812, by region		
Tribe by language	#	%
Awaswas	82	18.76%
Mutsun	162	37.07%
Yokuts	166	37.99%
Mission-born	27	6.17%
Total:	437	

Figure 3.4: Mission population at time of Padre Quintana’s assassination, based on language/region: Awaswas = local tribes, Mutsun = Ohlone tribes from eastern slope of Santa Cruz Mountains east to Henry Coe State Park, Yokuts = Northern Valley Yokuts from the San Joaquin Valley (Locobo, Chaneche, Teje), Mission-born = children born to parents baptized and living at the mission

In the spring of 1810, 119 Yokuts arrived, a mix of Teje and Chaneche.⁵⁵⁸ They joined the Locobo tribe, who had been the first Yokuts speakers to join Mission Santa Cruz, 60 arriving between February 1806 and June 1808.⁵⁵⁹ This large incoming Teje group was led by Chief (*capitan*) Malimin and his family.⁵⁶⁰ The homeland of the Teje is near present-day Gustine, just on the eastern side of the hills of Henry Coe State Park. These tribes lived to the east of the homelands of the Sumus and Tomoi, and many Tomoi played roles in assisting their transition to the mission.⁵⁶¹ All together these culturally distinct Yokuts made

⁵⁵⁸ SCZB#s 1434–52. The Chaneche, based out of modern Los Banos, went by various names. They were known at Mission Santa Cruz as Yeurata or Yeunata, at Mission San Juan Bautista and Mission Soledad as Tchanécha, Tsanechán, or Chanechan (SJB#s 2109, 2115, SOLB#1695).

⁵⁵⁹ The first Locobo was Uc Ahigi (Santiago Maior), SCZB#1212, baptized along with a group of twenty-six other Locobo on February 1, 1806.

⁵⁶⁰ Malimin (Coletto) was the first Teje baptized (SCZB#1478). His native name is confusingly listed on his baptismal record as “Col[e]ta ò Malin,” but in both his and his wife’s burial records he is listed as Coletto Malimin (SCZD#s 1465 & 1493). I opt to use Malimin because this appears to be the Indigenous name that he continued to use. The lives of Malimin and his sons, many of whom would become political leaders within the mission, will be explored in depth in chapter 4.

⁵⁶¹ An example of this is the Tomoi man Chogiore (Macario, SCZB#1320), who served as interpreter for many of the incoming Yokuts. Chogiore’s Native name on his baptismal record is listed as Putiltec. As later accounts consistently list him as “Macario Chogiore,” this is either a mistake or an example of someone who changed his name at some point. Norval S.H. Smith and John R. Johnson have determined that it was this same Chogiore who wrote a Catechism in the Yokuts language sometime before 1810. See Smith and Johnson, “Lengua de los Llanos: A Northern Valley Yokuts Catechism from

up just over a third of the overall population within just a few years of arrival (see figure 3.4). The Yokuts and various Ohlone groups within the mission were separated linguistically, but shared cultural, spiritual, and economic ties. The Yokuts and eastern Ohlone (Mutsun speakers) had longstanding trade relations. They now found themselves building new connections and relations within a growing, diverse community surrounding the mission.

Mortality rates within the mission were catastrophic, as the population maintained its steadiness only due to a relatively constant influx of new “converts.” At the time of the assassination there had been 133 baptisms administered to children born to parents living at the mission. Of these, only twenty-seven were still alive at the time of the assassination (see figure 3.4). In the two years before the assassination, twenty-four children were born. Of these, eighteen had died before the assassination. This was a time of great loss, a fact that many of the conspirators witnessed closely. As early members of the community, many of them were expected to be community leaders, and some of them served as godparents to the children born in these years.⁵⁶² Despite the terrible mortality figures, a few of these youth did survive into adulthood. As the first generation growing up within the mission system, they worked closely with the friars, who frequently gave them important duties within the spiritual practices and daily rituals.

Misión Santa Cruz, Alta California,” *STUF: Language Typology and Universals* 66, no. 3 (2013): 299–313.

⁵⁶² Four of the conspirators served as godparent in SCZB#s 1554, 1561, 1562, and 1563. Two of these children died within months of their birth. The two who served as godparents for these were the two principal conspirators, Lino (SCZB#1563) and Yaquenonsat (SCZB#1562).

Lino and the Mission Born Generation⁵⁶³

These children born into the mission community often became cultural translators, individuals who, through their proximity to the padres and soldiers, learned to straddle the conflicting social worlds and often emerged as community leaders.⁵⁶⁴ With the high infant and child mortality rates in Mission Santa Cruz, padres paid special attention to children born within the mission, giving them special status and roles as pages or assistants, *padrinos*, *madrinas*, *sacristans*, or marriage witnesses. In these roles, the children could interpret Catholicism and Spanish society for their families and communities, as we see in the case of Lino.

Lino was born in September of 1793, only the fourth child born within the mission. By 1807 Lino was the oldest living child born in the mission.⁵⁶⁵ As the oldest child, Lino served as the personal page of Padre Quintana in the years before the assassination.⁵⁶⁶ By 1812, Lino was nineteen years old and had served as witness to thirty-three weddings, as well as padrino at two baptisms.⁵⁶⁷ One of the weddings was of fellow convicted conspirator, Quihueimen (Quirico), and his wife, Chesente (Maria Concepcion), and another

⁵⁶³ Párvulo translates as “infant.” Children born within the mission were collectively known as “párvulos de la misión,” while their baptism, marriage, and death records erased tribal and rancheria affiliation and replaced it with the designation “de la misión.”

⁵⁶⁴ Haas, *Pablo Tac*. An excellent example of this social translator and communicator is seen in the life of Pablo Tac.

⁵⁶⁵ As previously mentioned, out of the 133 children born at the mission by this time, Lino was the oldest of the 27 who were still alive.

⁵⁶⁶ Lino is listed as “Paje de Padre Quintana” in SCZB#1563, dated October 11, 1811.

⁵⁶⁷ Santa Cruz Marriage Entry Records (hereafter referred to as SCZM#) 388–407, 444–47, 533–34, 538–40, and 548–51 and SCZB#s 1365 and 1563. Baptism 1365 was administered to the child (Christina) of the Sumus chief and his wife, Chitecsme and Yachenname (Mateo and Matea, SCZB#s 1314 and 1315). The involvement of the other principal Sumus leader, Yaquenonsat, suggests the formation of new kinship relations between Lino and the Awaswas speaking Ohlone and the Sumus, illustrated through godparentage.

was the marriage of the unconvicted but key participant, Yachacxi, and his wife, Yuñan.⁵⁶⁸ Asisara fondly remembered as a man of particular skill and vitality. He never knew Lino personally, yet was able to convey his legacy within the mission community as an able leader and protector.⁵⁶⁹ Lino came from one of the largest and earliest families to be baptized at Mission Santa Cruz, a Chaloctaca family renamed as Cañizares.

Lino’s parents, Ules (Andrés Cañizares) and his wife, Lluillin (Maria de la Purificacion de Landa), were the first two Chaloctacas baptized, in early 1792.⁵⁷⁰ The couple had close ties with the local Uypi chief Soquel and his wife Rosuem, joining with them in visiting Mission Santa Clara shortly before the founding of Mission Santa Cruz. One of Ules and Lluillin’s sons had been baptized along with the daughters of the Uypi chief.⁵⁷¹ The family identified themselves as from the Chaloctaca tribe, a small group associated through marriage patterns and baptisms to the larger Sayanta, located north of Mission Santa Cruz, in the mountains between Missions Santa Cruz and Santa Clara (see figure 3.5).⁵⁷² The first five Chaloctacas were all from the Cañizares family, followed shortly by Ules’s parents, who

⁵⁶⁸ SCZM#s 447 and 535.

⁵⁶⁹ Asisara recalls Lino as “como más hábil y vivo que los demás” (with more skill and life than the others). See Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 60. Asisara also describes him as “este Lino era indio puro, pero tan blanco como cualquier español, y hombre de buenas luces naturales” (this Lino was pure Indian, but as white as any Spaniard, and a man of good natural light), *ibid.* Given the racial ideas imported by the recent American state by the time of the interview, it is likely that Asisara is demonstrating an internalization of Spanish and American racial categories, venerating Lino, who died years before Asisara’s birth, by identifying him in positive terms of the time.

⁵⁷⁰ Lluillin (Maria de la Purificacion de Landa), was SCZB#107. She was baptized just over one month after her husband, Ules.

⁵⁷¹ The daughter is the aforementioned Cucufate, SCLB#1903. The stories of Soquer’s family and exchange regarding the founding of Mission Santa Cruz are told in chapter 1.

⁵⁷² There do seem to be some connections between the Chaloctaca and the Somontoc as will be discussed later.

received baptism later the same year.⁵⁷³ Overall, forty Chaloctacas were baptized at Mission Santa Cruz between 1792 and 1796, while around seventy Sayanta received baptisms during the same time. By the time of the assassination, just over 15 percent of the original Sayanta and Chaloctaca peoples at Mission Santa Cruz survived (figure 3.5).⁵⁷⁴

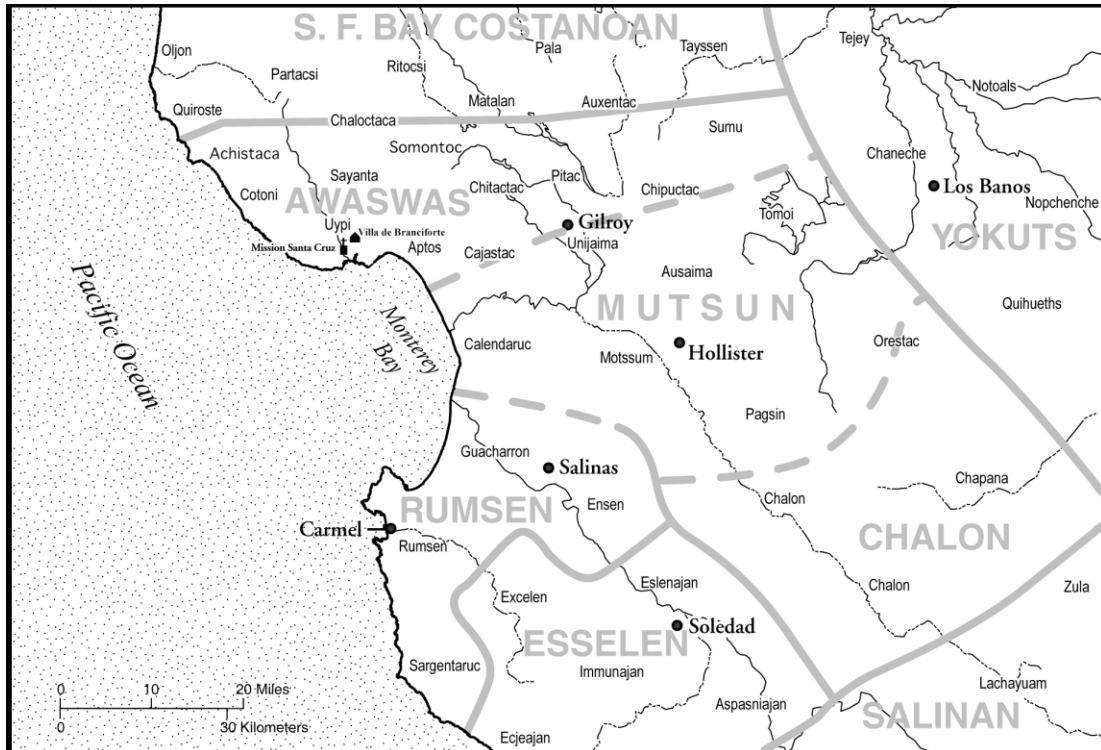


Figure 3.5: Map of Native local tribes and language areas of the Monterey Bay at the time of Spanish entry

Ules appears to have had ongoing conflict with the padres. One letter from the late 1890s reported him as “incorrigible” and “unbearable” in disrupting the mission

⁵⁷³ Ules’s father, Gelelis (Gabriel Cañizares), is SCZB#148, and his wife, Ypasin (Juana Eudovigis Pinedo), is recorded in SCZB#153. They were both baptized in August 1792, seven months after their son.

⁵⁷⁴ There were about seventy Sayanta and forty Chaloctacas baptized, and only fourteen were alive in 1812.

community.⁵⁷⁵ Spanish authorities eventually arrested three members of the Cañizares family for their roles in the Quintana assassination: Ules, his brother Sirinte, and his son Lino.⁵⁷⁶ In the oral histories provided by Asisara, Ules and Lino are credited with taking leadership roles in the actual confrontation:

Lino told him these words, "Stop here, Father, take a moment to talk."

Then the other two pages who carried the lamps turned and when they saw all the people gathered to attack the Padre, then took off running with their lanterns.

The Padre said to Lino, "Ay son, what are you going to do?"

Lino replied, "Those that want to kill you will tell you."

"What have I done, children, that you will kill me?"

"Because you have made a whip of iron," replied Andrés [Ules].

And so, the Padre replied, "Ay children! Leave me now for I am going to go now."

Andrés asked him why he made the iron whip.

Quintana said that it was only for the bad ones.

And then many cried, "As you are in the hands of the bad ones now, remember God!"⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁵ Friars Francisco Gonzalez and Domingo de Carranza to Governor Diego de Borica, undated, SBMAL, CMD 474a. While the letter is undated, judging by the padres involved, this letter has to have been written sometime after May 1798 and before 1805.

⁵⁷⁶ Andres, whose native name is recorded as Ules, is recorded in SCZB#97; Sirinte, whom the padres renamed Fulgencio through baptism, was SCZB#111; and Lino was SCZB#226.

⁵⁷⁷ Amador, "Memorias sobre la historia de California," 64–65. "Lino ... diciendole estas palabras, 'Alto aqui, Padre, tienes que hablar algun rato.' Entonces se voltearon los otros dos pages que llevaban las linternas y cuando vieron salir a la gente para atacar al Padre, se echaron a huir con su paroles. El Padre dijo a Lino, 'Ay Hijo, ¿Que me vas a hacer?' Contesto Lino, 'Te lo diran los que te quieren matar.' '¿Que o he hecho yo, hijos, para que me vayan a matar?' 'Porque ha hecho una cuarta de fierro,' le contesto Andrés. Entonces el Padre replico – 'Ay, hijos! Dejen me porque me voy de aqui ahora en este momento.' Andrés le pregunto porque habia hecho esa cuarta de fierro.

The question of whether the assassination served as an anti-Catholic rebellion is answered by the statements attributed to Lino. Lino is remembered by Asisara for decrying Padre Quintana’s brutal treatment of their people as outside of God’s command, stating “the first thing that we need to do is to keep the Father from fulfilling his desires to punish people in this way, for we are not animals; he says in his sermons that God does not command this [type of punishment], in his examples and doctrine.”⁵⁷⁸ Lino recognized Quintana’s actions as acting outside of the correct behavior described frequently in his sermons and teachings. After years of aiding Quintana in his rituals, Lino was uniquely qualified to observe Quintana’s actions and sermons. The assassination itself was neither a rejection of Catholicism nor an anticolonial rebellion. In fact, Lino articulates a sophisticated understanding of Quintana’s teachings, implying that the conspirators would not have had a problem with Quintana if he had lived out his teachings in his actions.⁵⁷⁹

Ohlone spiritual practices allowed for a plurality of traditions, and there is some suggestion that Lino and the others positioned their assassination within Indigenous measures of justice.⁵⁸⁰ In the 1930s ethnographer John P. Harrington collected information from Ohlone peoples throughout the Bay Area. In his notes, he records that Ohlone traditions called for the execution of spiritual leaders who failed to perform their

Quintana dijo que era solo para los malos, entonces varios gritaron, ‘pues estas en las manos de los malos, acuerdate de Dios.’”

⁵⁷⁸ “...lo primero ahora para que al Padre no se le cumplan a los deseos de castigar a la gente de ese modo, que no somos animales; el dice en sus sermones que Dios no manda eso, ejemplos y doctrina” (translation mine). Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 60.

⁵⁷⁹ Given that Lino’s voice comes through Asisara’s oral history, it is possible that the Catholic basis for critique of Quintana comes from Asisara’s own shaping of the story. Both men grew up deeply involved in Catholic ceremony.

⁵⁸⁰ The more plural relationship to spiritual systems by Indigenous Californians stands in contrast with Catholic teachings, which saw alternative systems as teachings of the devil, or heretic. This theme, including the Kuksu secret society, is explored in chapter 1.

responsibilities, suggesting a basis for understanding Indigenous practices of dealing with hypocritical spiritual leadership.⁵⁸¹ The assassins, as remembered by Asisara, articulate a sense of justice, and of hypocrisy, informed by these traditional practices yet interpreted through new teachings of Franciscan Catholicism at the mission.

Lino’s proximity to Quintana gave him access that facilitated the assassination and cover-up, while Spanish reports of the incident consistently single out Lino as the particular object of frequent punishment at the hands of Quintana. Even Governor Solá, who had defended Quintana’s character and use of corporal punishment by stating that Quintana had great love for his Indians, admitted that Lino was targeted by Quintana for frequent punishment.⁵⁸²

Although it is not easy to find evidence of sexual abuse in historical documents, the circumstances surrounding Quintana’s assassination suggest Quintana’s cruel behavior involved some degree of sexual abuse. All accounts claim that the assassins mutilated Quintana’s genitalia, though the various reports disagree about the exact nature of this disfigurement.⁵⁸³ Genital mutilation or castration are not a widespread Indigenous practice

⁵⁸¹ Harrington, *Central California Coast*, Anthropological Records 7:1, Culture Element Distributions: XIX Central California Coast (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1942), 32. This information is reported in Harrington’s Culture Element Distribution (CED) interviews of Northern and Southern Ohlone in the 1930s. These reports are complicated and should be read critically, as they rely on “salvage anthropology,” or ethnographic attempts to interview descendants about precontact practices and traditions.

⁵⁸² Solá reports that Lino testified that Quintana “castigaba mucho” (punished much), AGN, Californias (017), exp. 15, foja 501. His defense of Quintana is found at BL, the Provincial Records, Vol. 9, 138–39.

⁵⁸³ Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” BL, BANC MSS C-D 28, 65. This is explained by Asisara, “Después que ya se ahogó el Padre le tomaron un grano de los compañeros para que no maliciaran que lo habían golpeado.” (after choking him, they took one of his little friends [testicles] because they didn’t trust he had been beaten.) For an excellent book that mixes family memoirs and tribal history to closely examine abuses, sexual and otherwise, as well as the impact of trauma across generations, see Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2013).

in the region, so the use of this very particular type of violence suggests some degree of retribution, very likely in connection with Lino. Certainly the involvement of Ules and Sirinte, Lino’s father and uncle, raises questions about the extent of familial disruption and the raising of children within the mission. Does the involvement of the Cañizares family reflect concern over the treatment of their son, Lino? Persistent rumors from the 1840s claim that Quintana’s murder was a case of revenge for Quintana’s rape of a young woman, the partner of one of the assassins, opening a possibility of the involvement of Lino’s wife, Humiliana.⁵⁸⁴ Though historical records remain quiet about the particulars of the abuse suffered and their correlation to the assassination, everything suggests Quintana’s involvement in sexual abuse.⁵⁸⁵

Lino’s wife, Humiliana, whose parents both identified as Aptos, was three months younger than Lino and the fifth mission-born child.⁵⁸⁶ Lino and Humiliana married in May 1813, six months after Quintana’s assassination, united in their ferocious sense of survival in

Franciscan historian Maynard J. Geiger discusses Quintana’s torture “in pudendis” (in the privates). See Geiger and Ward Ritchie, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769–1848: A Biographical Dictionary* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library Publication, 1969), 206. For an examination of patterns of sexual predation directed at Native Americans, see also Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005).

⁵⁸⁴ “Quintana, then a priest of Santa Cruz, forgot one of his vows in the society of a certain squaw, who, through penitence, or indignation, or vanity, or some other motive, let her husband into the secret of her conquest. After watching his opportunity, the man at length succeeded in mutilating the lover in the most brutal manner, leaving him insensible, but was himself dragged to the *calabozo* [prison], whence, according to common rumor, he was soon afterwards carried off by the Devil for his impiety.” George Simpson reported these rumors in his *Narrative of a Voyage to California Ports in 1841–1842* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1988), 105–06. This account is also addressed and questioned by Geiger and Ritchie, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California*, 205–06.

⁵⁸⁵ Issues of sex, gender, and colonialism have been explored by Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California*, *Histories of the American Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), and Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California*.

⁵⁸⁶ Humiliana, born into the mission, does not have a Native name on record, SCZB#235.

a world where children rarely survived to adulthood.⁵⁸⁷ Humiliana also served an important role in the mission, as madrina six times, the first only three months after their marriage, while she was pregnant with her and Lino’s daughter, Petra Nicanor.⁵⁸⁸ Their daughter was born in January 1814, while her father was being held in San Francisco. It is likely that Petra Nicanor never met her father, though she eventually owned a piece of mission land during the Mexican era with her husband, Chuyucu (Victoriano), and their children, before her death in 1851.⁵⁸⁹

Humiliana is remembered as one of the women, along with Shomam (Maria Tata), who sometime in 1813 unintentionally revealed the assassination plot, as soldiers overheard the two seamstresses discussing the assassination.⁵⁹⁰ Here, Asisara’s account and that of retired soldier José Eusebio Galindo intersect, as they both tell of the two women being overheard. The story is remembered as an example of jealous bickering, but given a more nuanced understanding of women’s leadership within this community and Humiliana’s continued prominence in the years following Lino’s arrest, questions remain as to what was

⁵⁸⁷ SCZM#543.

⁵⁸⁸ Humiliana served as madrina for SCZB#s1585, 1602, 1610, 1623, 1624, and 1784. Petra Nicanor’s baptism was SCZB#1589.

⁵⁸⁹ Chuyucu (Victoriano), SCZB#1515, was Tejey (Yokuts) and arrived at Mission Santa Cruz as a six-year-old Tejey child in the large wave of Yokuts who arrived in 1810. His Native name is alternatively given as Yuelile or Chuiucuu. Humiliana’s death is recorded in SCZD#2179. For archaeological evidence of her and her husband’s cohabitation, see Rebecca Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz, 1791–1834: Interpreting the Archaeological Record* (Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 29. Nicanor (under her own name, not her husband’s) eventually sold her lands to Joseph Majors for fifty dollars on June 7, 1848. See Santa Cruz County Office of the Recorder (SCCR), Deeds 1:100.

⁵⁹⁰ Galindo, “Apuntes para la historia de California,” Santa Clara, 1877, BL, BANC MSS C–D 87, 64. This is mentioned by former soldier José Eusebio Galindo. Asisara gives more detail and names the women. See Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 60. Shomam (Maria Tata), SCZB#689, was an Aptos like Humiliana. Her name (Maria Tata) is given in the Asisara account, where she is misidentified as the wife of the cook (Ētop or Antonio Alberto). Shomam married the young Uypi man Justiniano (SCZB#605) on the same day that Lino and Humiliana married (two of a group of five weddings that day), SCZM#545.

overheard. To what extent is this erasure or trivialization of women’s roles a reflection of Spanish gendered expectations, internalized and reproduced by Asisara?⁵⁹¹

Sometime shortly after Lino and Humiliana’s wedding, word got out about the assassination, and Lino was rounded up along with the others. Spanish authorities held Lino and the eight other convicts at the San Francisco Presidio until confirmation of their punishments was received from Mexico City in 1816. By that time Ules and three others had died in San Francisco.⁵⁹² Lino received a sentence of two hundred lashings and ten years at the presidio in Santa Bárbara, while his uncle Sirinte was given two hundred lashes and six years at the same presidio.⁵⁹³ Neither Lino nor Sirinte survived their time in Santa Bárbara, as Lino died in April of 1817, while Sirinte died just two years later, in May of 1819.⁵⁹⁴ Humiliana married a Tomoi man named Marichimas (Wenceslao) about six months after news of Lino’s death was reported back to Mission Santa Cruz.⁵⁹⁵ She had five more children, in addition to Petra Nicanor, and lived until 1829.⁵⁹⁶

While Lino was the lead page involved in the assassination, Asisara recounts the participation of two young pages in the murder and planning. Asisara recounts that the

⁵⁹¹ Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 73. Asisara erases women’s names, including those of Humiliana and Maria Tata. In the original transcription, they are identified as “muger de Lino” and “muger del cosinero,” with the names “Emiliana” and “Maria Tata” written above. This appears to be an afterthought, as if the interviewer Thomas Savage asked Asisara for their names later. Asisara similarly only identifies Yaquenonsat as “la muger de Julian,” as we will see later. In later stories he appears to overlook women’s concerns with regards to abuses by Padre Gil y Taboada, which will be discussed in chapter 4.

⁵⁹² Andres’s death is recorded on March 20, 1815 in SCZD#1219.

⁵⁹³ Their sentences are recorded in AGN, Californias (017), exp. 15, foja 501.

⁵⁹⁴ Lino’s death is recorded in SCZD#1288, Sirinte’s in SCZD#1368.

⁵⁹⁵ Marichimas (Wenceslao) is listed as SCZB#1077. The Tomoi were closely related to the Sumus, like Yaquenonsat. Both came from the second wave of Ohlone baptisms, from farther inland around modern Henry Coe State Park.

⁵⁹⁶ Her death is recorded in SCZD#1801.

young pages timidly assist, following the orders of the older and more seasoned Lino. These two pages are named as Miguel Antonio, the son of the aforementioned Yachacxi, and Vicente, a young mission-born Aptos boy.⁵⁹⁷ Vicente was only eleven years old at the time of the assassination, and Miguel Antonio was ten. By 1812, Vicente had lost his mother and his younger brother, and survived with just his father, Zuem (Agapito de Albiz).⁵⁹⁸ Zuem was the eleventh Aptos to be baptized at Mission Santa Cruz, within the first three months of the founding, by late 1791. Vicente maintained a relatively low-key existence within the mission community, at least in terms of the documents. Vicente never married or had children, and did not serve as padrino or witness for any services. Miguel Antonio married and had two children in the 1820s, one of which, Nicanor, lived until at least the 1840s; he served as padrino for two marriages in the early 1830s.⁵⁹⁹ Neither Vicente nor Miguel Antonio were convicted in the Quintana assassination, and both lived into the 1830s.⁶⁰⁰

Secundino and Leto Antonio: The Clareños

This story highlights another important facet of Bay Area mission life—continuities of exchange between mission communities. Well after baptism, individuals and families continued to connect and exchange with kin even across mission boundaries. Prior to the founding of Mission Santa Cruz in 1791, local peoples interacted with soldiers and missionaries from Santa Clara and San Carlos (Monterey region). Mission Santa Clara became home to many people, as they relocated following baptism, including members of

⁵⁹⁷ Vicente is listed as SCZB#951. Miguel Antonio is SCZB#1016.

⁵⁹⁸ Zuem (Agapito de Albiz) is listed as SCZB#83.

⁵⁹⁹ Nicanor is listed as SCZB#2073. The marriages are listed as SCZM#s2187 and 2226.

⁶⁰⁰ Miguel Antonio's burial is recorded in SCZD#2014, in July of 1838. Vicente's burial is recorded in SCZD#1864, in December of 1831.

the group located in present-day downtown Santa Cruz, the Uypi (see figure 3.5).⁶⁰¹ Interrelations and connections between peoples throughout the region continued through the mission years, as sacramental registries show marriages and other interconnections between residents at Missions Santa Clara, San Juan Bautista, Santa Cruz, and San Carlos, while census records show individuals baptized at these missions holding residence at neighboring missions.⁶⁰² Often, these marriages and movement follow pre-Hispanic tribal or familial lines. While Asisara claims that three Indians from Mission Santa Clara participated in the assassination, we know for certain that two brothers, Leto Antonio and Secundino, both baptized at Mission Santa Clara, were among those found guilty of the assassination and held in San Francisco.⁶⁰³

The presence of these brothers at Mission Santa Cruz relates to their pre-Hispanic relationship with local polities and peoples, as Spanish missionaries baptized both four years before the founding of Mission Santa Cruz, at a point when Mission Santa Clara was recruiting in the Santa Cruz region. Their half sister, Chacualis (Toquato), from the same

⁶⁰¹ The Uypi were a mobile band said to have lived around the lower San Lorenzo River and Soquel Creek. See Randall Milliken, Laurence H. Shoup, and Beverly R. Ortiz, “Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and Their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today” (National Park Service, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, CA, June 2009), 144.

⁶⁰² A survey of Santa Cruz marriage records shows over thirty marriages of Native peoples of Santa Cruz with those of other missions. For example, Oton Tanite, San Juan Bautista Baptism Entry Record (hereafter referred to as SJBB#) 330, marries five times: three times in Santa Cruz and twice in San Juan Bautista. He is alternately listed as Ausaima or Chipuctac, likely designations for two factions of the same group that was split between the two missions. Oton shows up in the census taken in Santa Cruz for the majority of the 1820s and ‘30s.

⁶⁰³ Leto Antonio, baptized in Santa Clara Baptismal Entry Record (hereafter known as SCLB#) 1015, and Secundino Antonio, SCLB#1016, were both baptized on April 14, 1787. Their Santa Clara Burial Entry Records (hereafter known as SCLD#), 4746 and 4747, state that they both died as prisoners in San Francisco (“murieron estando pressos en San Francisco”). They had another brother, Lleleg (Fulgencio), SCLB#1566, who does not have a death date on record, suggesting that he lived outside the bounds of the mission. It is possible that he was the third participant hailing from Santa Clara, and that he evaded capture.

father, was baptized at Mission Santa Clara on May 21, 1791, which is the same day that the chief of the Uypi, Suquer, and his wife, Rosuem, brought their young daughter, Clara de la Cruz, for baptism at Mission Santa Clara.⁶⁰⁴ The two are the only baptisms recorded that day, though these precede another group of baptisms of children with parents from the Santa Cruz region about a week later.⁶⁰⁵ The proximity of these baptisms suggests that Secundino and Leto Antonio, along with their other three brothers and sister, either identified as Uypi or another neighboring tribe who made the journey with the Uypi leader, explaining their continued presence at Mission Santa Cruz, as well as their investment in protecting the community against the abuses of Quintana.⁶⁰⁶ Leto Antonio, the older of the two brothers, played a leadership role at Santa Clara, as he worked under the title of page and as padrino and witness in marriages and baptisms between 1799 and 1806.⁶⁰⁷ Padrinos, madrinas, and witnesses played important roles in culturally assisting incoming “*gentiles*” to adjust to life within the missions and were frequently drawn from younger converts or those born into the mission community.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁴ Chacualis (Toquato), SCLB#1896, and Clara de la Cruz (no Native name recorded), SCLB#1897. The Uypi were alternately called the “Soquel” or “Zoquel” Indians (named after Chief Soquex or Soquer, SCZB#2) by Mission Santa Cruz padres as early as 1811, when the reference shows up in Estudillo, April 9, SCPD, Letter 44.

⁶⁰⁵ Soquer and Rosuem’s other daughter, Maria Lorenza, SCLB#1904, was baptized along with Cucufate, SCLB#1903, the child of Chalotaca leader Ules (later baptized as Andrés), who will be talked about in the next section.

⁶⁰⁶ Leto Antonio and Secundino’s baptismal registries, as well as that of their families, list them as originating from “San Carlos,” which stands as a directional reference pointing southwest towards Mission San Carlos (Monterey), which Santa Cruz and the Uypi called home.

⁶⁰⁷ Leto Antonio served as padrino in eleven baptisms (SCLB# 3894, 4090, 4127, 4128, 4361, 5103, 5105, 5106, and 5109–11) and witness in twenty-nine marriages, Santa Clara Marriage Entry Records (hereafter referred to as SCLM#) 770, 771, 796–99, 833, 873–83, 992–99, 1079, 1163, and 1278). He is listed as “page” in the notes on SCLB#s 3894, 4090, 4127, and 4128.

⁶⁰⁸ Some of those listed as padrino, madrina, or witness also served in official capacity as translator. For more on Santa Cruz translators see Smith and Johnson, “Lengua de los Llanos.”

Yaquenonsat and Lacah, Yuñan and Yachacxi: Women, Erasure, and Loss

While we know about some of the male leaders of the assassination through Asisara’s account, by digging deeper into the records we see that the roles played by some women may have been even more crucial, despite the systematic erasure of women’s involvement from the official records. One of the most intriguing figures involved in this story is Yaquenonsat, from the Sumus people.⁶⁰⁹

Yaquenonsat arrived at Mission Santa Cruz in early 1807, part of a large group of nearly fifty Sumus and Tomoi, tribes from the second wave of Ohlone speakers from farther inland (see figure 3.7). Yaquenonsat was the oldest female Sumus in this group of baptisms and almost certainly was a spiritual leader. Yaquenonsat, identified as a 38-year-old female at the time of her baptism, married former elected alcalde Lacah (Julian), eight months after her arrival.⁶¹⁰ Her marriage to an existing political leader at this age suggests a political pairing, likely building new kinship connections between the Sumus and the Chaloctaca.⁶¹¹ She appears to have led a group of women fugitives within a few years of her baptism,

⁶⁰⁹ Yaquenonsat (Fausta), SCZB#1318, baptized February 2, 1807.

⁶¹⁰ SCZM#443. In 1810 (SCZB#1562), the padres list a “Fatita,” whose occupation is listed as monja, or nun, as madrina. As there is no Fatita listed anywhere in any California baptism records, and only one “Fausta” at Mission Santa Cruz, this record is almost certainly a reference to Yaquenonsat (Fausta). As we will talk about with Yuñan shortly, this title, monja, appears to be one of special honor for Indian women in this community, as it is recorded only in reference to these two women. Its inclusion suggests spiritual standing.

⁶¹¹ Ed Ketchum, Amah Mutsun Tribal Historian, “Maria Ascención Solórsano (de Garcia y de Cervantes),” Amah Mutsun Land Trust Newsletter, Vol. 1 No. 2, July 2016. Ketchum writes that the marriage of Solórsano’s grandparents “joined the Mutsun speaking people and Yokuts people into one tribe.” Solórsano, who is discussed briefly in chapter 6, has over 75,000 pages of interviews on file from Ethnographer John P. Harrington, the greatest source of Mutsun language recorded. Perhaps Yaquenonsat and Lacah’s marriage had similar political implications.

though records show that she returned to the mission shortly after.⁶¹² As a Sumus woman from the eastern hills over the Santa Cruz Mountains, Yaquenonsat was the only identified member of the conspirators not from the lands within the immediate vicinity of the mission. Although Spanish legal records only mention men in the plot and arrests, Asisara’s account recalls the participation of women, though he participates in this erasure by consistently referring to Yaquenonsat only as “the wife of Julian [Lacah].”⁶¹³ Yaquenonsat played a central role in the assassination, as Asisara credits her with developing the plan to use her husband Lacah’s illness as pretense for the attack, drawing Quintana away from the mission guards to administer last rites.⁶¹⁴

It is likely that in forming the plan to kill Quintana, Yaquenonsat drew on her experiences and insight gained from events near her homelands before her initial capture in 1807.⁶¹⁵ Two years prior, an incident took place forty to fifty miles north of Sumus territory. In January 1805, Padre Pedro de la Cueva, recently arrived at Mission San José from Mexico City, was summoned to an Asirin village to administer to a few sick fugitive neofitos and

⁶¹² Friar Estevan Tapis and Friar Andres Quintana to José Joaquín de Arrillaga, May 22, 1809, SBMAL, CMD 801b. Yaquenonsat appears at the top of a list of women fugitives, typically denoting leadership within the missionary documentary practices.

⁶¹³ The only women named directly in Asisara’s account are Humiliana (“Emiliana, la muger de Lino”) and Shomem (“Maria Tata, la muger del cosinero”), the ones he credits with revealing the assassination. Even these he names apparently at the behest of the transcriber, Savage. The original document only shows “la muger de Lino” with the name Emiliana written in later, suggesting that Asisara did not name them until requested by Savage. The Asisara narrative includes multiple examples of incorporating Spanish notions of gender, patriarchy, and Catholicism. It is my intention to deconstruct this crucial narrative in a later project.

⁶¹⁴ See Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 60.

⁶¹⁵ Friar Estevan Tapis and Friar Andres Quintana to José Joaquín de Arrillaga, May 22, 1809, SBMAL, CMD 801b. There is no direct evidence explaining why Yaquenonsat and the other forty-seven Sumus/Tomoi entered the mission together. I suggest that they were brought in by Spanish soldiers as they arrived at a time (1807) of increased military exploration into the eastern lands, and due to the rarity of large groups abandoning traditional homelands to join the missions. This is further supported by the subsequent flight of forty fugitives in 1809, of which twenty-eight were Tomoi and Sumus.

hear their confessions, presumably to prepare them for death in Catholic tradition. Accompanied by two soldiers and a small group of neofito guides, de la Cueva and his party encountered dense fog. Either due to the fog or misdirection by one of the guides (as de la Cueva later claimed), the party walked into an ambush by a hostile Luecha village. The attackers killed three neofito guides and one of the soldiers, the *mayordomo* of Mission San José, Ygnacio Higuera. Padre de la Cueva was shot in the eye with an arrow during the encounter, though he survived.⁶¹⁶ This ambush marked the first time a Spaniard was killed by tribal people in the San Francisco Bay Area, as well as the first wounding of a Franciscan priest.⁶¹⁷

While it isn't possible to know if this attack was premeditated, the evidence suggests that de la Cueva may have made his share of enemies. Padre de la Cueva, who spent less than two years total in Alta California, had a reputation for heavy drinking and violence. On several occasions he pulled a dagger on his companions during his trip into Alta California.⁶¹⁸ When the Russian exploratory expedition under Count Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov visited the Bay Area in 1806, diarist George von Langsdorff observed Padre de la Cueva's work. Padre de la Cueva invited the Russian party to visit Mission San Jose, where

⁶¹⁶ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 185–91. The accounts of this are found in a series of seven letters, in BL, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 12, 29–43.

⁶¹⁷ Argüello to Arrillaga, February 28, 1805, BL, Provincial State Papers, Bancroft MSS C-A 12, 39–40. Eighteen Spanish soldiers and fifteen townspeople, under the direction of Sergeant Luís Peralta, retaliated and attacked the Luecha village, killing eleven, and captured four men and twenty-five women and children. This was followed by another expedition the following month, capturing two more in connection with the initial attack, and bringing the majority of Luechas into the mission.

⁶¹⁸ Geiger and Ritchie, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California*, 58–59. This is reported by Franciscan scholar and frequent apologist Geiger.

he told them he would entertain them with a “dance of the Indians.”⁶¹⁹ Langsdorff observed that de la Cueva “distributed a number of ornaments among the best dancers, who immediately withdrew with them to make the necessary preparations.”⁶²⁰ De la Cueva apparently controlled access to ceremonial ornaments, exercising a great deal of social control over the neofitos.⁶²¹ After his return to Mexico City in 1806, he reportedly so frightened the other friars by his acts of violence that they locked themselves in their rooms to keep safe.⁶²² The drunken, hostile, and controlling behavior of de la Cueva may have prompted this planned ambush.⁶²³ Certainly, the details of this ambush would have made their way down to Sumus territory, and would have been fresh in Yaquenonsat’s memory during the plotting in 1812.

The ambush of de la Cueva and Yaquenonsat’s plot to assassinate Padre Quintana both revolved around Catholic funerary practices. The Ohlone, much like other neighboring Indigenous peoples, had their own long-standing complex funereal and mortuary practices, elaborate traditions that helped to reinforce kinship and community identities.⁶²⁴ Tribes and clans were divided between two moieties (either bear or deer). Moiety affiliations had to do

⁶¹⁹ George H. von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World During the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 and 1807*, Part 2 (London: Henry Colburn), 192.

⁶²⁰ Geiger and Ritchie, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California*, 59.

⁶²¹ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 199. Milliken addresses this incident and suggests that by the description of the ceremonies performed, the people of Mission San José were more likely to have been celebrating their survival of the recent measles epidemic than performing for the Russian visitors.

⁶²² Geiger and Ritchie, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California*, 59.

⁶²³ Geiger and Ritchie, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California*, 58. Geiger claimed that de la Cueva was lured to the village, and that the claim of a dying Indian needing last rites was a ruse by one of the guides.

⁶²⁴ The importance of funeral rites and ceremony among Southern Californian tribes is explored by Kathleen L. Hull, John G. Douglass, and Andrew L. York, *Recognizing Ritual Action and Intent in Communal Mourning Features on the Southern California Coast* (2013), *American Antiquity* 78(1):24-47.

with reciprocity in burial and mourning rituals, building connectivity. This reciprocity involved the obligation of each moiety to bury the deceased of the opposite moiety.⁶²⁵ Franciscan missionaries interpreted these practices as “heathen” while imposing Catholic rites ceremonies. It appears that these San Joaquin Valley tribes utilized Franciscan fondness for imposing their funereal traditions to gain tactical advantage in both the de la Cueva and Quintana plots.⁶²⁶ Was this a subtle challenge or critique of the imposition of new rituals and the restriction of long-standing practices? Or perhaps it was a strategy developed out of recognition of the padres’ insistence on imposing Catholic funeral rites.

In the events surrounding the Quintana assassination, Yaquenonsat was the one who summoned Padre Quintana to come administer rites to her husband. She is further credited with ensuring the success of the plan, as Asisara’s account claims that Quintana took three trips to visit Lacah before the conspirators could muster the courage to attack. It was Yaquenonsat who threatened to reveal the plot if the conspirators did not carry through on their promise.⁶²⁷ Her crucial role in the development and execution of this plan demonstrates the centrality of women’s leadership, the importance of newly formed kinship connections, and the integration of strategies developed by Yokuts villagers. Asisara’s recollections reveal memories of respect the community held for women’s ceremonial and political power.

⁶²⁵ Barbara Lee Jones, *Mythic Implications of Faunal Assemblages from Three Ohlone Sites* (master’s thesis, San Francisco State University, 2010), 50–53.

⁶²⁶ It is possible that Padre de la Cueva’s ambush was unplanned and accidental, but this wouldn’t necessarily change the potential impact on Yaquenonsat. Her knowledge of the relative success of the events could still have helped inform her strategy.

⁶²⁷ Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 63. “Entonces la muger[sic] dijo, ‘si no cumplen lo que han prometido, los voy a acusar y no vuelvo más a la casa’” (Then the woman said, “If you don’t do what you’ve promised, I will accuse you, and not return to the house”).

Asisara credits the gardener Lacah with providing his home as the meeting place for the conspirators.⁶²⁸ Lacah also played the key role of faking sickness to create a pretense to call Quintana to his house, where the others could carry out the assassination. Records show that Lacah was among the first two elected *alcaldes* recorded at Mission Santa Cruz, about fifteen years before the assassination.⁶²⁹ News of Lacah’s election is reported by Comandante Hermenegildo Sal to Governor Borica in a letter discussing the powers, limitations, and procedure for electing Indian *alcaldes*.⁶³⁰ Within this discussion, approval is given to punish appointed Indian *alcaldes* with lashings, to remove them from office at the padres’ discretion, and to carefully control which Indians could be eligible for voting.⁶³¹ The report on Mission Santa Cruz makes clear that the position of *alcalde* served as the voice of the mission padres and related their instruction back to the others. While documents don’t show how long Lacah held office, his central involvement in the rebellion against Quintana shows that by 1812, he continued to hold an important position within the community, albeit serving to protect his community rather than as mouthpiece for the mission padres.

Lacah’s story is one of loss, reflecting the incredibly difficult conditions of mission life. Lacah entered Mission Santa Cruz a few months after the Cañizares family, in June of 1792, by himself. Records indicate that he is part of the Sucheseu Rancheria, which is most likely named for one of the Chaloctaca villages. He is the only one listed from this particular

⁶²⁸ Lacah, Spanish name given as Julian, is listed as SCZB#141. Lacah is one of two gardeners identified by Asisara, the other being Asisara’s father, Llencó (Venancio).

⁶²⁹ Letter reporting on Indian elections on March 30, 1796, AGN, Californias (017), vol. 65, exp. 8, fojas 310–11.

⁶³⁰ For letter reporting his election in 1796, see AGN, Californias (017), vol. 65, exp. 8, fojas 303–29. For his election in 1798, where he is elected as “Alcalde de mujeres,” see Friar Manuel Fernández to Governor Borica, December 13, 1797, SBMAL, CMD 346.

⁶³¹ For discussion of punishment by lashings (“castigar con azotes”) and removing from office, or putting others in their place (“poner otros en su lugar”), see *ibid.*, foja 309.

rancheria.⁶³² He entered the mission as an adult of twenty-six years, one of the earliest of the young adults to enter on his own. He married five times and had two children, though both children and his first four wives had all died by 1807, when he married Yaquenonsat.⁶³³ Lacah was convicted and sentenced to two hundred lashes and six years at Santa Bárbara Presidio, where he died before completing his sentence, on December 2, 1820.⁶³⁴

While Lacah’s story is one of great loss, the story of Euxexi (Ambrosio) reflects not only loss, but the persistence of kinship relations from pre-mission times. Euxexi was one of those convicted in Quintana’s murder, though he did not survive long enough in the harsh conditions of the San Francisco Presidio to complete his sentence.⁶³⁵ Euxexi was the first of his tribe, the Somontoc, to enter Mission Santa Cruz, in late 1793, though his people had a longer connection to the Spanish missionaries (see figure 3.5). Five Somontoc children had been baptized at Mission Santa Clara in the two years before the founding of Mission Santa Cruz.⁶³⁶ The latest of these had been the baptism of Euxexi’s daughter, Clementina, which had been performed merely two weeks before the founding of Mission Santa Cruz.⁶³⁷ Overall, only fifteen Somontoc were baptized at Mission Santa Cruz, with another eleven

⁶³² SCZB#141. Although he is the only one from the Sucheseu Rancheria, as well as the only one baptized that day, his confirmation record lists him as being from the Jesus tribe—the padre-imposed name for the Chaloctaca—in *Libro de Confirmaciones* (SCZC) #23, archive of the Monterey Diocese. It is likely that the Sucheseu Rancheria indicates a separate village from that of the Cañizares family, as none of their records indicate the Sucheseu name.

⁶³³ His marriages are recorded as SCZM#s 27, 81, 185, 314, and 443. Yaquenonsat arrived at Mission Santa Cruz about eight months before marrying Lacah.

⁶³⁴ Governor Solá to José de la Guerra, November 16, 1820, SBMAL, DLG 924, Letter 9. SCZD#1423.

⁶³⁵ Euxexi (Ambrosio) is listed as SCZB#232. His death is recorded in SCZD#1201, on October 10, 1814, a year after the prisoners arrived in San Francisco, but before sentences were administered in 1816. It appears that the men were imprisoned in the San Francisco Presidio for over two years awaiting sentencing.

⁶³⁶ SCLB#s 1384, 1387, 1418, 1791, and 1891.

⁶³⁷ SCLB#1971. The baptism was performed by Friar Baldomero Lopez, one of the two founding fathers of Mission Santa Cruz.

baptized at Mission Santa Clara, suggesting that the Somontoc existed as a smaller subgroup of another larger polity or that other Somontoc had been baptized into another mission under a different name.⁶³⁸ Of the original fifteen baptized in Santa Cruz, only three, including Euxexi, survived to 1812. Euxexi’s previous partner, Ocot (Nicolasa), died nine months after her own baptism at Mission Santa Cruz.⁶³⁹ In the years that followed, Euxexi married five times; each of his wives died shortly after marriage, which, given the poor sanitary conditions and prominence of disease within the mission community, was not uncommon.⁶⁴⁰ Along the way, Euxexi became stepfather to three children by 1812, when he married his fifth wife, Sajuego (Nila), a Pitac.⁶⁴¹ Euxexi’s connection with the conspirators occurred through multiple links. Ocot, Euxexi’s first partner and mother of his daughter, was a member of the prominent Chaloctaca Cañizares family, the aunt of the aforementioned Lino. He was also connected through his relationship with his brother-in-law Llencó (Venancio), who was the widower of Euxexi’s deceased sister, Tuquion (Maria Rafaela). Llencó was the father of Lorenzo Asisara, the future storyteller.

Llencó joined the mission at the age of twenty, by mid-1793.⁶⁴² He is the one Cotoni involved in the conspiracy. Llencó came from a rancheria called Jili, which is likely a small

⁶³⁸ Given the baptism patterns at Mission Santa Clara, evidence suggests that the Somontoc lived near modern-day Los Gatos, near the Chaloctaca. The large number of intermarriages between the Somontoc and Chaloctaca supports this theory, as we will see in the example of Euxexi’s relationship with Ocot (Nicolasa).

⁶³⁹ Ocot (Nicolasa) SCZB#253. Ocot also had a daughter Micaela, the first baptism performed at Mission Santa Cruz, SCZB#1. Micaela’s father was Yñoc (Pancrancio), SCZB#492. Euxexi married a Sayanta woman, Florentina, SCZB#205, shortly after entering the mission community, in SCZM#41. These partnerships reflect a more complex pattern of intermarriage and kinship over which the Spanish sought to impose Catholic notions of monogamy.

⁶⁴⁰ His marriages are recorded as SCZM#41, 80, 234, 364, and 539.

⁶⁴¹ SCZB#666.

⁶⁴² SCZB#215.

subgroup of the larger Cotoni peoples, who came from up the coast, north of Mission Santa Cruz, near present-day Davenport (see figure 3.5). By 1812, only about 12 percent of the baptized Cotoni survived at Mission Santa Cruz. Only eleven of the original ninety-three baptized Cotoni survived. The massive loss experienced by Llencó and the other surviving Cotoni is hard to fathom, and yet was not unlike the experiences of others from local tribes. At the time of the assassination Llencó was the gardener of the mission gardens, where the conspirators gathered as they awaited Quintana. Llencó married three times; his first wife, who died in 1800, was the sister of co-conspirator Euxexi.⁶⁴³ His third wife, Lihutsatme (Manuela), gave birth to Lorenzo Asisara in 1820.⁶⁴⁴ Although he was never convicted of the assassination, we know through his son’s account that he was one of the sixteen marched to San Francisco by Spanish soldiers. Llencó continued to hold influence within the mission community, serving as witness to three marriages, all in 1817, a few years after his return to the mission following the trial.⁶⁴⁵ Llencó survived until 1838, when he died from the smallpox epidemic that swept through local Indigenous communities.⁶⁴⁶

About three months before the assassination, a young couple married, Yachacxi and Yuñan. Lino was one of the witnesses to this marriage.⁶⁴⁷ Months later Yachacxi would play a key role in planning the assassination by calling together the group of conspirators after having received a particularly harsh beating at the hands of Quintana.⁶⁴⁸ The targeting of

⁶⁴³ Tuquion (Maria Rafaela), SCZB#336, SCZD#431.

⁶⁴⁴ Luasatme or Lihutsatme (Manuela) is recorded in SCZB#1803. She is listed as being from the Chalahua Rancheria, the only one with that title. She is baptized along with a group of Yokuts from the Huocom, Apil, and Tejey Rancherias, so it is likely that she is from the same region.

⁶⁴⁵ SCZM#s 596–98.

⁶⁴⁶ SCZD#2039.

⁶⁴⁷ SCZM#535. The marriage took place on July 25, 1812.

⁶⁴⁸ Yachacxi or Yachasi, Spanish name assigned as Donato, is listed as SCZB# 262.

twenty-three-year-old Yachacxi along with eighteen-year-old Lino shows that Quintana frequently targeted the youth for punishment. Given the high mortality rates of children, perhaps some of the motivation, at least for Ules and some of the older conspirators, lay in protecting the youth from these types of abuses.

All accounts claim that Quintana had recently beaten two Indians nearly to death, which served as the primary motivation for the meeting of the future assassins. Taking these official records and the account of Asisara into consideration, it is clear that Yachacxi is one of the two beaten, and that the severity of the beating may have saved his life, as Yachacxi was not among the group of nine found guilty. Given Yachacxi’s prominent and public participation (reflected in his mention in Asisara’s account), it is possible that he was one of the six whom soldiers marched to San Francisco, yet returned without penalty. Alternatively, given the severe impact of lashings and beatings, it is more likely that Yachacxi’s physical health following Quintana’s corporal punishments prohibited him from direct involvement in the murder.

At the time of the assassination, the twenty-three-year-old Yachacxi served under the title of *Alcalde de Mugerres* [sic], or “Mayor of the Women,” within the mission.⁶⁴⁹ Unlike other California missions, Mission Santa Cruz appears unique in splitting alcaldes’ duties between overseeing men and overseeing women, as none of the other missions record similar appointments. However, this role was offered only to men, as no women served in this capacity. Given the emphasis on the locking and holding of keys to the dormitories, it is

⁶⁴⁹ Listed as “Alcalde de Mugerres”(sic) in the padrino notes in SCZB#s 1440–43 and 1445–46, and in witness notes for SCZM#495. He also appears as “Alcalde actual de mujeres” on witness notes for SCZM#s 524–32.

likely that Yachacxi’s responsibilities included overseeing the security of the locks to the women’s dormitories. Yachacxi retains a position of social standing within the mission community, continuing to serve as padrino in the years following the convictions, before his eventual death in 1833.⁶⁵⁰

Yachacxi entered Mission Santa Cruz as a five-year-old in 1794, among a large group of Achistaca, a local group to the north along the coast (see figure 3.5). This group of baptisms included Yachacxi’s father, Lleguix (Angel), as well as his future wife Sauten (Antonia), an Aptos woman.⁶⁵¹ Yachacxi and Sauten had three children together, of which two, along with Sauten, had died by 1811.⁶⁵² The one surviving child, Miguel Antonio, was one of the three pages, along with Lino and Vicente, who help plan and carry out the Quintana assassination. Yachacxi remarried in 1812, about three months before the assassination, to Yuñan, a Cajastac baptized about a year after Yachacxi.⁶⁵³ By the time of the assassination only 20 percent of the baptized Achistaca survived.⁶⁵⁴ Similarly, just over 20 percent of Yuñan’s people, the Aptos and Cajastac, survived until 1812 (see figure 3.5).⁶⁵⁵

Given the invisibility of Indigenous women in the Spanish accounts despite their prominent roles within the mission community, it is worth taking a closer look at Yachacxi’s wife, Yuñan. Yuñan was baptized along with the first group of Cajastac in 1795, at the age of

⁶⁵⁰ Yachacxi served as padrino in SCZB#2024, which was the birth of the son of the serving alcalde, Juan Joseph Autocrais, in 1823. His death is recorded in SCZD#1911.

⁶⁵¹ Lleguix (Angel) is listed as SCZB#273, and Sauten (Antonia) as SCZB#287, on January 21, 1794.

⁶⁵² Their children were the aforementioned Miguel Antonio, Cecilia, SCZB#1412, and Señorina, SCZB#1431.

⁶⁵³ Yuñan (Serafina) is listed as SCZB# 381. The Cajastac are considered a subgroup of the Aptos, in the southern part of modern Santa Cruz County, given intermarriage and geographic records.

⁶⁵⁴ Eighteen of the ninety baptized Achistaca survived to 1812.

⁶⁵⁵ Of the 182 Aptos and Cajastac, 39 survived.

six. She served as madrina thirty-seven times between 1811 and 1830, the highest number among all Santa Cruz residents, men and women.⁶⁵⁶ Further evidence of her highly elevated role within the mission community is her listing as “*monja*” or nun.⁶⁵⁷ This title is reflective of social standing, not the Catholic celibate and unmarried nun. Yuñan and Yachacxi had six children together, along with grandchildren, and possibly descendants that are still around today. Indeed, it seems that Yuñan stood as one of the most prominent and influential women in the mission community, along with Yaquenonsat. She is last sighted in the 1836 census, where she is listed as Serafina Pinto, widow and seamstress.⁶⁵⁸

As Yachacxi and Yuñan’s marriage took place merely a few months before the assassination, the question remains as to what influence Yuñan and their new marriage may have had on Yachacxi’s involvement. It is possible that the Simpson rumors referred to abuses by Quintana towards Yachacxi and Yuñan, rather than Lino and Humiliana. The continued prominence of both Yuñan and Yachacxi, as well as Asisara’s recollection of Yachacxi’s central role, suggest that they continued to find respect and appreciation within the mission community.

⁶⁵⁶ Yuñan serves as madrina in the following baptisms: SCZB#s 1414, 1567, 1569, 1573, 1609, 1836, 1921, 2002, 2032–36, 2041, 2055, 2071, 2083–84, 2100, 2103–19, and 2172 (the last taking place in April of 1830).

⁶⁵⁷ See padrino notes on record SCZB#1567, recorded on June 23, 1811. There is only one other entry labeled as “*monja*,” and that is a padrino note for SCZB#1562, with the woman named “Fatita,” likely referring to Fausta.

⁶⁵⁸ Census is held in the *Libro de Padrones*, archive of the Monterey Diocese. Yuñan does not have a burial record, so it is unclear if she leaves the area in the late 1830s or if her death is simply unrecorded. Her disappearance looks to be part of a larger pattern, as some left the area during the Mexican era.

Ètop and Quihueimen: The Survivors

While the majority of those convicted of the assassination died within a few years of Quintana’s death, two managed to survive their convictions and lived into the 1830s: Ètop (Antonio Alberto) and Quihueimen (Quirico). Ètop was baptized in 1797 as part of a second wave of Cajastac to be baptized at Mission Santa Cruz.⁶⁵⁹ It is likely that the missionaries renamed Ètop (Antonio Alberto) after engineer extraordinaire Alberto Cordoba, who helped to build the neighboring Villa de Branciforte and served as padrino for four baptisms while he was in the area, including that of Ètop.⁶⁶⁰ Ètop is unique among the convicts in that he was able to appeal and testify his way out of bondage.⁶⁶¹ Ètop, like most of the others, played important roles in the mission, serving as witness for two marriages in 1801 and as padrino for the birth of Rustico, the son of fellow conspirator and good friend Quihueimen, in 1811.⁶⁶²

Ètop is mentioned in Asisara’s account as the cook to Padre Quintana.⁶⁶³ Ètop’s wife, Victoriana, entered the mission seven months after Ètop.⁶⁶⁴ Ètop and his wife Victoriana had

⁶⁵⁹ Ètop (Antonio Alberto), listed as SCZB#755. He also shows up in the Spanish records as “Antonio” or “Antonino.” Again, the Cajastac appear to be affiliated with the larger Aptos.

⁶⁶⁰ See padrino notes for SCZB#755.

⁶⁶¹ BL, Provincial State Papers: Benicia, Military, 1767–1845, Bancroft MSS C-A 17, Vol. 49, 59–61. Ètop’s testimony is the only surviving from the Quintana investigation and took place four years after the original testimonies and trials (the originals were taken in 1816, Ètop’s in 1820). In Asisara’s account, he is referred to only as Antonio the cook, yet he reappears after his sentence in the records at Mission San Carlos: in both his burial and marriage records as Antonio Alberto (see San Carlos Burial Entry Number [hereafter referred to as SCD#] 2803 and San Carlos Marriage Entry Number [hereafter referred to as SCM#] 921), and in his daughter’s baptism record it is noted that he also goes by Antonio (see San Carlos Baptism Entry Number [hereafter referred to as SCB#] 3460).

⁶⁶² Marriages are found at SCZM#s 277 and 279. Rustico’s baptism is listed in SCZB#1561.

⁶⁶³ Asisara claims that the wife of the cook, Maria Tata, was the one soldiers overheard talking with Humiliana. At the time of the assassination, Alberto was married to Victoriana, Native name Najam, a Chipuctac listed as SCZB#808. Victoriana died about six months after the assassination (SCZD#1411), about a month after Maria Tata married Justiano, so it is possible that Asisara confused the names

two children together, Sostenes and Fidel, born in 1799 and 1803, respectively.⁶⁶⁵ The role of cook within the mission community is one worthy of closer examination. In a visit by Padre Estevan Tapis in 1818, special effort is made to address rumors about the attempted poisonings of two former padres.⁶⁶⁶ Tapis advised to ignore the rumors, pointing out that the reason cooks from Mission San Juan Bautista had been used at Mission Santa Cruz lay with the lack of trained cooks in Santa Cruz, as, he noted, the three cooks who had worked in Santa Cruz were currently serving time in prison.⁶⁶⁷ Cooks had special access and reveal a vulnerability that padres and soldiers were very conscious of, as numerous poisonings occurred or were suspected to have occurred throughout the California missions.⁶⁶⁸

Ètop was convicted for his involvement in Quintana’s assassination and sentenced to two hundred lashes and six years in the presidio.⁶⁶⁹ Ètop was able to plead his case in

and relationships. Another possibility, given the involvement of multiple cooks, is that Justiniano, SCZB#605, son of two early Uypi arrivals, was another cook involved but heretofore unnamed.

⁶⁶⁴ SCZB#808.

⁶⁶⁵ Fidel is listed at SCZB#1052, and Sostenes at SCZB#894.

⁶⁶⁶ Friar Narcisco Duran, December 28, 1817, San Francisco Archdiocese (hereafter referred to as SFAD), document #721. This came four months after a report by Padre Narcisco Duran of Mission Santa Clara. In Friar Duran’s letter, he explains that two neofitos poisoned a third. Duran lamented that his task in keeping the neofitos content and avoiding large-scale flights of fugitives was made more difficult by the resulting imprisonment of a spiritual leader, “por el preso principal es el capitan de una Rancheria numeroso, y este muy respetado y venerado como oraculo en ellos” (for the principal prisoner is the capitan of a large rancheria, and is well respected and venerated as an oracle). The fear of poisonings and neofito access and knowledge of poisonous plants was frequently a subject of concern for the padres.

⁶⁶⁷ Friar Estevan Tapis to José de la Guerra, April 29, 1818, SBMAL, DLG 955, Letter 2. Only Alberto, of all the convicts, is mentioned directly as a cook. It is possible that others, such as Euxexi or Quihueimen, worked as cooks as well, given this statement about three cooks.

⁶⁶⁸ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 62–63. Rumors of poisonings were common, and a few cases of successful poisonings are recorded, such as the poisoning of three padres at Mission San Miguel in 1801 and the killing of Padre José Pedro Panto by his cook, Nazario, at Mission San Diego in November 1811.

⁶⁶⁹ Sentences were handed down in 1816 and did not seem to include the three years held in San Francisco, which would have held Alberto for a full six years following, allowing for his release in 1822.

November of 1820, after having already served seven years.⁶⁷⁰ He pleaded that he had been invited by his friend Quihueimen to participate in the murder on the day of the assassination, and that he had declined, instead heading home.⁶⁷¹ He further testified that he had fled to the mountains after he learned that his friends had succeeded in killing Quintana.⁶⁷² In his testimony, he admitted to being guilty of not alerting the soldiers and overseers of the plot to murder Quintana, but not of participating.⁶⁷³ His testimony stands at odds with the account by Asisara, which places him at the planning meeting, suggesting that his testimony demonstrates Ètop’s resourcefulness in navigating Spanish legal systems to broker an early release.

The last line of questioning brings up an interesting pattern for Ètop. He was asked to address concerns that he had fled into the mountains following the murder, to which he replied that he had been worried about getting in trouble for knowing of the murder, leading him to flee to the hills. This return to the mountains, possibly to the southern Santa Cruz Mountains, where the Cajastac people originated, precipitates another return to the mountains later in his life.

⁶⁷⁰ BL, Provincial State Papers: Benicia, Military, 1767–1845, Bancroft MSS C-A 17, Vol. 49, 59–61. It appears that the sentences began after official administration in 1816, despite the conspirators being held in San Francisco beginning in 1813. Thus, an extra three years was added to all convictions.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., p. 60. His testimony states that “estaba preso porque el indio Quirico le convido a ayudas a matar al padre” (he was imprisoned because the Indian Quirico invited him to help kill the padre). While the account, as well as all other Spanish documents, refer to Quihueimen by his Spanish name, I continue to use the Native name.

⁶⁷² Ibid. Alberto mentioned that he had brought his son, Sostenes, up to the mountains with him. By the time Alberto is released, his son had died, apparently from an accident related to falling off a horse. Sostenes’ death is recorded in SCZD#1342. Indians typically were prohibited from riding horses, unless given special permission. Sostenes’ death in this manner may suggest special standing, a pattern not unlike that found in other descendants of the conspirators, who often hold land or other special status.

⁶⁷³ Ibid.

After his release from imprisonment, Ètop does not show up in any of the Santa Cruz documents or census rolls, instead appearing in the records of Mission San Carlos, to the south, neighboring the Presidio of Monterey. In 1824 he is recorded as marrying Catarina, the daughter of one of the earliest baptized Calendaruc families of Mission San Carlos.⁶⁷⁴ The Calendaruc are from just south of the land of the Aptos and Cajastac, so it is possible that Ètop was already familiar with Catarina or her people before his imprisonment (see figure 3.7). After his harsh treatment by Spanish authorities, it would make sense for Ètop to keep distance from the missions by resettling with familiar neighbors. Four years later, in 1826, they had a daughter, Maria de la Concepcion.⁶⁷⁵ In her baptismal records it is noted that she is born in the mountains, where her parents pass their time.⁶⁷⁶

It appears that Ètop returned to the woods after his release, similar to what he reported that he did following the Quintana assassination. Or perhaps he relocated to the mountains south of Monterey, where recent archaeological studies have shown became a refuge for runaway Indians through the mid-nineteenth century?⁶⁷⁷ In this way, perhaps these refugees gathered in unoccupied forests, similar to the Quiroste led group from the 1790s. We know that Spanish missions and their livestock and settlements disrupted Native landscapes and environs, making it increasingly difficult for Indigenous peoples to survive on

⁶⁷⁴ SCM#921. Catarina, whose Native name is listed in her marriage record (despite being born in the mission, as most mission-born children are not listed with Native names) as Unijunis, is recorded as SCB#2675.

⁶⁷⁵ SCB#3460.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid. Baptismal Notes read “en el monte donde se hallaban sus Padres del paseo ordinario de aquel tiempo” (in the mountain, where her parents ordinarily spend their time).

⁶⁷⁷ Gary S. Breschini and Trudy Haversat, “Post-Contact Esselen Occupation of the Santa Lucia Mountains” (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for California Archaeology, Riverside, CA, April 2000).

traditional foods, but here, in the case of Ètop, we see a continual preference for living outside the bounds of the mission community.⁶⁷⁸ Ètop himself died in 1832.⁶⁷⁹

The other convicted conspirator who survived his sentence to return to Santa Cruz was Quihueimen.⁶⁸⁰ Quihueimen was Uypi, from the region directly surrounding Mission Santa Cruz. Quihueimen, who entered the mission as a seven-year-old, was the thirty-third Uypi baptized here, within one and a half months of the opening of Mission Santa Cruz. Quihueimen’s first marriage, to Monguis (Liberata), appears not to have lasted long, as she is reported in the yearly records of runaways found dead outside the mission within a year of their marriage, in 1799.⁶⁸¹ Quihueimen’s third marriage, to Chesente (Maria Concepcion), took place in 1808.⁶⁸² Chesente was baptized at Mission Santa Clara and moved to Santa Cruz by 1800, when she was married to Tuliám (Prudencio).⁶⁸³ Chesente was the third marriage recorded between men from Santa Cruz and women from Santa Clara, and one of seven women and six men from Santa Clara to marry in Santa Cruz by 1812. The marriages and relations between members of the varying local mission populations are part of a pattern of mobility and movement between these Indigenous communities.⁶⁸⁴ Quihueimen

⁶⁷⁸ Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). Anderson explores the environmental impact of Spanish colonialism.

⁶⁷⁹ SCD#2803. The exact date is unknown, due to his living away from the mission.

⁶⁸⁰ Quihueimen (Quirico) is recorded as SCZB#65, one of the earliest baptisms on record. His original baptismal record lists his Native name as Ququen, but it is listed as Quihueimen in SCZB#2194, his daughter’s baptismal record. I follow the later record, as it was taken in 1833, despite not appearing in earlier records. The longer Quihueimen was likely recorded more clearly in the later record.

⁶⁸¹ Monguis (Liberata) is recorded as SCZD#417. Their marriage is recorded in SCZM#230.

⁶⁸² Chesente (Maria Concepcion) is listed in SCLB#3705. Their marriage is listed in SCZM#447.

⁶⁸³ Tuliám (Prudencio) was SCZB#823. Their marriage is recorded as SCZM#262.

⁶⁸⁴ Thirty-six marriages occur at Mission Santa Cruz between one partner baptized at Mission Santa Cruz and the other either from San Carlos, Santa Clara, San Francisco, or San Juan Bautista, while four marriages take place at Mission San Carlos involving Indians baptized in Santa Cruz, fourteen at Mission Santa Clara, two in San Francisco, and eight at Mission San Juan Bautista.

and Chesente’s son, Rustico, whose padrino was the cook, Ètop, married Maria Alvina and had four children.⁶⁸⁵ Rustico survived into the late 1870s, at one point owning a piece of Mission Santa Cruz lands near the property of Lino’s daughter, Petra Nicanor, through the early 1840s.⁶⁸⁶

Native Name	Spanish Name	Death year	Location	Sentence
Euxexi	Ambrosio	1814	SF Presidio	6 years, 200 lashes
Ules	Andrés Cañizares	1815	SF Presidio	2 years
	Leto Antonio	1815	SF Presidio	10 years, 200 lashes
	Secundino	1815	SF Presidio	10 years, 200 lashes
	Lino	1817	SB Presidio	10 years, 200 lashes
Sirinte	Fulgencio Cañizares	1819	SB Presidio	6 years hard labor
Lacah	Julian Apodeca	1820	SB Presidio	6 years, 200 lashes
Quihueimen	Quirico	1838	Mission Santa Cruz	6 years, 200 lashes
Ètop	Antonio Alberto	1832	Mountains south of Mission San Carlos	10 years, 200 lashes

Figure 3.6: Conspirators arrested, their sentences, burial years and locations.⁶⁸⁷

Quihueimen, like many of his fellow conspirators, held a position of influence in his community, performing important functions within spiritual practices. He served as padrino to eight baptisms between 1808 and 1810, and served as witness in four marriages in

⁶⁸⁵ Rustico is at SCZB#1561, Nonorochi (Maria Alvina) is at SCZB#1900, and their children are SCZB#s 2249, 2298, 2693, and 2745. Nonorochi is a Yokuts from the Huocom Rancheria.

⁶⁸⁶ Alphonse Pinart, *The Mission Indian Vocabularies of Alphonse Pinart*, Vol. 15, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952). This is the same Rustico that served as linguistic informant for Pinart. For details on property owned by Rustico, see Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz*, 29.

⁶⁸⁷ Spanish officials reported the sentences in 1816, when four of the conspirators had already died. While the burial records do not list details, it is likely that they died as a combination of the forced labor, excessive lashings, and poor conditions at the presidios. It is curious that the Spanish government still assigned sentences to these four dead men.

1810.⁶⁸⁸ Quihueimen is among the nine found guilty and sentenced to two hundred lashes and six years, serving his time at the presidio at Santa Bárbara, along with Lacah, Sirinte, and Lino.⁶⁸⁹ Unlike the others, Quihueimen survived his sentence and returned to Mission Santa Cruz.⁶⁹⁰ Chesente died while Quihueimen was being held in San Francisco, in 1815.⁶⁹¹ A few years after his release, Quihueimen married Ulalixmi (Coleta), a Yokuts woman who arrived in the 1820s, with whom he had a third child.⁶⁹² Quihueimen died in a smallpox epidemic in 1838, though his numerous grandchildren survive into the American statehood years, and it is likely that his descendants continue to live throughout the greater Bay Area.⁶⁹³ Quihueimen continued to serve as padrino in his later years, after his return to Mission Santa Cruz.⁶⁹⁴ Among the people for whom he served as padrino was Catarina, the daughter of Xuclan (José Ricardo), the mission song leader and good friend of Asisara.⁶⁹⁵ Xuclan was born shortly before the assassination, the son of a Sumus couple who entered the mission

⁶⁸⁸ He served as padrino in baptisms SCZB#s 1406–11, 1432, and 1554 and witness for marriages SCZM#s 479 and 519–21.

⁶⁸⁹ Padre Olbés to Solá, June 23, 1819, SCPSPD, Box 4, Letter 975. We know that he was in Santa Bárbara from the letter by Padre Olbés of Santa Cruz, who writes to Solá to inquire about the status of Quihueimen and Lacah.

⁶⁹⁰ Quihueimen is incorrectly named by Galindo as being released due to his innocence. Galindo’s account suggests that he is talking about Antonio Alberto, given Alberto’s testimony and subsequent release. See Galindo, “Apuntes para la historia de California,” 64.

⁶⁹¹ SCZD#1240.

⁶⁹² Ulalixmi (Coleta) is from a rancheria called Piluri. She arrived at Mission Santa Cruz in October of 1826, in SCZB#2112. Their child, Rosa Maria, is recorded in SCZB#2194.

⁶⁹³ Quihueimen’s burial is recorded in SCZD#2034. Interestingly, two other people died of smallpox the same day as Quihueimen. One of them is Chalognis (Vicencio Salvador), another Uypi, like Quihueimen, who was baptized as a two-year-old two days before the seven-year-old Quihueimen, listed as SCZB#64.

⁶⁹⁴ He served as padrino in SCZB#s 2157, 2184, and 2280, the last taking place in 1837.

⁶⁹⁵ Xuclan (José Ricardo), recorded in SCZB#1377, is previously mentioned in relation to Asisara. His daughter, Catarina, is recorded in SCZB#2280. Her mother is Tupat (Maria Margarita), a Yokuts from the Huocom Rancheria, recorded in SCZB#1745. In almost all records he is listed as Ricardo, José Ricardo, or Ricardo Carrion (on 1834 census); it is only in his marriage record that his Native name is given as Xuclan, SCZM#706.

about eight months before Yaquenonsat.⁶⁹⁶ Xuclan, who became a close friend of Asisara’s, would eventually become the last landholding Indian in Santa Cruz, giving up his parcel of the mission lands following a court case in 1866.⁶⁹⁷

Misión de Mata Frayles

The assassination of Padre Quintana had a huge impact on the community of Mission Santa Cruz, as is reflected in both the fears and anxieties of Spanish and Californio padres and soldiers, as well as the emboldened community and elevated status found in the descendants of the conspirators. In 1818, Padre Estevan Tapis visited Mission Santa Cruz, reporting back to the concerned Californio community about the “mission of friar killers,” reassuring them that rumors of an unruly neophyte population had been overstated and that talk of attempted poisonings was not to be believed.⁶⁹⁸ Tapis continued by reaffirming that he was extremely happy with his own appointment at neighboring Mission San Juan Bautista, leaving no doubt that he was not interested in moving.⁶⁹⁹ The fears and concerns of the Spanish soldiers and missionaries, which prompted assignments of some of the more sadistic padres, stemmed from the bold actions of this group of Indigenous leaders six years

⁶⁹⁶ His father, Chaparis (Bruno) is recorded in SCZB# 1292, while his mother, Legem (Bruna) is recorded in SCZB# 1295. I mention Yaquenonsat here, as another Sumu.

⁶⁹⁷ For the trial over his land, see Santa Cruz County Clerk’s Office, *Rice v. Ricardo*, Case 577, M.R. 3.11. Ricardo, with Lorenzo Asisara listed as fellow defendant, successfully defended his title to the lands but then sold his lands to Rice for fifty dollars in the months following the trial. Little has been written about landholding Indians during the Mexican and American eras. For one such study exploring land held in nearby San José, see Laurence H. Shoup and Randall Milliken, *Inigo of Rancho Posolmi: The Life and Times of a Mission Indian* (Novato, CA: Ballena Press, 1999).

⁶⁹⁸ Friar Estevan Tapis to José de la Guerra, April 29, 1818, SBMAL, DLG 955, Letter 2. Tapis refers to the “Misión de Mata Frayles” (mission of friar killers). Tapis is not alone in characterizing the mission thusly, as Friar Marcelino Marquez also refers to “la misión de los patricides de P Quintana” (the mission of padre killers of Padre Quintana). Marquez to Governor Solá, August 25, 1819, SBMAL, CMD 1145.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 60. Tapis states that “yo estoy contentisimo en mi San Juan” (I am very content in my [position at Mission] San Juan).

earlier, who defended their growing community from the punishments of an overreaching padre.⁷⁰⁰ In contrast, Indigenous oral histories speak of a community willing to challenge unjust punishments and actions of the padres. The prominent standing of the descendants of the conspirators points toward a persistence of appreciation for those who gave their lives to kill this abusive padre.⁷⁰¹

The assassination of Padre Quintana was a multicausal event, highlighting the centrality of women’s leadership within the mission community. The Spanish dismissal of the mission community simply as rebellious murderers fails to recognize the complicated choices facing Indigenous leaders. Immense loss, trauma, and abuse characterized this difficult time of change and disruption, and informed decisions of great consequence. The assassination itself was an assertion of Indigenous politics—the rejection of a particularly abusive padre who overstepped his authority in committing excessive physical and sexual abuses. The conspirators turned to Indigenous conceptions of justice and punishment, combining Catholic and traditional spiritual values in determining how to deal with this abusive spiritual leader. The planning and success of the plot relied heavily upon Yaquenonsat, her wisdom, strategic insights, and determination.

⁷⁰⁰ Amah Mutsun tribal chair Val Lopez related that Mission Santa Cruz was known for being home to some of the most abusive padres. Related by Lopez in Jon Daehnke, AMST 113A (lecture, UC Santa Cruz, September 29, 2011). This oral account is substantiated by stories given in multiple accounts. Asisara’s account details sexual, physical, and psychological abuses by Padres Olbés and Gil y Taboado in the years following the assassination of Quintana. See Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 28. Additionally, the story of rape perpetrated by Padre Real in the years before his appointment at Mission Santa Cruz is related in the memoir/history by Esselen scholar Deborah A. Miranda. See Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 24–25.

⁷⁰¹ Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 90–96. Asisara relates a story of Padre Olbés attempting to punish Samexci (Damáso), SCZB#233, for returning late to the mission. The mission community rose up in defense of Samexci by throwing tiles at Olbés and the overseers. Samexci appears to have been punished for this, as his death is recorded in San Francisco in 1818, apparently confined in the presidio (SCZD#4574). Asisara’s account weighs the merits and abuses of different padres, as some were liked (Gil y Taboada) more than others (Olbés).

Furthermore, the collective concealment of the assassination and the subsequent heroification and respect given to the collaborators and their descendants point toward hierarchies of privilege and power within the mission community. The lands given to Lino’s daughter Petra Nicanor and her family, Quihueimen’s son Rustico and his family, and to song-leader Xuclan, who shared his home with his friend Lorenzo Asisara, raise questions about how land was divided among the handful of recipients.⁷⁰² The depth of knowledge and detail that we have of this assassination is itself a result of the privilege and access that Llencó’s son, Asisara, attains through his navigation of racial and social status. It is due to Asisara’s racial and social transcendence and relationship with soldiers such as Amador, privileges not afforded the majority of Indigenous survivors, that has allowed the rich detail of this story to reach a greater audience. Like Lino and the conspirators before him, Asisara and others holding special status within the mission utilized their proximity to the padres to move between worlds with agility, to bring knowledge of the Spanish and Catholic social and spiritual worlds back to their communities.

In a rapidly changing world that has undergone environmental, social, political, and psychological upheaval, these leaders demonstrate an ability to navigate through and survive this time of diminishing options by committing to big decisions, choosing extreme actions with dire consequences. Lino, as a young leader in the mission community, asserts an awareness of right and wrong; he, Yaquenonsat, and the other leaders choose to uphold the social order on their own as a part of this new world, protecting not only their own

⁷⁰² County deeds records indicate that around twenty-five former Mission Santa Cruz Indians held real property interest between 1834 and 1866. Most had relinquished claims by 1850, with Ricardo holding out until 1866.

people, but the incoming Yokuts as well. They crossed historical alliances and rivalries in the interest of protecting this newly forming community.

The arrest and deportation of these nine men created a political void that newly arrived Teje (Yokuts) began to fill. Yet, the reputation of Mission Santa Cruz as site where Indigenous people challenged Franciscan and Spanish control persisted. Large-scale flights of fugitives increased, along with challenges, direct and subtle. As the Spanish hegemonic political control found itself facing Independence movements across the Americas, the Franciscan padres faced cries for emancipation from within and outside of the mission community.

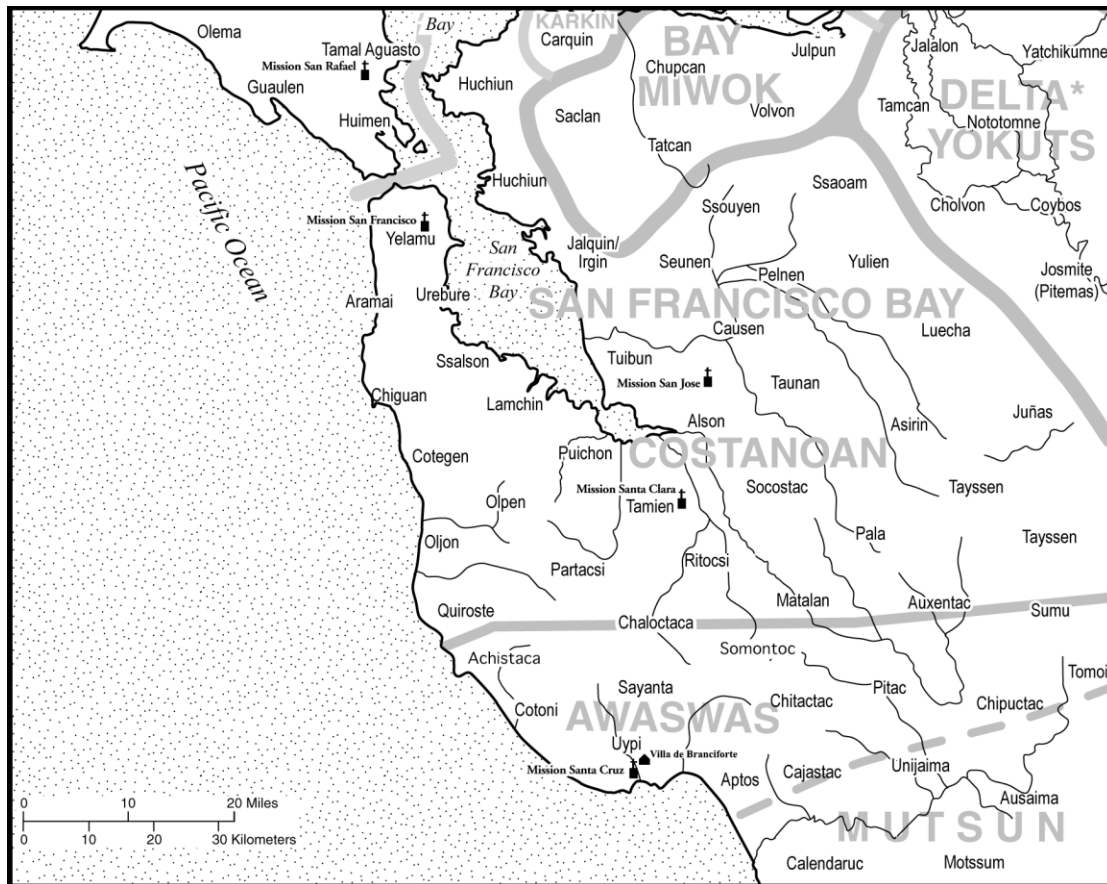


Figure 3.7: Map of Native local tribes and language areas around San Francisco Bay at the time of Spanish entry

Chapter 4: Captain Coletto and the Rise of the Yokuts

In the years following the assassination of Padre Quintana, members the Indigenous population engaged in a diversity of politics, as some worked closely with the padres, while others continued to challenge their authority. Indigenous peoples of Mission Santa Cruz formed multiple communities built around extended kinship networks as well as linguistic and tribal differences. Local Awaswas speakers and Mutsun Ohlone speakers from the east side of the local mountain range became outnumbered by the influx of large groups of Yokuts-speaking tribes from the eastern San Joaquin Valley. These Yokuts arrived during a time of increasing military engagement and violence between the Yokuts and the Californio soldiers, and worked closely with the soldiers and padres in tracking down fugitives.⁷⁰³

This chapter will examine the emergence of new political leadership within the mission community, and the rise in power of the incoming Yokuts. This chapter will span the 1810s and 20s, during the movement towards Mexican independence, when conversations about Indigenous rights and citizenry shaped a larger dynamic of violence and warfare.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰³ Brooke S. Arkush, "Yokuts Trade Networks and Native Culture Change in Central and Eastern California," *Ethnohistory* 40:4 (Fall 1993): 619—640. Arkush argues that the Yokuts were the major facilitators of cultural exchange, introducing elements of Spanish and Mexican material culture to other interior tribes, while maintaining a large degree of relative independence. This chapter looks at a group of Yokuts who served similar roles, but did so from their new home in Mission Santa Cruz. I refer here to the soldiers as Californios, while recognizing the complexities of identity formation in the years surrounding Mexican independence. Louise Pulos argues that the Californio identity emerged out of debates over the meaning of the terms Spanish, Mexican, or Californio, "Becoming Californio: Jokes, Broad-sides, and a Slap in the Face," in *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769–1850*, ed. Steven W. Hackel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010). While recognizing the complexities of identity during this period, for convenience, I use the term Californio to refer to the Spanish and Mexican citizens of all backgrounds in this chapter.

⁷⁰⁴ Karen Caplan, "Indigenous Citizenship: Liberalism, Political Participation, and Ethnic Identity in Post-Independence Oaxaca and Yucatán," in *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O'Hara (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 225—247. Caplan examines the move towards Indigenous citizenry in multiple regions following

Indigenous members of Mission Santa Cruz made choices to either resist Mexican incursion or to relocate and build new lives on coastal lands.⁷⁰⁵ This chapter will look at patterns of changing demographics and Indigenous politics, warfare and increasing military engagement during a time when the settling community was undergoing a larger political transition into a Mexican nation.⁷⁰⁶

The arrest of the conspirators in the Quintana assassination in 1813 left a vacuum in political leadership within the Indigenous community at Mission Santa Cruz. Coletto Malimin, leader of the Teje tribe of Yokuts, and his sons stepped in to fill this leadership vacuum.⁷⁰⁷ Coletto Malimin and his family became key figures within the mission. Coletto and his sons

Mexican independence. This chapter will look briefly at the move towards liberation, while chapter 5 will examine the issue of citizenry and rights more directly, as it intersects with secularization and emancipation. This theme is explored regarding Indigenous Californians by Lisbeth Haas, *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2014), 117.

⁷⁰⁵ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 141—6. Haas discusses Indigenous petitions for liberty from southern missions, following the 1826 provisional emancipation. There are no surviving petitions for Mission Santa Cruz, meaning either that nobody petitioned for their liberty, or that those documents have been lost. If the latter, the lack of mention of any granting of liberty suggests that this exercise of rights did not take place locally. As this chapter will show, local Indigenous people talked about emancipation and liberty, but fugitivism became the more common route to liberty.

⁷⁰⁶ Michael J. González, *This Small City Will Be a Mexican Paradise: Exploring the Origins of Mexican Culture in Los Angeles, 1821-1846* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Rosaura Sánchez, *Telling Identities: Californio "Testimonios"* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); and Barbara L. Voss, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). These works each examine this period of transition in Alta California. Chapter 5 will look closely at the impact on policy and Indigenous rights. For this chapter, I argue that this period was marked by increasing violence and warfare, in a similar way that González demonstrated in southern California.

⁷⁰⁷ Here I am breaking with my approach in earlier chapters of prioritizing Native names. Around this time, I believe, based on the documents, many Indigenous members of the mission communities started to use both Spanish and Native names. The repeated use of Coletto Malimin (SCZB#1478) or Agustín Mochtó (Coletto's oldest son, SCZB#1480, who will be discussed in this chapter) suggests a naming system that incorporated both names. As such, beginning in this chapter, I, too will refer to individuals by their hybrid names.

worked closely with the padres and Californio soldiers, helping to protect the mission from perceived threats and invasions, and leading military expeditions into Yokuts territories to wage war against former enemies and to capture fugitive *neofitos*. Coletto and his sons navigated these challenging times by forming political alliances with the missionaries. During the 1810s warfare between military expeditions and Indigenous horse raiders were commonplace throughout the greater Bay Area, connected to a larger southwestern pattern of livestock raiding, military expeditions, and violence that increased over the ensuing years.⁷⁰⁸ By the 1820s, fugitives from local missions collaborated with unbaptized inland Yokuts individuals and villages in raids and warfare.⁷⁰⁹ Indigenous people defended their territories under leadership of fugitives from the missions, who often drew upon their knowledge and experiences with Spanish and Mexican society, while augmenting their forces with fugitives from these same missions.

Yokuts individuals and families, like that of Coletto, best illustrate the complexities of engagement between Indigenous people and settlers during this period, as they made difficult choices. Some Yokuts fought against the frequent military excursions into their home territories, while others like Coletto and his sons, referred to as Indian auxiliaries, worked closely with the padres in tracking down fugitives and defending the mission against

⁷⁰⁸ Natale A. Zappia, *Traders and Raiders: The Indigenous World of the Colorado Basin, 1540-1859* (UNC Press Books, 2014). Zappia examines warfare, trading, and raiding that linked together the Yokuts of California to the larger Southwestern Indigenous world. Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the US-Mexican War* (Yale University Press, 2008). DeLay analyzes the roots of frontier warfare between Indigenous nations of the southwest. His analysis extends to the southern Yokuts tribes. A similar pattern of disruption, trade, and warfare also increased in interior California during this period, as I will demonstrate in this chapter.

⁷⁰⁹ Here I am referring to the situation throughout California. In the northern portion, inland of Mission Santa Cruz, Ohlone, Miwok, and Yokuts gathered under leaders such as Estanislao, Yozcolo, and Pomponio. To the south, Chumash and Yokuts collaborated during the Chumash War of 1824. All of these will be discussed in this chapter.

hostile parties.⁷¹⁰ Coletto utilized his familiarity with the Yokuts territories to help locate these fugitives. Many of these auxiliaries offered their services to the padres in exchange for political and social prestige within the mission community, exacerbating tensions with established mission families.

Additionally, I will examine intermarriages between the Yokuts and Ohlone individuals, with a special focus on the changing roles of Indigenous women within the mission communities. These intergroup families formed their own distinct community within the mission, straddling the social and linguistic worlds of the Yokuts, and Awaswas- and Mutsun- speaking Ohlone.⁷¹¹ The formation of these three distinct communities – Yokuts, Ohlone, and mixed – helped shape the social climate within Mission Santa Cruz, directly influencing patterns of land ownership and movement in the coming years.⁷¹²

Demographic Shift—Captain Coletto and the Arrival of the Yokuts

Following Quintana's assassination in late 1812, the Indigenous population surrounding Mission Santa Cruz grew, as the Villa de Branciforte experienced an ongoing population boom while an increasing number of American and European foreigners moved

⁷¹⁰ James A. Sandos explored the role of these Indian auxiliaries, finding similar patterns of elevated status and assistance to missionaries and soldiers, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 102—5.

⁷¹¹ Sarah M. Peelo "The Creation of a Carmeleño Identity: Marriage Practices in the Indian village at Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Río Carmel." *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* (2010): 117—139. Marriage patterns at Mission Santa Cruz were similar to those at missions Santa Clara and San Carlos, where the majority of individuals married people from neighboring territories whenever possible. However, both communities show a large number of marriages between Yokuts women and Ohlone men, in part due to the demographic realities of high mortality of Ohlone women. The families that eventually formed this third rancheria appear to be made up of intergroup marriages. Data and interpretation of Mission Santa Clara marriage patterns were confirmed to me through exchange with Dr. Sarah Peelo in her reports on said mission.

⁷¹² Chapter 5 will examine patterns of land ownership and movement following secularization and emancipation.

into the area.⁷¹³ Some of these, such as Joseph Ladd Majors and Jose Bolcoff, naturalized as Mexican citizens and entered the society of the Californios of Branciforte, often marrying local Californio women.⁷¹⁴ Others maintained distance from the Mexican town and settled up in the mountain region known today as Zayante.⁷¹⁵ Tensions grew between the *pobladores* of Branciforte and the growing foreign mountain settlement. It wouldn't be until around 1834 when the local Indigenous population at Mission Santa Cruz ceased being the majority in the region (see figure 4.1).⁷¹⁶ But within this demographic block existed a much more complex diversity of Indigenous people.

In the years following the assassination of Padre Quintana, the Ohlone people became outnumbered by Yokuts. By this time, the Ohlone population was made up of a mix between local Awaswas speakers and Mutsun speakers.⁷¹⁷ The Indigenous community at

⁷¹³ Some of the members of Branciforte themselves had Indigenous roots, for example Clementina Montero, daughter of the infamous Mission San Gabriel rebellion leader Toypurina. Toypurina was exiled to Monterey in the late 1790s. She died in 1799, and her family relocated to the villa by 1808, as discussed by John R. Johnson and William M. Williams, "Toypurina's Descendants: Three Generations of an Alta California Family," *Boletín: The Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* 24, no. 2 (2007): 31–55. Almost certainly as a result of her Indigenous heritage, Montero herself became the target of Mission Santa Cruz padre Olbes, who tried to remove her children from her care, accusing her of having "mother's milk of venom."

⁷¹⁴ Majors and Bolcoff married two sisters of the prominent Castro family. Both men will be discussed later in this chapter. This pattern of foreign men marrying prominent Californio women has been explored in depth by María Raquel Casas, *Married to a Daughter of the Land: Spanish-Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820–1880*. University of Nevada Press, 2009). Casas successfully argues that Californio women actively negotiated their rights in these marriages.

⁷¹⁵ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 149. Haas discusses the erasure of Native spaces, and the rare use of Native names in rancho property titles. In Santa Cruz, three rancho properties were given names reflecting Indigenous tribes – Zayante, Soquel, and Aptos. The Zayante grant (and contemporary township) were named for the Sayanta tribe.

⁷¹⁶ This chapter focuses primarily on the decades of the 1810s and 20s. However, Mission Santa Cruz continued to baptize incoming Yokuts people until 1834, when the Alta California missions were officially secularized. Therefore, this section on demographics extends into the early 1830s to trace patterns of migration and baptism.

⁷¹⁷ E.L. Williams, "Narrative of a Mission Indian, etc.," in *History of Santa Cruz County*, ed. Edward S. Harrison (San Francisco: Pacific Press Publishing, 1892), 47. Lorenzo Asisara, in his 1890 interview, spoke about the mission community as being divided along linguistic lines, mentioning that "The

Mission Santa Cruz was in constant flux, as Mexican soldiers brought in new converts from Yokuts territories to supplement the vacancies left by a combination of ongoing flights of fugitives and high mortality rates.

Year	Villa de Branciforte	Native American	Foreigners	Santa Cruz ⁷¹⁸	Totals
1791*	0	84	--	--	84
1795*	0	507	--	--	507
1797*	39	495	--	--	534
1800*	66	492	--	--	558
1805*	14	467	--	--	481
1810*	40	507	--	--	547
1815*	40	365	--	--	405
1820*	83	461	--	--	544
1821*	98	519	--	--	617
1825*	140	496	--	--	636
1830*	148	320	--	--	468
1834*	201	238	--	--	439
1845†	294	120	56	--	470
1852*	--	110	--	1,109	1,219
1860*	--	218	--	4,726	4,944

Figure 4.1: Population of Santa Cruz County⁷¹⁹

padres nominated an alcalde and assistant for each of the different bands, of which there were about thirty. Those tribes nearest to the mission, such as up the coast a way, and as far south as Aptos, could understand each other, but those from a few miles farther off did not. Those of Gilroy were in their own language called Pasen [Pagsim]; San Juan, Uiuhi; Pajaro [south], Nootsum [Mutsun]; Aptos, Aptos; Soquel, Soquel; up the coast Tili and Ulsicsi; at Red Bank Dairy, up the coast, Posorou; on the San Vicente Creek, Sorsecsi; near the old limekilns of Williams' Landing, Coyulicsi." Asisara's understanding of Indigenous linguistic and territorial politics is much more complex than the Awaswas Mutsun binary, to be clear. I am choosing to simplify into the two broad categories to show the larger patterns, while also arguing that some of these complex identity politics collapsed into broader alliances and kinship networks in the larger context of the demographic collapse during these years. Asisara's three interviews have been discussed in each chapter, as they are a rare first-person glimpse into Indigenous life through the mission years. His life is explored in some depth later in this chapter.

⁷¹⁸ Federal Manuscript Census only recognized the region as Santa Cruz from 1850 onward. Official incorporation of the township occurred in 1866, at which time it was voted to keep the name Santa Cruz over Branciforte.

This resulted in a superficial appearance of demographic stability. In total, from 1813 until the last year of mission recruitment in 1834, 378 Indigenous people received baptism at Mission Santa Cruz. They arrived here through a combination of Californio and Indigenous military forays to capture fugitives, familial and kinship ties to local peoples, and taking advantage of promises of political and social prestige offered by the missionaries. The overall Indigenous population reached a high point in 1821 with 519 members, the only year that the population reached over 500. Yet these yearly demographics give a false sense of stability, when considering the high mortality rates and ongoing flights of fugitives. For example, a letter in 1819 listed 104 fugitives, out of a total given as 381.⁷²⁰ This meant that the actual Indigenous population in 1819 was 277, as over a quarter of the stated population remained outside of the actual mission lands. This was true for a period around 1819, so it is possible that other reports similarly failed to report the actual population, not unlike the reports of Padre Fernández back in 1798.⁷²¹ The losses through death and flight were augmented by two major waves of incoming Yokuts, between 1817 and 1821 (see figure 4.2).

The nearly four hundred tribal people who arrived at Mission Santa Cruz between 1813 and 1834 came from riparian lands one hundred miles eastward, from Yokuts village

⁷¹⁹ Sources: * = *Santa Cruz Mission Libro de Padrones*, Monterey Diocese Chancery Archives, Monterey, CA † = Robert H. Jackson, "The Villa de Branciforte Census," *Antepasados* 4 (1980–81), 45–57, ° = Federal Manuscript Census records.

⁷²⁰ SBMAL, November 20, 1819, CMD 1822a. These were likely fugitives dating back to earlier in the year. In February, 1819, Padre Gil y Taboada reported that the entire Mission Santa Cruz population fled after hearing threats of soldiers coming to take them prisoners by pobladores at the Villa de Branciforte, Padre Gil y Taboada to Governor Argüello, February 24, 1819, Santa Cruz, SFAD#922 and 922-2.

⁷²¹ This was discussed in chapter two.

sites along the San Joaquin, Chowchilla, Mariposa, and Fresno Rivers.⁷²² A diversity of Yokuts tribal nations lived in the swampy riparian region. The region today is between modern Merced, Los Banos, Madera, Mendota, and Fresno. The first of these waves of incoming people came from various villages in the Chaneche and Nupchenches territory alongside the San Joaquin River, from two village sites: Mallim and Notualh.⁷²³ These included Yokuts tribal nations such as the Chaneche (identified at Mission Santa Cruz as Yeurata, presumably a village site), Sagim, Atsnil, Teje and others. The second wave of new baptisms, who arrived between 1820 and 1821, came predominantly from Huocom and Hupnis tribes.⁷²⁴ These also included sizeable numbers of Quithrathre, Sipieyesi, and Hualquemne, in addition to the larger numbers of Huocom and Hupnis (see figure 4.2).

Within Mission Santa Cruz a political change took place, reflecting the larger demographic shift of these diverse tribal nations. This is seen clearly in the shift in tribal affiliation of the alcaldes (see figure 4.3). Asisara claimed that the “padres nominated an alcalde and assistant for each of the different bands, of which there were about thirty.”⁷²⁵

⁷²² Frank Forest Latta, *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* (Oildale, CA: Bear State Books, 1949), 51—55. The most complete study of the Yokuts to date was written by Latta, born about thirty miles north of Los Banos, near Orestimba Creek in Stanislaus County. Both creek and county are named for Indigenous tribes (Orestimba) and individuals (Estanislao, who will be discussed briefly in this chapter). He spent much of his life interviewing, researching, and getting to know the local Yokuts people all through inland California. Coincidentally, Latta moved to Santa Cruz in 1956, where he eventually died in 1983.

⁷²³ These villages are recorded by a variety of spellings. Here I have chosen to go with the most common spellings.

⁷²⁴ The exact location of these tribes is uncertain. Neither of these received mention in the military or ecclesiastical documents. Based on the combination of evidence, it seems that the Huocom and Hupnis tribes were from slightly farther east.

⁷²⁵ Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County*, 47; Hackel, “The Staff of Leadership: Indian Authority in the Missions of Alta California,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no.2 (April 1997), 347–76. Hackel argues that in the early years at Mission San Carlos, Indigenous alcaldes were predominately traditional leaders, while in the later years they were elected from outside Indigenous political leaders. At Mission Santa Cruz, there wasn’t such a clear cut patter. In fact, the arrival of Yokuts resulted in Yokuts leaders and their families, alongside Ohlone alcaldes, as will be discussed in this chapter. At

While the accounts from the missionaries show that there continued to be two elected *alcaldes* and two *regidores* instead of thirty, the diverse tribal affiliation of these officials supports Asisara's memory of tribal representation. Yet, the political climate within the mission population was complicated by a combination of pre-existing tensions between tribal nations and kinship networks and new conflicts or alliances formed through the violence of colonial disruption. The political and social climate of the mission population continued to engage with the larger region, communicating through networks of trade and fugitive flights.⁷²⁶

Colonial contact with the Nupchenches traced back as far as October of 1806, when during an exploratory expedition local Indigenous villagers invited Lt. Gabriel Moraga and his party to visit two distinct villages, Nupchenche and Cutucho. The expedition found these groups along the San Joaquin River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately the mouth of the Merced. From the description in Moraga's diary, Nupchenche was situated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough. In November of 1815, Sergeant José Dolores Pico, ostensibly chasing *neofitos* who had fled from various Bay Area missions, attacked the Chaneche village site, which he described as being four leagues south of Nupchenche. Pico and his party captured sixty-six people, but reported that the majority had escaped. Pico scouted Nupchenche, but found that the villagers had fled, no doubt hearing about the violence from Chaneche villagers in flight. Pico's party moved on to raid the Copcha

Mission Santa Cruz, *alcaldes* continued to represent multiple tribes from the diverse groups that lived at the mission.

⁷²⁶ Recent studies demonstrate the continuation of trade networks at Mission Santa Clara. Lee M. Panich, "Native American Consumption of Shell and Glass Beads at Mission Santa Clara de Asís," *American Antiquity* 79, no. 4 (2014), 730–48, and Panich, "Beyond the Colonial Curtain: Investigating Indigenous Use of Obsidian in Spanish California through the pXRF Analysis of Artifacts from Mission Santa Clara," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 5 (2016), 521–30.

rancheria, eight leagues southeast of Nupchenche. Before continuing out of the area on his raiding expedition, Pico reported the name of another village site, Mallim, which he placed near Chaneche.⁷²⁷ All in all, records identified six independent village sites. From north to south they were Mallim and Chaneche, Nupchenches and Cutucho, Copcha, and Tape. Estimates suggest that the six villages numbered no fewer than 1,800 people in 1816.⁷²⁸

Year	Baptisms	Births	Burials	Population
1813	9	8	49	397
1814	16	6	26	388
1815	12	11	37	365
1816	27	12	34	358
1817	83	14	33	408
1818	50	21	31	410
1819	13	13	48	381
1820	113	19	33	461
1821	91	13	31	519
1822	20	20	39	499
1823	31	16	53	474
1824	29	16	48	461
1825	19	18	51	496
1826	31	12	32	484
1827	11	10	29	473
1828	16	10	61	434
1829	10	3	41	333
1830	16	13	29	320
1831	10	9	33	298
1832	7	7	35	284
1833	7	5	16	261
1834	27	14	15	238

Figure 4.2: Mission Santa Cruz demographics between 1813 and 1834.⁷²⁹

⁷²⁷ Sherburne Friend Cook, *The Aboriginal Population of the San Joaquin Valley, California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), 247–54. Cook chronicled the military expeditions into the region in depth and translated and transcribed the diaries of Father Pedro Muñoz, where the Moraga expedition was recorded.

⁷²⁸ Cook, *Aboriginal Population of the San Joaquin Valley*, 52.

⁷²⁹ Data compiled by myself from baptismal and burial records. Baptisms include both incoming people and newborns born to couples already living there. The years of 1817, 1818, 1820, and 1821 are in bold, as these are the four years where incoming Indigenous peoples joined the mission in substantial numbers.

The arrival of Yokuts from these regions helps explain the development of Indigenous politics surrounding these expeditions. At Mission Santa Cruz, the first Chaneche to arrive was a young boy, Gilsic (Carlos), in July of 1805.⁷³⁰ Then in April of 1810, a group of forty-two Chaneche, listed as being from the Yeurata Rancheria, received baptism at Mission Santa Cruz.⁷³¹ These Chaneche were accompanied by a larger group of seventy-three Teje. This was the beginning of the influx of Yokuts into Mission Santa Cruz. Between 1813 and 1834 a total of 378 incoming Indigenous people received baptism at Mission Santa Cruz from a diversity of Yokuts tribal nations (see figure 4.2).⁷³² The influx of Yokuts also corresponded to the ongoing flights of fugitive neofitos returning to their homelands or refusing to return from their seasonal trips home. In turn, the recapture of these fugitives became a central objective to the military expeditions.

Some of the early Yokuts arrivals were able to negotiate political power, stepping into the leadership vacuum following arrest of the Quintana assassination conspirators. Chief Malimin, baptized and known by the Spaniards as Coletto, received his baptism on May 24, 1810. He was the first in a group of seventy-five members of the Teje Rancheria.⁷³³ Coletto's baptism was immediately followed, in order, by one of his wives, Yguichegel

⁷³⁰ SCZB#1311. Gilsic is listed as being from the Chieuta Rancheria, but his parents' names and information show that his father, Socoñes (Patricio) from the Luchamme village [sic], was baptized at Mission Santa Cruz in 1817 (SCZB#1689), while his mother, Oyocat from Chaneche Rancheria, was baptized at Mission San Juan Bautista in early 1822 (SJBB#3005). It is unclear how the twelve-year-old Gilsic arrived in 1805, a few months before the Moraga expedition.

⁷³¹ A majority of the Chaneche baptized at Mission Santa Cruz are noted as being from the Yeurata Rancheria.

⁷³² This total is compiled from my database of mission baptismal records. Santa Cruz missionaries performed 654 baptisms between 1813 and 1834, the final year of mission operation, which was also the last year Yokuts arrived. Of those 654, many were newborns (269) and a few others were baptisms of Californio villagers (7).

⁷³³ It is likely that the Teje and Mallim were closely connected. Coletto's Native name, Malimin, may also be connected with the village name Mallim, given the similarities and his acknowledged leadership of the group.

(Coleta), his oldest son, Moctó (Agustin), Moctó's wife Cachimtan, and Coletto's younger son Estevan Guajsilii.⁷³⁴ The Coletto family became key figures in the mission population; Coletto and Agustin were the most visible Indian auxiliaries during these decades. Coletto and his family would continue to influence local Indigenous politics well into the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Yokuts Tribe	# baptized
Achila	16
Atsnil	12
Chaneche	32
Coht	11
Huocom	83
Hupnis	35
Mallim	16
Notualhs	11
Quithrathre	17
Sagim	13
Sipieyes	20
Tejey	26
Yokuts	86
Mission born	269
Razon (Californio)	7
Total Yokuts	654

Figure 4.3: Village or tribal identification of Indigenous baptisms between 1813 and 1834.⁷³⁵

⁷³⁴ Malimin (Coleta), SCZB#1478, was listed as being fifty-eight years old. His family included his wife, forty-year-old Yguichegel (Coleta, SCZB# 1479); twenty-four-year-old Moctó (Agustin, SCZB#1480); twenty-three-year-old Cachimtan (Agustina, SCZB#1481); and twelve-year-old Guajsilii (Esteban, SCZB#1482). Yguichegel is listed as the mother of Guajsilii, but Moctó's mother, Huasiuta, entered Mission Santa Cruz seven years later, receiving baptism on February 22, 1817 (SCZB#1667), after the death of Yguichegel, who died five months after her baptism, in late 1810 (SCZD#1006). Huasiuta was also christened with the name Coleta, and married Coletto shortly after arrival (SCZM#574, March 3, 1817). This suggests that Coletto had at least two wives before entry.

⁷³⁵ This information is compiled by my own database, taken from the ECPP and the original documents held at the Monterey Archdiocese. Those listed here as only "Yokuts" come from forty-seven different Yokuts tribes. In this list, I included names for tribal nations with at least ten members who received baptism at Mission Santa Cruz.

Year of alcalde election	Baptism year	Baptismal #	Spanish name	Native name	Tribal affiliation	Age while serving	Special standing
1796	1795	389	Canuto	Geturux	Aptos	47	
1796	1793	141	Julian	Lacah	Chaloctaca	29	
1797	1793	179	Valerio	Guichiguís	Uypi	36	de hombres
1797	1793	141	Julian	Lacah	Chaloctaca	30	de mujeres
1799	1797	754	Erasmus	Cunumaspó	Chitactac	38	
1799	1791	44	Antonio	Yucuí	Uypi	40	
1809	1793	220	Pedro Antonio	Saguxi	Aptos	26	de mujeres
1809	1792	99	Rufino	Tucumen	Uypi	43	de hombres
1810 and 1811	1794	262	Donato	Yachacxi	Achistaca	19	de mujeres
1811	1795	413	David	Guallac	Sayanta	23	de hombres
1813	1800	941	Mauricio	Toquílme / Tuquinmen in burial	Cajastaca	35	
1813, 1816, 1818	1796	676	Dato	Chumanit	Aptos	23, 26, and 28	
1823	1814	1594	Vicente	Tancha	Cooht	24	
1823	1808	1403	Juan Joseph	Autocrus	Locobo	23	
1825	1810	1480	Agustín	Moctó	Tejey	39	Coletto's Son
1831	1791	41	Crisantos	Chujes	Uypi	35	

Figure 4.4: Alcaldes.⁷³⁶

In May 1816, tensions between the Chaneche and Mallim villagers erupted, no doubt exacerbated by tensions between fugitives, auxiliaries, and villagers. The Mallim appear to have formed positive relations with the settlers, as many members had already received baptism at Mission Santa Cruz. It is possible that this favorable relationship was connected to Coletto, as the Mallim and Tejey villagers appear to have been closely tied through kinship. Sometime in May, Chaneche villagers attacked and killed two Mission Santa

⁷³⁶ Sources: 1796: AGN, California (017), vol. 65, exp. 8, fojas 310–11; 1797: SBMAL, CMD346; 1799: SBMAL, CMD421; 1809: SCZM#s 471, 472, 474; 1810: SCZB#s 1440–43, 1445–46. SCZM# 495; 1811: SCZM#s 524–32; 1813: SCZM#s 541–42; 1814: SCZB# 1604; 1816: SCZB# 1641; 1818: SCZM#s 599–600; 1823: SFAD# 1444; 1825: SCZD#s 1639–41; 1831: SCZM# 780.

Cruz neofitos from Mallim. Spanish sources reported that the Chaneche had been telling the soldiers bad things about the Mallim villagers, possibly in an attempt to discredit Coletto and his family. The conflict suggests that tensions had long existed between the groups, which could trace back to before Spanish arrival. Alternatively, these tensions could have been exacerbated by the impact of violence and colonialism. In either case, the Chaneche allied with the villagers at the nearby rancherias of Notoalh and Luchasme against the Mallim. The chief of the Notoalh village, Cutsayo, was known for his antipathy toward the soldiers.⁷³⁷

This conflict revolved around two main leaders whom the soldiers saw as responsible for recent livestock raids—Egidio and El Chivero. While some Indigenous leaders, such as Coletto, chose to ally with the Franciscans and secure some political powers that way, others aided the growing numbers of fugitives and livestock raiders. Egidio was a Locobo neofito who had been baptized at Mission Santa Cruz as a child in 1808.⁷³⁸ In May of 1816, Egidio had recently been captured and was being held at the presidio in San Francisco for the theft of a horse herd. Egidio confessed to working closely with his accomplice, El Chivero. The latter appears to have had a long complicated history of interaction, both friendly and hostile, with soldiers. He went by various names, including his baptismal name, Francisco Xavier. El Chivero was valued for not only his knowledge of the physical landscape, but also for his linguistic fluency, as the padres frequently remarked upon his fluency in

⁷³⁷ Padre Marcelino Marquez to Governor Solá, May 25, 1816, San Francisco Archdiocese (hereafter referred to as SFAD) # 488.

⁷³⁸ Egidio (Native name Ayaclo, SCZB#1410), listed as being from the Locobo Rancheria, was baptized on June 5, 1808, as a twelve-year-old. The padrino for his baptism was Quihueimen (Quiricio, SCZB#65), the conspirator involved in the Quintana assassination.

Spanish.⁷³⁹ Ultimately, Padre Marquinez requested that an expedition set forth for the region, called for the wholesale capture of Mallim villagers, not just the fugitive neofitos. To justify this move, Marquinez argued that fugitives would continue to run to Mallim “as long as there’s a single old woman remaining on their lands.”⁷⁴⁰

By early June, two of the three Indigenous auxiliaries returned after a trip to the Mallim Rancheria. The padres had sent them in the hopes of persuading some of the neofito fugitives to come back to Mission Santa Cruz. The padres had sent them with word that they offered pardons and promises that they would not be punished if they opted to return. The two who returned reported that the majority of fugitives from Mission Santa Cruz were staying at Mallim. The auxiliaries reported that they were afraid to return to the mission, and instead prepared for flight. The third auxiliary, who did not return, was El Chivero. El Chivero had been apprehended, as per orders from Friar Marquinez, for his involvement in the livestock raids with Egidio. The padres and soldiers agreed that the time was right to lead an expedition. Lieutenant Luis Antonio Argüello requested that El Chivero serve as the

⁷³⁹ Padre Marcelino Marquinez to Governor Solá, May 25, 1816, SFAD# 488. The actual identity of El Chivero is not certain, although it is likely that he was from Mission Santa Cruz. Father Jayme Escude to Governor Solá, June 10, 1816, SFAD# 401. Escude claims that El Chivero was a *neofito* of Mission Santa Cruz, in which case he would be Sagián, baptized as Francisco Xavier from the “San Juan” Rancheria, most likely the Auxentaca village, according to Randall Milliken’s database (SCZB#980). Lieutenant Argüello to Governor Solá, June 10, 1816, SFAD# 392. In this letter, El Chivero is cited as being a *neofito* of Mission Santa Clara, but there is no corresponding “Francisco Xavier” baptized at that mission who would have been alive at that time. Ignacio Peralta to Governor Solá, May 25, 1816, SFAD# 387. El Chivero was the subject in this report, mentioning that he was last heard headed for the Mallim Rancheria to summon the Christian fugitives staying there, suggesting that El Chivero both robbed livestock and aided the missionaries in tracking down fugitives.

⁷⁴⁰ Padre Marcelino Marquinez to Governor Solá, May 25, 1816, SFAD# 488. This letter stands in contrast by the claim by James A. Sandos, that “charges of ‘forced conversion’ of Indians made against the Franciscans in California episodically from the 1820s onward are nonsensical within the framework of Franciscan theology; they are also without historical proof and should be dismissed as yet another mission myth,” *Converting California*, 103. With due respect to Sandos, whose analysis relied on the work of Franciscan scholar Francis F. Guest, the missionaries justified the soldiers’ forcible relocation of village populations to missions.

guide, acknowledging that he knew the territory the best.⁷⁴¹ Padre Escude agreed, suggesting that El Chivero be given a pardon for his prior crimes in exchange for his help.⁷⁴²

Ultimately it wasn't the soldiers who recovered the fugitives but the Indian auxiliaries, specifically Captain Coletto Malimin. It took until December, but Coletto and his men cleared out the Mallim Rancheria, killing four gentiles in the process. The padre exclaimed his delight at the return of forty-two fugitives.⁷⁴³ At the Mallim Rancheria they found a mix of Chaneche, Mallim, and Luchasme villagers. They left no one at the village, bringing everyone back to Mission Santa Cruz. They took with them the elderly, the crippled and blind, as well as their dogs. Three people were apparently dying of disease, so they were brought to the Chaneche Rancheria, suggesting that if they had stayed they would have been attacked by their enemies, though it isn't clear which enemies. Yet, this capture of fugitives did not mean an end to these flights, as the letter reports that while the Mallim Rancheria had been emptied, other fugitives had taken refuge with their allies at the Notoalh Rancheria.⁷⁴⁴

Apparently, Egidio had escaped from the presidio and made his way to Mallim. Coletto reported that Egidio had left the village a few days before Coletto's arrival. According

⁷⁴¹ The story of their report is told in two documents, the first being Lieutenant Argüello to Governor Solá, June 10, 1816, SFAD# 392. The second is in the footnote that follows.

⁷⁴² Padre Escude gives his account of the report from the two *neofitos* and said it was "a good time to fall upon them before they move for they are so rebellious they sent to tell us they will not come back because they are afraid," Friar Jayme Escude to Governor Solá, June 10, 1816, SFAD# 401.

⁷⁴³ Padre Marquez to Governor Solá, December 13, 1816, SFAD# 578. "My heart can scarcely be contained within my breast for the great abundance of joy Would not your heart be flooded with joy and satisfaction if, after you had lost forty-two children and had over a period of many years taken the most vigorous measures to recover them, all in vain, someone came to tell you, 'Señor, here come your forty-two children?'" This was the response to the recovery of people who clearly did not want to be at Mission Santa Cruz, mostly adults.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

to Coletto, Egidio had discussed plans to make more raids on horse herds held by settlers. The extent of Egidio's raids is not elaborated, as he did not appear in later records. He must have returned to Mission Santa Cruz within a few years, as he married an Indigenous woman, Chiemiit (Egidia), at Mission Santa Cruz in early 1818.⁷⁴⁵ The couple had a child, whom they named German, in May of 1822, but unfortunately German died within a few days. After Chiemiit's death in 1829, Egidio remarried two more times: to Sayanit (Septima), in early 1830, and again to Maria Concepcion, in 1834. Egidio appears to have remained through this time, but may have left the community in the early 1840s.⁷⁴⁶

The dire situation facing inland Yokuts villages and villagers contributed to the difficult choices made by auxiliaries and fugitives alike. Coletto's homeland, populated by at least seven villages in the early part of the 1800s, was so desolate with abandoned village sites that it was described by one American traveler as a graveyard in 1833.⁷⁴⁷ Did Coletto have the foresight to see this devastation? Additionally, we are left to wonder to what

⁷⁴⁵ Chiemiit (Egidia, SCZB#1734), a twenty-year-old Chaneche woman, received baptism on February 7, 1818. She arrived in a group of eighteen Chaneche, Osocali, Quithrathre, and Achila people. Egidio and Chiemiit married on March 5, 1818, shortly after her baptism. It is likely that the two met while in eastern lands, and it is also possible that Egidio convinced her to return to the mission with him, given that he likely returned around the same time.

⁷⁴⁶ I believe that he left, as he last appears in the 1841 padron in the "Potrero de la Guerta" as Egidio Caballero (perhaps he was skilled with horses, as his name implies). The significance of his placement in this padron will be made clear later in this chapter, as this padron reflected the three different Indigenous communities that formed around former mission lands. His marriages: SCZM#769, January 25, 1830, to Sayanit (Septima, SCZB#1665), and SCZM#808, January 1, 1835, to Maria Concepcion. The latter appears to have been a widow from San Juan Bautista. The latter marriage also listed him as Egidio "Cabayero."

⁷⁴⁷ Cook, *Aboriginal Population of the San Joaquin Valley*, 54. The region was described by the American J.J. Warner in 1833 as follows: "We did not see more than six or eight Indians; while large numbers of their skulls and dead bodies were to be seen under almost every shade-tree near water, where the uninhabited and deserted villages had been converted into graveyards; and on the San Joaquin River, in the immediate neighborhood of the larger class of villages, which, in the preceding year, were the abodes of a large number of those Indians, we found not only graves, but the vestiges of a funeral pyre. At the mouth of King's River we encountered the first and only village of the stricken race that we had seen after entering the great valley."

extent auxiliaries like Egidio or Coletto employed the missionaries and soldiers to further their own intertribal and interethnic agendas? Clearly Coletto was able to navigate certain privileges and social standing in exchange for his collaboration, but was he able to use these powers against existing rivals or to help with allies? Whatever his motivations, his timely relocation to Mission Santa Cruz allowed him to ascend the political ladder.

Coletto Malimin was from the village of Teje, neighboring the Mallim Rancheria.⁷⁴⁸ In all, Coletto had six sons enter Mission Santa Cruz, each of which played some sort of role, either as *alcalde*, or as Indian auxiliary. Seven years after his arrival, Coletto brought back additional family members from the Mallim village. Perhaps he was emboldened by his success in navigating the mission politics, and knew that his family could similarly succeed. The 1817 Yokuts influx included three of Coletto's six sons (the other three had arrived with Coletto), Coletto's second wife, and the wives of his three adult sons.⁷⁴⁹ In February 1817, a few months after the arrival of this large group, the *padres* baptized thirty-four adults from a mix of families from the Mallim, Chaneche, Notualh, Achila, Janalame, and Atsnil villages. Many of these were family members of Teje or Mallim people who had arrived with Coletto's group back in 1810.⁷⁵⁰ Did Coletto's political ascension help convince them to enter into the mission? Perhaps the fact that a majority of Mallim members had evacuated the

⁷⁴⁸ Teje and Mallim appear to be two different village sites, closely bound through kinship ties. Coletto's youngest son, Vicente Francisco (Huich) is identified as Teje (SCZB#1639), while Coletto's older son Chulnoquis (Pasqual, SCZB#1647) is listed as Mallim.

⁷⁴⁹ On December 14, 1816, the day after the group's arrival, Huich (Vicente Francisco), the three-year-old son of Coletto, received baptism (SCZB#1639). His other two sons who arrived then, Chulnoquis (Pasqual, SCZB#1647) and Punis (Bernardino, SCZB#1648), ages twenty-eight and thirteen, respectively, would gain title to the Potrero lands following secularization.

⁷⁵⁰ The first person to receive baptism of the group of thirty-four was Chulnoquis (Pasqual). The group of women who received baptism that day included Coletto's second wife, Huasiuta (Coleta, SCZB#1667), Agustín's wife Yenulate (Agustina, SCZB#1668), Chulnoquis's wife Hueiete (Pasquala, SCZB#1669), and Estevan's wife Segejate (Gervasia, SCZB#1672).

village site finally convinced those who had held out over the previous six years that it was time to join their kin. Whatever the motivation, the ongoing incidence of fugitivism attests to the dissatisfaction of life at the mission.

Within a short time Coletto and his people worked closely with the missionaries, called upon to act as protectors of the mission in addition to their ongoing assistance in capturing fugitives. In early May of 1817, unrecognized ships in the Monterey Bay harbor prompted Padre Escude to arm Captain Coletto and twenty-five of his men in case the mission required protection.⁷⁵¹ The concern over foreign ships likely was linked to concerns about stability within the larger Spanish empire. Movements towards independence had been taking place in the Spanish Americas since the *grito de Dolores* in Guanajuato in 1810.⁷⁵² Indeed, the French Argentine sailor Hippolyte Bouchard, known to the Spanish as a pirate, had been attacking Spanish colonial settlements along the Pacific coast as far back as 1815.⁷⁵³ In early October of 1818, Bouchard and his people took over Monterey for six days, during which time they burned down homes, the fort, the governor's home, and the artillery quarters. After ransacking Monterey and destroying the canons, Bouchard and his men repaired their ships and headed south. They burned a rancho just north of Santa Barbara

⁷⁵¹ Padre Jayme Escude to Governor Solá, May 10, 1817, SFAD# 766. The arming of Indian auxiliaries in response to Bouchard was not isolated to Colet and his men at Mission Santa Cruz. Sandos observed a similar move in Santa Barbara, where auxiliaries received some instruction in European military methods in preparation, *Converting California*, 103—4.

⁷⁵² Padre Mariano Payeras to Padre Baldomero López, July 4, 1819, Soledad, SBMAL, CMD 1754. Locally, the impact of these independence movements was financial. Missionaries complained about the lack of funds available because of the insurgents. For example, Payeras complained to López about the condition of the missions because of this. You may remember López as one of the founders of Mission Santa Cruz, who by this time had become the head of the local Franciscan order.

⁷⁵³ Bouchard's exploits are recalled in the memoirs of Antonio María Osio, in *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California*, trans. and ed. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Univ of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 44—54.

and parts of Mission San Juan Capistrano. The Santa Cruz missionaries feared that Santa Cruz might be the next target.

The threat of Bouchard's arrival led to the evacuation of all Indigenous people from Mission Santa Cruz, a flight from which many never returned. During the evacuation, members of the neighboring Villa de Branciforte, whom Padre Olbes had ordered to protect the mission, instead looted and raided Mission Santa Cruz and apparently vandalized some of the iconography.⁷⁵⁴ The scandal prompted an investigation and a steady tide of complaints by Padre Ramon Olbes.⁷⁵⁵ While most accounts of this have focused on the tensions between the Villa de Branciforte residents and the missionaries, it does appear that Olbes suspected that some of the neofitos sent back to check on the mission might have conspired with the Branciforte villagers.⁷⁵⁶ While the large group had made their way to Mission Santa Clara, a group of four neofitos returned to the mission to check in on it,

⁷⁵⁴ Padre Ramón Olbés reported the misdeeds after receiving word at Mission Santa Clara, October 26, 1818, SBMAL, CMD 1588. He had received word from his Mayordomo and Silvestre, the interpreter and informant sent back to check on the mission.

⁷⁵⁵ Fray Mariano Payeras to Fray Baldomero López, SBMAL, February 9, 1819, San Miguel, CMD 1668. An investigation into the damage done to Mission Santa Cruz was reported by Payeras to López, the founder of Mission Santa Cruz, who had received a promotion to Guardian of the Colegio de San Fernando in Mexico City a few months earlier. In the letter, Payeras acknowledges López's connection with Mission Santa Cruz, referring to it as his "favorite daughter" (su hija predilecta).

⁷⁵⁶ Olbés to Solá, SBMAL, December 1, 1818, CMD 1607. The padres frequently complained about interconnections between *neofitos* and Branciforte villagers. The padres complained that *neofitos* gambled and drank with the folks at Branciforte. It is certainly possible that they found more in common with the mestizo and predominately mixed-blood villagers than the padres. Michael J. González argues that debates about the capabilities of Indians was at the center of conflict between missionaries and civilians, in "The Child of the Wilderness Weeps for the Father of Our Country: The Indian and the Politics of Church and State in Provincial California," in *Contested Eden: California, Before the Gold Rush*, ed. Ramón A. Gutiérrez (San Francisco: University of California Press, 1997). Local conflicts follow this same pattern, but trace back to initial settlement of the Villa de Branciforte on lands deemed by the padres as far too close to Mission Santa Cruz.

finding it to have been vandalized.⁷⁵⁷ Furthermore, many of the Indigenous people evacuated did not return to Mission Santa Cruz, instead choosing to return to their homelands in Yokuts territories.⁷⁵⁸ In the months that followed the incident, the missionaries complained about the slow return of many of their neofitos.⁷⁵⁹ In 1819, Mission Santa Cruz padres listed out 104 neofitos who had not returned, presumably from their homelands out east. Unsurprisingly, the majority of those listed were Chaneche and Tejeje, suggesting a large-scale return to homelands.⁷⁶⁰

Labor, Work, and Gender

Following Mexican Independence, labor relations continued with the inequities found during the mission period. Social and labor hierarchies left Indigenous laborers in positions of servitude, even as Indigenous families expanded geographically from the immediacy of the mission. Yet, the census documents finally recognized Indigenous laborers, listing out their jobs beginning in the 1820s. Unfortunately, these lists show that labor options for women diminished into the 1830s, or at least they reflect that census taking officials failed to acknowledge women's labor except in special cases (see figures 4.5 and 4.6). In earlier chapters, I've discussed the artisanal training received by some young

⁷⁵⁷ California Archives, December 8, 1818, Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, vol. I, 275. Interestingly, the five individual *neofitos* appear to have been from local tribes, suggesting that the padres continued to acknowledge the importance of this older community. Silvestre (SCZB#304), one of the principal translators, gave his account of the happenings. The other four included the Chipuctac man Causúte (Gregorio, SCZB#797), the Sayanta man Chugiut (Geronimo Miguel Pacheco, SCZB#184), the Auxentaca man Picothe (Victorino, SCZB#1059), and the Chipuctac man Checello (Hilario, SCZB#860). The story of Geronimo Chugiut will be explored in more depth later in this chapter.

⁷⁵⁸ Padre Mariano Payeras to López, July 4, 1819, Soledad, SBMAL, CMD 1754. Payeras, after visiting Mission Santa Cruz, reported that of the *neofitos*, "there are still many in the mountains, and in the great valley of the Tular."

⁷⁵⁹ Padre Marcelino Marquez to Governor Solá, August 25, 1819, SBMAL, CMD 1763.

⁷⁶⁰ SBMAL, November 20, 1819, CMD 1822a.

members of the mission.⁷⁶¹ Indigenous workers continued to perform the majority of labor roles to supply life within Mexican society, while also continuing to perform some jobs more relevant to traditional practices. For example, both the 1825 letter and the 1834 census included a variety of highly skilled jobs such as masons, carpenters, bakers, smiths, shoe makers, and tanners (see figure 4.6).⁷⁶²

The 1825 list shows an interesting division of labor, as women appear to have worked alongside men in jobs like tending corn fields, herding sheep, and gardening. The raising of sheep and working of looms became the main focus of production for the Indigenous laborers, with large flocks of sheep held on Mission owned pasture lands stretching up to Año Nuevo.⁷⁶³ Grinding of atole was reserved for women only. Given the regional practice of acorn grinding, it is possible that this job entailed the grinding of a mix of different seeds and grasses, for which the caring for these resources had traditionally been in the realm of women's work. The seamstress job, which required the working of the

⁷⁶¹ See chapter 2.

⁷⁶² Padre Luis Gil y Taboada, SBMAL, December 31, 1825, CMD 2840 and 1834 Padron, Santa Cruz Mission *Libro de Padrones*, Monterey Diocese Chancery Archives, Monterey, CA. University of California, Santa Cruz, McHenry Library, Pre-Statehood Documents, Rowland Files, B-2, 366.04, Indians. "They worked as basket weavers, blanket weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths and tanners, besides tending the fields and the herds. The cultivated fields were fenced with posts driven in the ground and tied with hazel bark or withes. Ditches were run along the outside. In plowing time from 100 to 130 oxen were used Surplus crops were sold by the priests. Spanish vessels took beans, corn, dried peas and horse beans. English vessels took hides and tallow. Russian ships took wheat and barley."

⁷⁶³ As will be discussed in chapter 5, the Hartnell notes report that there were 1,026 sheep, and 127 horses, 10 oxen, and 16 cow in 1839. "Diary and Blotters of the Two Inspections made by W.E.P. Hartnell, General Inspector of Missions in Alta California, 1839-1840," September 28, 1839, Starr P. Gurcke papers, MS 8, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 3:12.

loom, and these workers likely provided clothing for most of the settlers, was divided almost evenly between men and women.⁷⁶⁴

The 1834 census show that many of these same skilled laborers continued to work in their fields. One Yokuts (Tejey) man, worked as an arrow maker, which shows that the need to produce new arrowheads persisted throughout the end of the mission era.⁷⁶⁵ By the 1834 census, the majority of these jobs were reserved for men, although there is record of one seamstress, Yuñan (Serafina), whom we will talk about shortly. Some of these jobs do appear to have signified status or special standing, including the overseers (*majordomos*), performed most frequently by the Yokuts (figure 4.7).

The 1834 census offers a glimpse into Indigenous labor (figure 4.6).⁷⁶⁶ The prevalence of skilled workers; shoemakers, hat makers, and seamstresses, reveal that clothing was made by the Indigenous community.⁷⁶⁷ Skilled artisans like masons, smiths, and

⁷⁶⁴ Padre Gil y Taboada to Padre Mariano Payeras, November 24, 1821. Gil y Taboada reported that “the Indians are destitute and disgusted and do nothing without a flogging which causes me great anguish,” due to soldiers demands for resources, including saddles and clothing. Confessions of anguish aside, the letter also states that wool was scarce due to bad weather and the prevalence of wolves and bears eating the younger animals (sheep, presumably) up at the Año Nuevo outstation, where much of the sheep were kept by this point.

⁷⁶⁵ The man listed as a *flechero* is the Tejey man Atauque (Paterno, SCZB#1492). He was thirty-four years old at his arrival in 1810, and entered along with the large Tejey group led by Coletto. Did Atauque continue to produce arrowheads, some twenty-five years after his arrival, for Coletto and the other Yokuts? Or were these arrowheads used for hunting by everyone in the mission? While we lack a clear answer to this, other evidence given in this chapter suggests that these communities lived in relative isolation, or at least with some distinction.

⁷⁶⁶ 1834 Padron, Santa Cruz Mission Libro de Padrones, Baptisms, and Burials, all at Monterey Diocese Chancery Archives, Monterey, CA. In contrast, Haas found that for southern Californian Indians, the 1836 and 1844 censuses did not list occupations other than “servants,” in Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*, 43.

⁷⁶⁷ Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*. Haas found that many Indigenous people “pointed to their skills they had learned at the mission in an effort to obtain their freedom,” 40. The 1834 padron offered the first official recognition of the many skilled labor roles performed by local Natives, despite the many years of practice that most of these skilled laborers had. The early learning of artisan skills

carpenters, many who had been trained back around 1800, show the prominent role of these Native workers in much of the local construction projects. The corn doctor attended to his crops, while many worked as day laborers, field hands, farmers, and gardeners. The horse breaker, muleteer, and shepherd worked with the livestock. Eleven people are listed as overseers, a large number considering the relatively small number of workers in need of supervision. Of these, all but two were Yokuts (figure 4.7). The large number of overseers in relation to workers suggests that the role of the overseer went beyond work supervision, and entered a realm of social and corporal control.

The 1834 census is also the first to show surnames for many of the Indigenous population. Previous census rolls list Native people by one name in most cases.⁷⁶⁸ Interestingly, these surnames include references to prominent Mexican officials, especially those who dealt directly with policies which had direct impact on Native people. These names included Gomes, Farias, and Echandia [sic].⁷⁶⁹ Other surnames include names of Bay Area Californios, like Ramires, Olivares, Lopes, Higuera, Gutierrez, Brabo, and Fernandes among others [sic]. It is unclear whether these names were ascribed by the Californio census takers, or if they were chosen.⁷⁷⁰

is discussed in depth in chapter 2. The implementation of secularization and emancipation policies will be explored in chapter 5.

⁷⁶⁸ There are a few early exceptions, where some prominent Native people have had surnames. This was discussed in chapter 2.

⁷⁶⁹ The Mexican officials for whom these names come from will be discussed in chapter 5, which will look closer at the policies of emancipation and secularization.

⁷⁷⁰ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 159. Haas suggests that the last names were given by administrator Ignacio de Valle. The long history of imposing names supports her claim, but I am less certain. The large number of discrepancies between tribal affiliations on baptismal records and the 1834 padron (Pitac vs 'Chiputac,' Sipieyes vs Janil, or Auxentaca vs 'Hanjentasa' to cite a few examples) suggests to me that there was a degree of self identification involved. It is possible that people chose their own surnames.

Job title	Men	Women
Sheriff or fiscal	5	
Carpenter	7	
Venaderos (deer catcher)	3	3
Shoemaker	4	
Gardener	2	2
Mason	4	
Smith	2	
Charcoal maker	3	
Gunsmiths	3	
Pozole cook	2	
Drover	3	
Cook	1	
Sacristan and Acolyte	2	
Shepherd	10	8
Cowboy	16	1
Corn doctor	14	7
Cowherds	30	
Seamstress	40	46
Atole meal grinder (acorns?)		18
No particular job	<u>25</u>	<u>16</u>
Totals:	176	101

Figure 4.5: List of occupations in 1825.⁷⁷¹ This lists the number of men and women performing each job.

Along with the political and social powers negotiated by Coletto and the incoming Yokuts came additional responsibilities. These included a “military-style” oversight of the mission population, which often included violence and the corporal imposition of order on Indigenous bodies. The missionaries imposed hierarchies by designating social categories of power within the mission population. And while the missionaries helped to empower and impose this system, Indigenous politics played a part, as Coletto and his people negotiated the majority of these positions. Asisara gave the following account of the social dynamics:

⁷⁷¹ Padre Luis Gil y Taboada, SBMAL, December 31, 1825, CMD 2840.

The Indians at the mission were very severely treated by the padres, often punished by fifty lashes on the bare back. They were governed somewhat in the military style, having sergeants, corporals, and overseers, who were Indians, and they reported to the padres any disobedience or infraction of the rules, and then came the lash without mercy, the women the same as the men. The lash was made of rawhide. I was never punished, except for a few slaps for forgetfulness. I was always busy in the padres' house, doing the work of a house servant.⁷⁷²

The overseers at Mission Santa Cruz did include of a mix of tribal and linguistic backgrounds, but by the 1820s, the majority of them were Yokuts. The description by Asisara suggests that this political and social prestige came along with power over the physical well-being of others, reinforcing social isolation and distance between the Yokuts and the others.

By the mid 1820s, some of these leadership roles fell to members of Coletto's family, reflecting the transmission of gains made across generations by Coletto for his services. One son, Bernadino, served as overseer (see figure 4.7). Two of his sons, Agustin Mochtó and Vicente, worked as *alcaldes*.⁷⁷³ His oldest son, Agustin Mochtó, was a central figure in this social hierarchy, appearing throughout the mission records as informant and confidant. Agustin Mochtó frequently helped the padres to update their records on the fates of those living outside mission lands, appearing as informant in the burial records throughout the 1820s.⁷⁷⁴ Around 1825 he also served as one of the *alcaldes*, fulfilling multiple leadership

⁷⁷² Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County*, 46–47.

⁷⁷³ Mochtó is listed as *alcalde* in SCZD#s 1639–41, 1753–1756. Vicente is noted as *alcalde* in January 16, 1823, SFAD# 1424.

⁷⁷⁴ He appears in the following burial records: SCZD#s 1466–69, 1639–41, and 1753–56, a total of eleven times between 1822 and 1828. Each time he is mentioned by his full name, Agustin Mochtó, which is a hybrid of his Spanish and Indigenous names. As there was already an Agustin (Sachat, SCZB#57, a Sayanta man), it is possible that his Indigenous name was used to make this distinction.

roles. He continued to make rounds outside the mission and report back on the deaths of missing individuals, frequently helped by a group of five other Yokuts.⁷⁷⁵

Job title in 1834 census	#
Arrow maker	1
Baker	2
Carpenter	6
Charcoal maker	2
Corn doctor	1
Cowhand	1
Day laborer	26
Farmer	1
Field hand	3
Gardener	2
Hat maker	1
Horse breaker	1
Mason	4
Muleteer	1
Laborer	1
Overseer	10
Sacristan	1
Seamstress	1
Shepherd	1
Shoemaker	4
Smith	3
Soap maker	2
Tanner	1

Figure 4.6: Jobs listed for Indigenous individuals on the 1834 census and number of individuals performing each job. In contrast with the previous list from 1825, the only woman listed with an occupation is the seamstress, Yuñan.

While the attainment of social and political advantages within the mission community would appear to result in actual power within the mission, these powers were

But this particular pattern of name usage, with the first and last being Spanish and Native, throughout the 1820s and the census of 1834 suggest that it was a common practice of name usage. I deviate from previous chapters at this point by referring to Agustin Moctó and others, including his father, by their hybrid names, as I believe they would have used both at the time.

⁷⁷⁵ In SCZD#s 1639–41, the padres identified “El Alcalde Agustin, y otros cinco tularañes” as the informants of the three dead individuals.

held in check by the psychological and social control administered by the padres.⁷⁷⁶ The Franciscan missionaries continued to exercise control over all of the Indians of the mission, even those who they relied upon for protection and reliable service.

And yet, despite the political and social gains achieved by Coletto and his men, there is evidence suggesting that there were severe limitations to their elevated status. The ongoing flights of fugitives, which consistently included large numbers of Yokuts, suggest that many of these Yokuts, despite finding certain powers within the mission, did not find life at Mission Santa Cruz to their liking. Even those individuals and families who worked closely with the missionaries were not immune to punishment and castigation at the hands of the padres.

Overseer name	Age in 1834	Tribe	Language
Oton Gimes	35	Chipuctac	Mutsun
Jose Herrera	25	Sagim	Yokuts
Hirineo del Campo	29	Locobo	Yokuts
Agusto Machado	29	Huocom	Yokuts
Ygnacio Hetes	29	Cooht	Yokuts
Apolinario (Aguilar)	29	Huocom	Yokuts
Bernardino Gomes Farias	30	Tejey	Yokuts
Ysidro Echeandia	29	Tejey	Yokuts
Buenabentura Patron	36	Hupnis	Yokuts
Javier de la Torre	32	Churistac	Mutsun
Hasario Ydalgo	40	Yeurata	Yokuts

Figure 4.7: Indigenous overseers, taken from the 1834 Mission Santa Cruz Census, held in the *Libro de Padrones*, Archives of the Monterey Archdiocese. Note the use of surnames of prominent Mexican officials involved in emancipation and secularization: Gomes Farias and Echeandia, most prominently.

One story by Asisara relates cruelty and abuses that Padre Olbes administered upon a Yokuts couple who were unable to bear children. Asisara relates that the couple had

⁷⁷⁶ Dynamics of social control, with regards to psychological and corporal matters has been discussed throughout this dissertation.

recently arrived at the mission. This story illustrates the types of physical, sexual, and psychological intimidation used by some padres. Missionaries like Olbes continued to exert the ability to shame, humiliate, and harm the bodies and intimate lives of Indigenous people. The newly arrived couple did not speak Spanish, but Olbes used an interpreter to interrogate the couple. With the low birth rates and high levels of death and disease within the mission population, Olbes may have justified his intervention as a way to help ensure more children, but his actions show a complete disregard for the couple's humanity. After asking them about their sex lives, Olbes put them in a room "in order to have them perform coitus in his presence. The Indian man refused but he was forced to show his member in order to make certain that it was functioning properly. Then, the priest took the woman and put her in a room; the husband was sent to the guards with a pair of shackles."⁷⁷⁷

Then Olbes turned his attention to the woman. Olbes similarly checked the her genitalia, when "she resisted and grabbed the father's cord. There was a vigorous, long struggle between the two, who were alone in the room. She tried to sink her teeth into his arm but only managed to bite his habit. Father Olbes called out and an interpreter and *alcalde* came to his aid. Then, Father Olbes ordered that she be taken, by the arms, outside and that she be given fifty lashes. After being punished, he ordered that she be shackled and locked up in the *monjeria*."⁷⁷⁸ Olbes further violated this couple by attempting to shame and psychologically terrorize them. Olbes ordered that the woman carry a wooden doll as if it were her baby for nine days. Then he had cattle horns placed on the head of the husband,

⁷⁷⁷ Amador, "Memorias sobre la historia de California," 95–96.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid.

which were secured with a leather cord, while he was in shackles. He was paraded around into church for mass each day and returned to jail.

Sometimes the Indigenous *alcaldes* refused to assist the padres in punishing others. In one of Lorenzo Asisara's stories, he tells of Dámaso, who returned late to his dormitory after having gone missing from his chores earlier in the day. Padre Olbes confronted Dámaso upon his return, accusing him of gambling at the Villa de Branciforte. Olbes threatened, "I am now going to punish you, not on your ass but on your belly." Dámaso resisted, "No, Father, there is no reason for you to punish me in the belly. I went to find some wood for the people who take care of me; I have not committed any other offense."⁷⁷⁹ Padre Olbes ordered the *alcaldes* to help in grabbing and punishing Dámaso, but they resisted, siding with Dámaso and "claiming he had done no wrong." Meanwhile, the others, locked in the dormitories, cheered Dámaso on. Some proceeded to pick up roof tiles and throw them at the padre, who took off running. It does appear that Olbes had his way; Dámaso eventually did receive punishment for some offense, as his burial record lists him as dying while held at the San Francisco Presidio.⁷⁸⁰ As Asisara's story did not provide exact dates of the event, it is unclear how long Dámaso was at the presidio before his death. Nevertheless, his fate reinforces our understanding of the harsh conditions and frequently fatal effects of corporal punishments administered at the presidios.

⁷⁷⁹ The story is told in Amador, "Memorias sobre la historia de California," 91–94.

⁷⁸⁰ Dámaso's death is recorded in the records at Mission Dolores, where he is listed as having died while held in the presidio, SFD#4574, on February 23, 1818. His story is told years later by Asisara, who was born in 1820. The persistence of Dámaso's story of rebellion points to the types of memories that were handed down by members of the community. These stories highlight both abuse and resistance, and remember those who sacrificed their lives to stand up for Indigenous people.

The clearest example that demonstrates the limitations of Indigenous political powers gained by Coletto and the Yokuts is found in the story of Estevan Guajsilii, one of Coletto's sons. Guajsilii's story suggests that despite belonging to a prestigious family, his life was not free from abuse at the hands of the missionaries. Ultimately, the padres sought to maintain a level of control over the lives of even those who worked closely with them. Guajsilii and his wife Gervasia Segejate resisted life at the mission as early as 1819, appearing on the list of fugitives.⁷⁸¹ While the reason for their flight isn't explicitly expressed, later documents suggest that Segajate may have experienced sexual abuse at the hands of one of the padres. Her burial record lists her as dying from syphilis.⁷⁸² The couple must have been captured shortly after their flight, as between 1820 and 1831, Segejate birthed eight children. Each of them died before the age of two.⁷⁸³ Congenital syphilis can frequently lead to difficulties in childbirth, birth defects, and high infant mortality rates. In 1831 Guajsilii served as one of the two elected *alcaldes* at Mission Santa Cruz.⁷⁸⁴ The couple appear in the 1834 padron and again in 1836, but Guajsilii disappears from the official records after his wife's death in 1841.

The oral histories of Asisara claim that Padre Luis Gil y Taboada passed syphilis to Indigenous women of Mission Santa Cruz in his time at the mission. Syphilis became

⁷⁸¹ SBMAL, November 20, 1819, CMD 1822a.

⁷⁸² SCZD#2069. Written in Spanish as *gálico*.

⁷⁸³ Guajsilii and Segejate married in 1817 (SCZM#588), and had their first child in 1820. Their children: SCZB#s 1790, 1923, 2003, 2052, 2090, 2127, 2159, and 2185. Burial records, respectively, SCZD#s 1415, 1447, 1529, 1566, 1631, 1769, 1824, and 1862. Their names were, respectively, Estevan, Benvenuta, Ramona, Erasma, Lucia, Francisco Fabriano, Mercurio, and Maria de los Angeles.

⁷⁸⁴ Thomas Savage, "Records in the Parish (ex Mission) Church of Santa Cruz, CA: Copies & Extracts by Thomas Savage for Bancroft Library 1877," Box 3:16, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The annual reports of the Mission Santa Cruz *alcalde* elections are incomplete, so while this is the only recorded year that Guajsilii served as *alcalde*, he may have served other years. The tragedy of the loss of his eighth child would have taken place during his term as *alcalde*.

endemic within the missions, with many believing that it had been initially been introduced by Spanish soldiers.⁷⁸⁵ The spreading of the venereal disease was exacerbated by the large numbers pushed into the crowded living conditions of the missions.⁷⁸⁶ Asisara recalled that Taboada “was very amorous. He hugged and kissed the Indian women, and he had contact with them until he had syphilis and skin eruptions broke out. Finding himself in this situation, he would celebrate mass sitting in his house. Many times he was unable to celebrate mass standing up because he was ulcerated.”⁷⁸⁷ Did Padre Gil y Taboada rape Segejate? It seems likely.

The sexual predation of Padre Gil y Taboada illustrates the coloniality of sexual abuse, the exercise of power dynamics over Indigenous peoples that denied their basic human rights. Segejate was most likely not the only woman subjected to abuse at the hands of Padre Gil y Taboada. Antonio, the daughter of a Chipuctac man named Seynte (Projecto), was likely targeted by the sexual predations of this padre. Seynte and his wife Samórim were important figures within the mission.⁷⁸⁸ The couple had eight children together, but

⁷⁸⁵ Sandos, *Converting California*, 111—27. Sandos looked closely at the prevalence of syphilis, gonorrhea, and other venereal disease in his eight chapter. He concludes that syphilis was “one of the previously underappreciated factors contributing to the process of precipitous native population decline.”

⁷⁸⁶ Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, 83—6.

⁷⁸⁷ José María Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 99. Lorenzo Asisara account some doubt onto the intentions of the padre. At the same time as Asisara’s remembrances about Gil y Taboada’s affronts, he conflictingly claimed that the priest “came to be greatly loved by all the Indians, especially by the Tulareños, whose language he understood to some extent,” 99. As Virginia M. Bouvier has pointed out, “his comments rendered virtually invisible the separate female experience of sexual vulnerability,” in *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence* (University of Arizona Press, 2004), 135. This story is referenced in the interviews by Thomas Savage of Santa Cruz Mission—born Lorenzo Asisara.

⁷⁸⁸ Seynte (Projecto, SCZB# 626). Seynte was the older brother of Yrachis (SCZB#629), who was better known as Justiniano Roxas. Roxas, who is discussed in chapter 6, became gained relative fame as a local Indian during the American years, even gaining some international notice after his death. The arrival of the Chipuctac family of Seynte and Yrachis is discussed in chapter 2. As early as 1799, Seynte

only two lived into adulthood.⁷⁸⁹ Their daughter Antonia lived to about twenty-one years of age, but her death records suggest that she may have been targeted by the abusive padre. Her burial record includes a suspicious note by Padre Luis Gil y Taboada, suggesting that she was the object of particular importance for the padre. The burial record has a long entry praising her, including Taboada's observations that she was "exactly fulfilling the duties of a virgin and married woman: extremely modest, silent, and ready to perform the work to which she was destined."⁷⁹⁰ While this seems like righteous praise, it is more complicated when one considers the notorious reputation of Father Luis Gil y Taboada.

New Kinship Connections and Prominent Women

The culturally and linguistically distinct Yokuts and the previously arrived Ohlone peoples eventually formed two distinct communities, but yet another group emerged out of the large numbers of marriages between Yokuts and Ohlone. This group was made up primarily of incoming Yokuts women and Ohlone men, both Mutsun and Awaswas speakers. In order to understand the marriage patterns and new kinship ties formed within these diversifying mission communities, it is important to see the gendered makeup of the shifting demographics.

had begun serving as marriage witness, the same year that he himself married Samórim (SCZB#62), a member of the local Achistaca tribe. SCZM#256. Samórim (alternatively written as Sambray, and baptized as Fabiana Arraez) was herself an important member of the spiritual community, serving as madrina in thirty-five baptisms between 1815 (SCZB#1607) and 1821 (SCZB#1911). She died in January of 1823 (SCZD#1499).

⁷⁸⁹ Their children include: Lazaro Domingo (SCZB#1014), Francisco Solano (SCZB#1129), Francisco (SCZB#1165), Antonia (SCZB#1364), Tomas (SCZB#1429), Hana Maria de la Espectation (SCZB#1578), Vicenta Rafaela (SCZB#1612), and Alvaro (SCZB#1758).

⁷⁹⁰ SCZD#1721, on April 26, 1828.

Incoming Yokuts between 1813 and 1834		
56.6%	287	Women
43.4%	220	Men
Total = 507		

Figure 4.8: Gender of incoming Yokuts.

Burials between 1813 and 1834		
56.0%	395	Women
44.0%	310	Men
Total = 705		

Figure 4.9: Burials at Mission Santa Cruz between 1813 and 1834.

The majority of incoming Yokuts were women. Of the 507 Yokuts to arrive between 1813 and 1834, 287 of them were women and 220 were men (see figure 4.8). The large number of incoming women coincided with the condition of men outliving women at Mission Santa Cruz. Because the majority of burial records do not include the cause of death, it is impossible to say why women died in larger numbers. The passage of venereal disease or complications in childbirth could be related. Furthermore, the ratio of burials of men to women mirrored almost exactly the ratio of incoming Yokuts men and women (see figure 4.9). Was this a matter of coincidence, or could it be that auxiliaries such as Agustin Moctó targeted women fugitives to bring wives back for the men? It is certainly possible, despite a lack of direct evidence. Unsurprisingly, marriage records reveal a pattern of incoming Yokuts women marrying Awaswas or Mutsun speakers in large numbers, although by far the majority of marriages between 1810 and 1834 were between Yokuts couples (see figure 4.9). The large number of marriages between Ohlone men, both Mutsun and Awaswas, with Yokuts women was more than just a byproduct of demographic realities, as

it reflected a pattern of marriage across tribal lines seen throughout Indigenous California.⁷⁹¹

While the Mexican archives focused on Indigenous men, several important women leaders survived through these years. Yaquenonsat, the driving force behind the Quintana assassination, continued to live at Mission Santa Cruz until her death at the end of 1831.⁷⁹² Though she does not appear in the archives after the assassination, it is worthwhile to wonder what influence she had may have had outside of the awareness of the missionaries.

		Women:			Totals:	
		Awaswas	Mutsun	Yokuts		
Men:	Awaswas	17	13	36	66	Awaswas men
	Mutsun	3	25	39	67	Mutsun men
	Yokuts	1	0	188	189	Yokuts men
	Totals:	21	38	263	322	Marriages
		Awaswas women	Mutsun women	Yokuts women		

Figure 4.10: Marriage patterns between 1810 (the first year that a large number of Yokuts arrived) and 1834.

Another prominent female leader during these years was the Aptos woman Serafina Yuñan.⁷⁹³ Yuñan was connected with the Quintana assassination through her marriage to

⁷⁹¹ Christopher K. Chase-Dunn and Kelly M. Mann, *The Wintu & Their Neighbors: A Very Small World-System in Northern California* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998). This pattern is explored in relation to the Wintu. While their study relates to the Northern California Wintu, the patterns of intermarriages between neighbors is seen with many Indigenous Californian tribes.

⁷⁹² SCZD#1867, on December 22, 1831.

⁷⁹³ Serafina Yuñan's baptismal record, SCZB#381, reports that she was from the Cajastaca village (San Antonio), which I believe to be a subgroup of the Aptos. Yuñan is the only woman listed in the 1834 padron with an occupation: seamstress. This is significant, as mentioned earlier, the 1834 padron renders invisible most women's labor roles. Yuñan stands alone in representing women's labor, which I read as testament to her prominence.

her third husband, Donato, six months before the assassination, in July of 1812.⁷⁹⁴ Yuñan served as *madrina* thirty-eight times between 1808 and 1834, easily the most of anyone during that time period.⁷⁹⁵ In all but four of those, Yuñan served as *madrina* for young women, as she was the principal *madrina* for the young women during this period.⁷⁹⁶ She is also listed as being a nun (*monja*) on one baptismal record, joining Fausta Yaquenonsat as the women acknowledged for their roles as spiritual leaders.⁷⁹⁷

Based on her prominence in the records, it is clear that Serafina Yuñan served as a spiritual leader within the local community. Yuñan's final time as *madrina* came in 1834, not long after the death of her husband Donato, who died suddenly in July of 1833.⁷⁹⁸ Serafina Yuñan last appears in the records listed in the 1834 census.⁷⁹⁹ Here the forty-five-year-old "Serafina Pinto" is listed along with her eight-year-old daughter, Rafaela Brabo. Her occupation is listed as seamstress, the only Indigenous woman listed with any occupation. There is no burial record for Serafina Yuñan, and her daughter does not appear on any later census. Perhaps the two left the region after Donato's death, or perhaps she did not receive a Catholic burial, either by her choice or someone else's.

⁷⁹⁴ SCZM#535. As discussed at length in chapter 3, Donato was the one who had been beaten badly and called together the meeting which led to the assassination. The involvement of Serafina Yuñan is unknown, as she is not mentioned directly in any of the reports about the assassination. However, given her status within the mission, I believe it is likely that she had some role behind the scenes.

⁷⁹⁵ These include SCZB#s 1414, 1567, 1569, 1573, 1609, 1836, 1921, 2002, 2032–36, 2041, 2055, 2071, 2083, 2084, 2100, 2103–119, 2172, and 2207.

⁷⁹⁶ In the other four, Yuñan served as *madrina* for a newborn male.

⁷⁹⁷ SCZB#1567, on August 24, 1811.

⁷⁹⁸ SCZD#1911, on July 8, 1833. The record indicates that he died "*repentina*" or suddenly, though the cause is not noted. The second-to-last child for whom Yuñan served as *madrina* was Ermenegildo, SCZB#2172, who will be discussed in detail in chapter 6.

⁷⁹⁹ 1834 Padron, *Libro de Padrones*, Monterey Archdiocese.

The vast majority of cross-cultural marriages were between Yokuts women and Ohlone men, with only one exception, which was a significant one as it demonstrated the continued influence of the original Mission Santa Cruz families. The one marriage between an Awaswas-speaking Ohlone woman and a Yokuts man was that of the daughter of Lino and Humiliana, Petra Nicanor and her husband, Victoriano Chuyuco.⁸⁰⁰ The young Teje man, Victoriano Chuyuco had arrived along with Coletto and his family back in 1810, and Petra Nicanor was born in early 1814, likely while her father was imprisoned at the presidio in San Francisco for his involvement in the Quintana assassination. As the one exception to the larger pattern of intermarriage, it raises the question of why and how the couple married. Was this a political marriage, with Petra Nicanor retaining a special standing as a result of her father's sacrifice? Patterns of intermarriage and kinship extension in other areas of California suggest that their marriage, along with other cross tribal marriages, was a strategy of alliance building and kinship.⁸⁰¹

Talk of Independence amidst Fugitivism, Violence, and Warfare

Following Mexican independence in 1821, the new liberal Mexican state enacted policies calling for a number of changes intended to broaden citizenship and alter colonial legacies relating to race and the power of the church. This new government saw Spaniards

⁸⁰⁰ Victoriano Chuyucu (his Native name alternatively spelled Chuiucuu, Chugucu, and alias given as Yeulile, SCZB#1515) and Petra Maria Nicanor (SCZB#1589) married on February 17, 1829, SCZM#755.

⁸⁰¹ Chase-Dunn and Mann, *The Wintu & Their Neighbors*; and Peelo "The Creation of a Carmeleño Identity." Peelo argues that new identities were formed by intermarriages between tribal members who would have been outside of the traditional intermarriage regions. She suggests that multiple new identities were formed through these intermarriages. At Mission Santa Cruz, as I argue here, a similar process took place between Yokuts women and Ohlone men. The marriage of Petra Nicanor being the one exception to this pattern suggests that she was held in special status, almost certainly due to her heritage and Lino's significance to the local community.

as a security threat, and set about dismantling certain colonial laws that had privileged them.⁸⁰² In an attempt to undermine the inequities produced by the racial system that privileged Spaniards, in 1821 the government officially abolished the colonial system of *castas*, and then in 1829 they abolished African slavery.⁸⁰³ Despite these official policies, in Santa Cruz, as in other regions of Mexico, the social category of “Indian” continued to influence social hierarchies.⁸⁰⁴ These concerns about Spaniards included the predominately Spanish-born Franciscan missionaries of Alta California, who held large tracts of land surrounding the missions. Secularization, the official transference of the missions from the clergy into governmental administration, became a focal point for Mexican officials.⁸⁰⁵

In 1821, new adobe homes were built in the plaza in front of Mission Santa Cruz.⁸⁰⁶

It is likely that these new homes were built as a concession to the Indigenous population to

⁸⁰² These major legislative policies include *Decreto del Congreso Mejicano secularizando las Misiones, 17 de Agosto de 1833* in José María Lozano and Manuel Dublan, *Legislación Mexicana*.

⁸⁰³ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 117. The *Plan de Iguala* put forth the “three guarantees” which included universal citizenship for all, regardless of racial or *casta* designation.

⁸⁰⁴ Matthew O’Hara, *A Flock Divided: Race, Religion and Politics in Mexico, 1749–1857* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010). O’Hara argues that despite official overtures towards abolishing racial categories, “the colonial category of Indian continued to shape religious practice and community litigation in many Mexican parishes,” 237.

⁸⁰⁵ Missionaries officially had civil and political control over mission lands and *neofitos*. Secularization placed this power in the hands of the government. The most exhaustive study to date on secularization in California is found in Carlos Salomon, “Secularization in California: Pío Pico at Mission San Luis Rey,” *Southern California Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (Winter 2007–08), 349–71. Salomon’s case study has many parallels with the situation at Mission Santa Cruz. In both cases the ambitious secularization policies dictating the return of lands and goods to Native workers were thwarted by corrupt officials and land grabs by local elites. Haas has argued that as emancipation and secularization were enacted, conversations about Indigenous citizenry ceased. Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 157–63.

⁸⁰⁶ Padre Ramon Olbés to Governor Solá, July 22, 1821, SBMAL, CMD 2194. Rebecca Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz, 1791–1834: Interpreting the Archaeological Record*. Perspectives in California Archaeology (Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998). The lone remaining adobe building stands today on School Street. and is part of Mission Santa Cruz State Park. The Mission Santa Cruz annual reports for years 1822 and 1824, originals at SBMAL, give updates on the building of blocks of new homes “where the new citizens are living,” a nod to the transition towards Indigenous citizenry.

entice them to stay on mission lands.⁸⁰⁷ Despite the concession of new homes, records show that members of the local Indigenous community began to demand liberation.⁸⁰⁸ These demands likely contributed to Gil y Taboada's letter claiming he'd be pleased if Mission Santa Cruz were closed altogether.⁸⁰⁹ By 1824, Padre Luis Gil y Taboada reported that he heard some of the *neofitos* "bemoaning the fact that they haven't been given their freedom."⁸¹⁰ Gil y Taboada assumed that some of the *pobladores* of the neighboring Villa de Branciforte must have "imbued the Indians with their liberal ideas." Gil y Taboada continued to report his opinion that, "if they were free, the Province would be lost and even your wives and daughters would suffer for they would be treated abominably."⁸¹¹ This is a telling revelation from the mind of Gil y Taboada, considering his previously mentioned proclivity for Indigenous women. His report prompted anxieties of sexual predation by the mission Indigenous men, despite the reality that it was the padre himself who was victimizing the

⁸⁰⁷ Padre Ramon Olbés to Governor Solá, July 22, 1821, SBMAL, CMD 2194. The letter was in thanks to the governor for the building of these new homes for neofitos. The motivation for these new homes was suggested by Edna Kimbro in an uncataloged video of a speech given at Mission Santa Cruz shortly before her death in 2003. I agree with her assessment, as the previously cited annual report of 1822 and its use of the language of citizenship support this idea.

⁸⁰⁸ Padre Gil y Taboada to Governor Luís Argüello, May 6, 1823, SFAD#1525. Gil y Taboada reported that the "Indians have been wanting to leave the mission, in order to return to their lands that God had given them [ancestral lands], where they have worked and lived."

⁸⁰⁹ Padre Gil y Taboada to Governor Luís Argüello, Santa Cruz, April 5, 1823. There was a discussion about closing Mission Santa Cruz (suppression) and sending all neofitos to Mission San Juan Bautista, although this did not happen. Padre Vicente Sarria to Padre José Francisco de Paula Señan, San Carlos, April 23, 1823, SBMAL, CMD 2418. Gil y Taboada apparently reversed his thinking, as he no longer advocated for the suppression of Mission Santa Cruz by June, 1823. Padre Gil y Taboada to Governor Luís Argüello, Santa Cruz, June 8, 1823, SBMAL, CMD 2441.

⁸¹⁰ Padre Gil y Taboada to Governor Luís Argüello, Santa Cruz, April 5, 1824, SFAD# 1650. Later in the letter Gil y Taboada expresses concern about the Chumash uprising, pointing out that "that mission will soon be left with the Epitaph, Here existed the Mission of Santa Ines." The Chumash Revolt took place in February 1824, two months prior to the Gil y Taboada letter.

⁸¹¹ Ibid.

Indigenous women. His fears about an emancipated Indigenous population more likely reflect his own sexual anxieties and improprieties.⁸¹²

It is likely that the Indigenous people of Mission Santa Cruz had heard word about the Chumash War in 1824, rather than being imbued with liberal ideas by the folks at the Villa de Branciforte.⁸¹³ A few months before Gil y Taboada's letter, in Santa Barbara, Chumash leaders from missions Santa Inés, Santa Barbara, and La Purisima organized a mass revolt. They organized two thousand Chumash, and reached out to six Yokuts villages (two of which sent help). The Chumash war was closely tied to Indigenous citizenry and the still unfulfilled promises of emancipation.⁸¹⁴ The war lasted four months, and over one thousand Chumash went into exile in the inland territories of their Yokuts allies.⁸¹⁵ The Yokuts allies of

⁸¹² Virginia M. Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence* (University of Arizona Press, 2004); Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California*, Histories of the American Frontier (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2013); and Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005). Sexual violence against Indigenous women has been explored in depth by these scholars, among others. Miranda is particularly relevant, as she writes about the testimonies of an Indigenous woman about her rape by Padre Real at Mission San Carlos.

⁸¹³ An account of the Chumash Revolt is provided by Rafael González, "1824: The Chumash Revolt," in Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535–1846* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 323–328.

⁸¹⁴ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 117. These promises came with the provisional constitution (Cortes of Cádiz) of 1812. This will be discussed in more depth in chapter 5.

⁸¹⁵ James A. Sandos, "Levantamiento! The 1824 Chumash Uprising," *The Californians: The Magazine of California History* 5 (January/February 1987): 8–20, and Sandos, "Levantamiento! The 1824 Chumash Uprising Reconsidered," *Southern California Quarterly* 67 (1985): 109–33. More recently, Lisbeth Haas has explored the Chumash War from the perspective of the Chumash and their Yokuts allies, *Saints and Citizens*, 116–39. Her account details the alliances between Chumash and Yokuts. Along with issues of citizenry, emancipation, and rights, the Chumash rebellion also involved a rejection of Catholic sexual politics, Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, 94–5. Monroy points out that the Chumash Revolt involved a degree of "rebellion against the sexual discipline the missions had instituted," as participants reported a reorganizing of marriage partners according to pre-Catholic arrangement. Monroy also correctly connects this particular dynamic to the assassination of Quintana, which involved the unlocking of the dormitories when the "young people of both sexes gathered and had their fun," 93. I would add that the challenging of imposed Catholic marital practices also mirrors issues surrounding the Quiroste-led attack, discussed in chapter 1.

the Chumash hailed from village sites further southward than the Yokuts at Mission Santa Cruz, but news of the well organized revolt would certainly have made its way to local Indigenous people, as it clearly caused concern for the padres.⁸¹⁶

During this time of fugitive flights and escalating demands for liberation, Padre Gil y Taboada appears to have grown increasingly frustrated.⁸¹⁷ His anxieties over managing the mission appear to have overwhelmed him, as at one point Gil y Taboada threatened to abandon Mission Santa Cruz and let the Indians flee, if he did not receive more soldiers.⁸¹⁸ The Padre's letters during the 1820s were increasingly more concerned about his ongoing health concerns (relating to his syphilis) and securing himself a return to Mexico City than with setting up conditions for emancipation, making it clear that despite instructions towards secularization he was "fed up with dealing with the Indians."⁸¹⁹

In 1826, Mexican Governor of Alta California José María de Echeandía set forth steps towards provisional emancipation. Echeandía proposed that neofitos who had been

⁸¹⁶ Padre Gil y Taboada to Governor Luís Argüello, Santa Cruz, April 5, 1824, SFAD# 1650. In this letter Gil y Taboada expresses concern about the Chumash uprising, pointing out that "that mission will soon be left with the Epitaph, Here existed the Mission of Santa Ines."

⁸¹⁷ As an example of the ongoing stresses with fugitives, recall the previously cited wholesale evacuation of the mission in February, 1819, after a few Indians were told by pobladores at the Villa de Branciforte that angry soldiers were headed to arrest them all. Padre Gil y Taboada to Governor Argüello, February 24, 1819, Santa Cruz, SFAD#922 and 922-2.

⁸¹⁸ Padre Gil y Taboada to Governor Luís Argüello, Santa Cruz, 1824, SBMAL, CMD 2549.

⁸¹⁹ Padre Gil y Taboada to Padre Herrera, Santa Cruz, February 8, 1826, SBMAL, CMD 2858. Although Gil y Taboada clearly did not support emancipation, other padres had reasons to support some degree of emancipation. With ongoing flights of fugitives and threat of losing more to disaffiliation, much of the missionaries' concerns related to retention. For example, Padre José Joaquín Jimeno wrote in October 1831 that he believed that the Indians were the rightful owners of the mission goods, and that freedom would further obligate them to continue working the mission lands, and not prompt them to leave. Padre José Joaquín Jimeno to Fray Narciso Durán, October 2, 1831, SBMAL, CMAD 3342. Jimeno was a relatively recent arrival at Mission Santa Cruz, performing his first baptism there on December 29, 1830 (SCZB# 2175). Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 119. Gil y Taboada was not alone, as Haas points out that many of the padres of Alta California advocated to leave the state following Mexican independence.

Christians for at least fifteen years could apply to be disaffiliated from their mission.⁸²⁰ He asked for missionaries to report on fugitives, and to give qualifying fugitives a license to disaffiliate. He also gave instructions to find and force the return of those who didn't fit the criteria.⁸²¹ For fugitives of Mission Santa Cruz, overwhelmingly Yokuts people who had entered the mission within the last decade, they would not have qualified for disaffiliation. Instead, the instructions for provisional emancipation ended up helping to justify and increase the frequency of military incursions into Yokuts territories.

By the late 1820s, Indigenous people affiliated with missions throughout California wrote or dictated petitions for release from their status of neófia, asking for liberation, or demanding "what is owed."⁸²² They frequently justified their requests by testifying to their abilities as skilled laborers.⁸²³ In Santa Cruz, there are no records of any petitions for liberty, although the previously discussed listing of occupations suggests that there was a growing awareness to the importance of recognizing skilled labor. It is possible that some of these

⁸²⁰ Hackel, *Children of Coyote: Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian–Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 376–7; Hackel, among others, noting that the same decree set forth restrictions on corporal punishment, limiting them to no more than fifteen lashings a week for children. Hackel argues that once Indians learned that they had options and of the missionaries restrictions, they assumed more power over the padres. Hackel cites evidence of work stoppages at Mission San Carlos. At Mission Santa Cruz, the evidence suggests that the Indigenous residents challenged the authority of the padres throughout the mission years, not necessarily in response to any imposed restrictions. Though it is possible that unreported work stoppages took place.

⁸²¹ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 141. Haas explores the steps towards emancipation in her work. She notes that these early movements towards emancipation focused on release from the conditions of neófia, and disaffiliation from the missions. They did not include wording about freedom, although many petitions evoked terms like "liberty."

⁸²² Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 141–6. The petitions for emancipation throughout much of California is explored in detail by Haas.

⁸²³ Ibid, 142. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 378–9. Haas and Hackel discuss how Indigenous petitioners listed their skilled labor occupations in many of these petitions. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 369–70. Hackel argued that select skilled workers "found opportunities amidst the upheavals of the 1820s and 30s." In Santa Cruz, this does not appear to be the case.

petitions are lost, but the total absence of written petitions suggests that this practice was discouraged or otherwise prohibited by local missionaries.⁸²⁴

The absence of formal petitions for emancipation among the Santa Cruz Indigenous population did not mean that individuals and families did not take matters into their own hands. The restrictions regarding fifteen years of Catholic immersion likely meant that Yokuts people throughout the greater Bay Area would have been denied the right to return to their homelands. By the late 1820s, fugitives from Mission Santa Cruz joined with leaders such as Estanislao and Yozcolo.⁸²⁵ Meanwhile, local Californios took part in ongoing military expeditions into Yokuts territories.⁸²⁶ Pantribal groups of Yokuts, Miwok, and Ohlone increasingly built coalitions of neofitos and *gentiles*, crossing tribal, linguistic, and village differences to work together raiding Californio livestock and supplies. The former Mission San José alcalde Cucunuchi, better known by his Spanish name Estanislao, led a force of

⁸²⁴ There is a Mission Santa Cruz alcalde book from the period that is missing. Details about the missing text are discussed in the following chapter, as the missing book appears to have contained records of lands given to emancipated Natives. It is possible that this book also contained records of petitions for emancipation, although the absence of any mention of emancipation or petitions in any other correspondences of the time suggest that the petition practice was not engaged in at Mission Santa Cruz. Haas points out that

⁸²⁵ It is also worth mentioning the slightly earlier exploits of the Miwok man Lupugeyun or Supegeyun (baptized in 1803 as Pomponio, SFDB#2546), who served as alcalde at Mission Dolores before leading raiding parties in 1818. Fugitive members of Mission Santa Cruz worked with Pomponio as well, who took refuge in the Santa Cruz Mountains north of the mission, near present day Pomponio Beach and Pomponio Creek. The life of Pomponio is discussed by Betty Goerke, *Chief Marin: Leader, Rebel, and Legend* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2007), 110–19, and by Gustavo Flores, “Native American Response and Resistance to Spanish Conquest in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1846” (master’s thesis, San Jose State University, 2014). Ygnacio Martínez to Echeandía, San José, May 21, 1827, SBMAL, CMD 3047. This document mentions that the large group of fugitives from Mission San José were joined by fugitive members of missions Santa Cruz, San Juan Bautista, and Santa Clara. This was yet another large group of fugitives who resisted the missions, this one led by Narciso.

⁸²⁶ “Expeditions of Sebastian Rodriguez to the San Joaquin River and Buenavista Lake,” in Sherburne Friend Cook, *Expeditions to the Interior of California, Central Valley, 1820-1840*. Vol. 20, no. 5 (University of California Press, 1962), 184–6. Cook transcribes and translates the diaries of Rodriguez from the spring of 1828. Rodriguez accounts includes multiple mentions of aid by Indian auxiliaries.

hundreds, including Yokuts, Ohlone, and Miwok, in defiance of the missionaries and Californio soldiers. Both Estanislao and Yozcolo drew upon their experiences as alcaldes within San José and Santa Clara, respectively.⁸²⁷ If liberty from the mission was not granted by the padres, some Yokuts took matters into their own hands. Perhaps Coletto's son, Estevan was among these fugitive fighters.

Conclusion

Between 1813 and 1834, the introduction of large numbers of incoming Yokuts shifted the politics within the Mission Santa Cruz Indigenous population. The most prominent of these new leaders were Chief Coletto and his sons, who became Indian Auxiliaries. As such, they translated for missionaries and soldiers, supervised the mission population, took up arms to protect the mission from coastal threats, and tracked down fugitives. Coletto and his people navigated mission society by working closely with the padres and soldiers. By taking on these special roles, Coletto and his people were able to gain a small degree of political and social status, helping to facilitate their transitions from their homelands. But their relationship with the missionaries was complex. The Yokuts negotiated a limited degree social and political powers within a larger context of violent supervision by

⁸²⁷ The Laquisamne man named Cucunuchi (baptized as Estanislao at Mission San José in 1821, SJOB#4471) became an alcalde at his mission before leaving and leading a force of hundreds in challenging the Mexican military beginning in 1829, before his death in 1838. Yozcolo worked as an alcalde in Mission Santa Clara before becoming a rebel leader from 1829 until his death in 1839. Both resistance movements drew fugitives from missions throughout the Bay Area, including Mission Santa Cruz. While this chapter will not explore these stories in depth, both men are discussed in great detail by Gustavo Flores, "Native American Response and Resistance." Earlier studies have explored these individuals and their movements, Jack Holterman, "The Revolt of Yozcolo: Indian Warrior and the Fight for Freedom," *The Indians Historian* 3 (Spring 1970): 19–23, Holterman, "The Revolt of Estanislao," *The Indian Historian* 3 (Winter 1970): 43–44, and Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, Yale Western Americana Series (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 43–44.

the padres, and at times new kinship bonds formed in marriages between Yokuts and Ohlone people worked to break down these hierarchies.

The eastern lying Yokuts homelands during this period had become sites of regular Californio military expeditions, resistance, and warfare, resulting in the abandonment of many village sites. And yet for many who fled the missions these homelands continued to be a place where they could gather, organize, and actively resist forced relocation. This was a time when Indigenous leaders such as Pomponio, Estanislao, and Yozcolo organized movements to steal horses and cattle and wage battle against the Californio soldiers. Fleeing from the missions offered a popular alternative path than relocation. In some cases the line between Auxiliary and fugitive became obscured, as some Auxiliaries worked in collaboration with the fugitives they were sent after. Indeed, ongoing flights of fugitives and violent military encounters between Yokuts villagers, Auxiliaries, and Californio troops characterized this period in the Yokuts territories to the east.

Within Mission Santa Cruz linguistic and cultural divisions between the incoming Yokuts and the Awaswas- and Mutsun- speaking Ohlone already at the mission helped to shape these newly forming social and political hierarchies. Prominent women leaders such as Yuñan continued to lead despite their omission from the Franciscan imposed alcalde system. Marriages and expanding kinship networks helped to bridge some Yokuts and Ohlone families. At times, the divided communities within the mission were drawn together by their opposition to physically, sexually, and psychologically abusive behavior at the hands of a succession of padres. In the coming years, policies of secularization and emancipation would eventually result in a limited degree of change and freedom. The politics and choices

made in these years would help to shape the politics, land base, and results of these changes.

Chapter 5: “Not finding anything else to appropriate...”

On a Sunday morning, September 28, 1839, a group of over seventy members of the Indigenous community at Mission Santa Cruz lined up and met with a visitor, William E.P. Hartnell, the Visitador General of the Missions of Alta California.⁸²⁸ The London born naturalized Mexican citizen Hartnell was visiting each mission through the fall of 1839 at the orders of Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado. He was charged with inspecting the conditions at each mission, and in particular he was checking to see if the Indians were receiving the lands, animals, and equipment promised to them in the secularization laws. During the meeting, the survivors requested their freedom as well as the fulfillment of promises made by the new liberal Mexican government that they would receive what was left of the mission cattle, horses, livestock and lands that they had tended over the years. Much of these had been taken earlier in the decade by the Californio administrators and their friends. One Native man in particular, Geronimo, spoke up to Hartnell. Geronimo demanded his freedom, saying that he was old and tired of waiting.⁸²⁹

Geronimo did indeed receive lands. Throughout the 1840s, Geronimo Chugiut and his extended kinship network lived on the resource rich lands on Santa Cruz’s west side. He and his family kept multiple seasonal gardens, sold produce to the local Californio

⁸²⁸ Starr P. Gurcke, William Edward Petty Hartnell, and Glenn J. Farris, *The Diary and Copybook of William EP Hartnell, Visitador General of the Missions of Alta California in 1839 and 1840* (Arthur H Clark, 2004).

⁸²⁹ “Diary and Blotters of the Two Inspections made by W.E.P. Hartnell, General Inspector of Missions in Alta California, 1839-1840,” September 28, 1839, Starr P. Gurcke papers, MS 8, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 3:12. Geronimo’s outspoken demands are reminiscent of those of Mission San Carlos Indigenous man Manuel Ventura. Ventura’s petition for emancipation included reference to “with profound respect to what is owed,” cited in Lisbeth Haas, *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2014), 143.

community, had access to the rich freshwater springs on his property, and participated in economic and social world that developed after the closing of Mission Santa Cruz. A skilled mason, Geronimo sold access to Californio builders to the rock quarry located on his lands. Geronimo’s move to these lands took place following the eventual enactment of secularization and emancipation provisions, when Indigenous residents of Mission Santa Cruz spread out into three distinct neighborhoods directly surrounding mission lands. While three distinct Indigenous neighborhoods formed, this reduction is itself an oversimplification of a much more complex social reality. Each of these neighborhoods were made up of a diversity of families and extended kinship networks.⁸³⁰

The elder Geronimo, a Sayanta man from local lands who had been living and working at Mission Santa Cruz from the earliest days after its establishment, finally was able to expand into the lands that he had cultivated for many years. Geronimo’s life during this era exemplified the promises of emancipation and Indigenous land ownership, when formerly mission bound Indigenous families were emancipated from their conditions under *neófia*. And yet, despite the changing circumstances this was not a time of unrestrained freedom, as new rules and restrictions governed Indigenous labor, mobility, land ownership, and citizenry.⁸³¹

⁸³⁰ In this chapter I frequently refer to three distinct Indigenous groups by linguistic and cultural markers: Awaswas Ohlone, Mutsun Ohlone, and Yokuts. Each of these three groups refers to multiple distinct tribal nations. These categories are used here to help trace larger patterns.

⁸³¹ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 9. Haas describes “Emancipation from the condition of *neófia* constituted the first step toward citizenship for Indigenous people in the California missions... The government used the term *emancipation* in its official decrees, but the nature of unfreedom under *neófia*, and the smaller scale of emancipation, distinguishes this emancipation from emancipation from slavery. The important point is, however, that the process in California involved the problems raised in post-emancipation societies elsewhere and produced similar political resolutions to

Not all received lands and accessed resources like Geronimo.⁸³² The overall Indigenous population in the area fell from below two hundred total following a smallpox epidemic that swept through in 1838 (figure 5.1). Distinct Indigenous communities expanded by moving onto the lands adjacent to the mission. A community of Yokuts, descendents of the famous Coletos, moved onto the potrero – the low sitting pasture and orchards behind the mission. Others lived in mission adobes or small parcels of adjacent lands. Others found manual and domestic labor working in the homes of wealthy Californio families throughout the larger region. Others returned to their traditional homelands, joining with Indigenous horse thieves, returning to Santa Cruz to rob livestock. Emancipated from their subordinate neófia relationship with the mission, the Indigenous communities had witnessed most of the mission lands gifted in large land grants to Californio families before finally getting a small portion for themselves.⁸³³ This was a time of change with regards to questions of citizenship, land, and mobility.⁸³⁴ For many, the limited conditions of

questions concerning the organization of labor, land, and citizenship.” This chapter explores this process for the Indigenous people living in the Santa Cruz region in the 1830s and 40s.

⁸³² Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote: Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian–Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 370. Hackel argues that “After secularization, no matter what their circumstances, Indians had more freedom than in the preceding decades. Perhaps to a greater degree than they had ever known.” I strongly disagree with his suggestion that this period offered greater freedoms than before the period of Spanish colonization. Furthermore, for some like Geronimo and his family, this was likely the case, but for many others, this was a time of violence and limited rights.

⁸³³ Hackel commented that “the privatization of land holdings in California occurred at a dizzying pace,” in “Land, Labor, and Production: the Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California,” in *Contested Eden: California, Before the Gold Rush*, ed. Ramón A. Gutiérrez (San Francisco: University of California Press, 1997), 132. In Santa Cruz, the Mexican government granted over 160,000 acres in 21 land grants between 1833 and 1844. Over half (56%) of these were given to members of the two local elite families: the Castro’s and Rodríguez’. Martin Rizzo, “The Americanos Came Like Hungry Wolves: Ethnogenesis and Land Loss in the Formation of Santa Cruz,” (Master’s thesis, University of California, Santa Cruz, 2010), 4.

⁸³⁴ Haas argues that national identities “were forged... through the struggles between contending social groups over who had access to the land and to the rights of citizenship,” *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 12. Rifts

these rights overwhelmed the few gains, as subordinate relationships with local Californios persisted.⁸³⁵

Year	Servants	Near Mission	Total Indigenous	Total (includes non-Indian)	Indigenous % of total population
1834	0	238	238	439	54.2
1836	27	247	274	549	49.9
1839/40	36	121	157	342	45.9
1841	72	96	168	485	34.6
1843	90	25	115	455	25.3
1845	6	120	126	470	26.8

Figure 5.1: Distribution of Indigenous in the region, including overall percentage of total population.⁸³⁶

Location	#	Households
Servants	72	18
Rancheria de los Fuentes	33	4
Potrero del Carmen	30	5
Potrero de la Guerta	33	4

Figure 5.2: 1841 Padron, name given to Indigenous communities

This chapter will examine Indigenous life in the Santa Cruz region through the 1830s and 40s; when California was a part of the new Mexican nation. I look at policies of secularization and emancipation, and how a diversity of local Native peoples navigated their

between access to land and rights of citizenship similarly characterized the formation of identity in Santa Cruz. This chapter will examine these dynamics, while highlighting examples of fluid identity politics.

⁸³⁵ Maynard Geiger, *Fray Antonio Ripoll's Description of the Chumash Revolt at Santa Barbara in 1824* (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara Archive Library, 1980), 11. The failure of the promises of the liberal Mexican era are summed up by Fray Ripoll's report on the testimony of three Chumash men, Andrés, Jayme, and Cristóval. These three men, who had worked closely with the padres, testified about the reasons for the Chumash War (which was discussed briefly in chapter 4). The men reported that conditions had gotten worse in the Mexican era, and one of the men reportedly said “Now that they should treat us with even greater kindness, they act in a worse manner.”

⁸³⁶ This is all based on my calculations from the various padrones contained in the *Libro de Padrones*, Monterey Archdiocese, Monterey, California.

changing status and entry into a degree of Mexican citizenry.⁸³⁷ I will trace the movements of various members during these years, including formation of three distinct Indigenous communities, land gains and losses. I will also look closely at individuals like Lorenzo Asisara and Geronimo, whose complex lives illustrate many of the issues of land, mobility, and identity.

Release of Mission Lands and Liberation

To understand the impact of secularization and emancipation, it is important to briefly examine the political changes brought about by Mexican independence back in 1821. The previous chapter introduced ideas regarding emancipation, showing how Natives at Mission Santa Cruz advocated for their liberation and rights. The new liberal Mexican government pushed to reform colonial policy, specifically challenging the racial *casta* system and the power of the Church. One of the major subjects of reform concerned the large tracts of lands held by churches. Secularization refers to the process of releasing church controlled lands. The issue of secularization at this time was unique to California, as these issues had already been dealt with throughout mainland Mexico.⁸³⁸ In contrast with secularization, emancipation referred to the release from conditions under neófia, the

⁸³⁷ Karen Caplan, *Indigenous citizens: Local Liberalism in early National Oaxaca and Yucatán* (Stanford University Press, 2009) and “Indigenous Citizenship: Liberalism, Political Participation, and Ethnic Identity in Post-Independence Oaxaca and Yucatán,” in *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O’Hara (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 225—247. Caplan argues that Indigenous identities persisted in distinct ways according to regional dynamics, while tracing conversations about Indigenous citizenry and rights to provisional constitution of 1812 (Cortes of Cádiz). In Santa Cruz, the question of Indigenous citizenry developed slowly and never abolished the subordinate social status, in ways that are similar to other regions of Alta California.

⁸³⁸ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 140.

paternal relationship between Indigenous *neofitos* and the padres.⁸³⁹ The combination of policies regarding secularization and emancipation raised new questions about citizenship, labor, and land.

Debates about secularizing the missions had occupied governmental officials in mainland Mexico as early as 1813, and originally included plans for turning over mission lands to Natives with intentions to build Indian pueblos.⁸⁴⁰ Governor Echeandía put forth a provincial plan for secularization in 1830, laying out specific rules for the missions to hand over lands and livestock to Indigenous converts, with the larger goal of releasing coveted mission lands to Mexican civilians.⁸⁴¹ His plans included using surplus goods to build schools

⁸³⁹ Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*, 42. Haas identified the common conflation of the two policies, emancipation and secularization. Secularization, the redistribution of Church lands and goods, has usually been the center of analysis, while emancipation, which focused on individual and collective freedoms, has been historically understudied. Meanwhile, James A. Sandos clarified that for Spanish and Mexican officials “emancipation” meant “termination of parental control over someone,” not having the same relationship to chattel slavery as the term did in the United States, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 106. Haas later argued that despite these distinctions, conversations around emancipation similarly dealt with “questions concerning the organization of labor, land, and citizenship,” *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2014), 9.

⁸⁴⁰ Gerald J. Geary, *The Secularization of the California Missions (1810-1846)* (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1934); C. Alan Hutchinson, “The Mexican Government and the Mission Indians of Upper California,” *The Americas* 21, no. 04 (1965): 335—62; Robert H. Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects: Missions in the History of the American Southwest* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2000); 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), 88—89; Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 143; Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 376. Geary offers a comprehensive recounting of the process of secularization, tracing back to early debates around 1813. Hutchinson examines the larger Mexican context alongside regional Californio interests. Jackson examined the larger history of secularization throughout the borderlands, while Jackson and Castillo explore the history of these debates. Haas points out that while the aforementioned Cortes of Cádiz of 1812 included plans of “forming Indian pueblos from mission land and redistributing mission goods among their populations, Echeandía’s emancipation plan did not include those rights.”

⁸⁴¹ José María de Echeandía, *Plan para convertir en pueblos las misiones de la alta California, Julio y Agosto de 1830*, Huntington Library, Guerra Family Collection, box 6, Folder 256. Monroy traces out the steps of the liberal Mexican nation towards secularization and releasing of mission lands to help stimulate migration to the peripheries, such as in Alta California, *Thrown Among Strangers*, 117—25.

and hospitals for former Mission Indians. Due to Mexico’s turbulent political climate, Echeandía was never able to put his plan into action. A new conservative federal government replaced Echeandía with the brigadier general Manuel Victoria, an advocate for the mission system, in late 1830. Further unrest in Alta California led to the deposition of Victoria by Pío Pico and Echeandía in February 1832. In 1833, the highly decorated veteran of Mexican Independence, Brigadier General José Figueroa, stepped into the role of governor.⁸⁴²

Figueroa was hesitant to enact Echeandía’s secularization, worried that the removal of the missions as an economic force would badly damage the California economy. Figueroa echoed the patronizing concerns of the missionaries from the 1820s, who viewed *neofitos* as children incapable of functioning without ecclesiastic supervision, so he supported provisional emancipation which included many restrictions.⁸⁴³ But before Figueroa could implement his proposal, once again, events in Mexico City altered the political order in Alta California.

President Antonio de Santa Anna chose Valentín Gómez Farías, a prominent and radical liberal, to be his vice president. The unstable Santa Anna handed over the presidency

⁸⁴² Hutchinson, “The Mexican Government and the Mission Indians;” Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 384—8; and Carlos Salomon, “Secularization in California: Pío Pico at Mission San Luis Rey,” *Southern California Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (Winter 2007–08), 352–53. All three carefully trace these political changes.

⁸⁴³ José Figueroa, *Provenciones provisionales para la emancipación de Indios reducidos*, 15 de Julio, 1833, in Bancroft, *The History of California*, 3:328–29 and José Figueroa, *Informe en que se opone al proyecto de secularización*, 5 de Octubre de 1833, Bancroft Library, Archives of California, State Papers, Missions and Colonization, Tomo 2, C-A 53, 72. Figueroa argued that *neofitos* were “only recently domesticated,” and that they must be “led by the hand towards civilization.”

to Farías for the first time in 1833.⁸⁴⁴ Farías was a fierce supporter of secularization, and quickly moved to extend it into the frontier settlements of Alta California by announcing his own plans for secularization.⁸⁴⁵ However, this new law failed to address land redistribution to liberated *neofitos*.

Governor José Figueroa issued the Emancipation and Secularization Decree of 1834, which ended the conditions of *neofía*, but brought with it new restrictions.⁸⁴⁶ For one, emancipation did not grant Indians the rights of full citizens, of *vecinos*, which often included rights to lands.⁸⁴⁷ Figueroa’s *Reglamento Provisional para la secularización de la Misiones* called for the secularization of ten missions and set forth plans for the rest.⁸⁴⁸ The new law issued one hundred to four hundred *varas* of land as well as communal plots to ex-*neofitos*. The pueblos were intended to hold their own jurisdiction, and have their own government and elected officials.⁸⁴⁹ While this order appeared to offer liberation for local

⁸⁴⁴ Farías would eventually serve as president for Santa Anna on five separate occasions in the 1830s and 1840s.

⁸⁴⁵ English translation of this plan is found in *Decreto del Congreso Mejicano secularizando las Misiones, 17 de Agosto de 1833*, in Bancroft, *History of California*, 3:336.

⁸⁴⁶ This is discussed by many, but Haas has carefully analyzed the differing steps of emancipation and secularization, arguing that granted emancipation but also restricted access to land, and mandated continued labor in support of “public good,” *Saints and Citizens*, 158. In Santa Cruz, much of the mission lands ended up in the hands of the administrators or their Californio allies, and the Indigenous population wouldn’t receive any until after 1839.

⁸⁴⁷ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 145. Haas pointed out that emancipation stood in contrast to the rights of *vecinos* and *pobladores*, especially in relation to land rights. In Santa Cruz, the working class citizenry (*pobladores* and *vecinos*) at the Villa de Branciforte did receive small lots of land.

⁸⁴⁸ José Figueroa, *Reglamento provisional para la secularización de las Misiones de la Alta California, 9 de Agosto 1834*, Bancroft Library, Archives of the Californias, Missions and Colonization, C-A 53, Tomo 2: 166–74.

⁸⁴⁹ A step-by-step rundown of secularization in California is explained in Salomon, “Secularization in California,” 355. The formation of “Mexican pueblos” is explored by Michael J. González, *This Small City Will Be a Mexican Paradise: Exploring the Origins of Mexican Culture in Los Angeles, 1821-1846* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005). González analyzes the formation of a Mexican pueblo in Los Angeles, pointing out that the Mexican settlers defined themselves in contrast with the local Indians. In Santa Cruz, unlike the situation in Los Angeles, the Mexican populace did fight with

Indigenous survivors, the actual implementation of these laws fell to a local *comisionado* (administrator). Santa Cruz had three such administrators.⁸⁵⁰ Importantly, the decree stated that a non-Native administrator would be appointed to oversee this transition.⁸⁵¹ In each region, Indigenous communities responded differently to emancipation and secularization.⁸⁵² In Santa Cruz, official acceptance of secularization and emancipation was slow to come, and actual emancipation for the local Indigenous community was delayed until nearly 1840.⁸⁵³

Indigenous horse raiding parties, but did not seek to exterminate local Indians. Instead they integrated them into the lower rungs of their social order. Local Indians were viewed as workers and laborers. Indigenous families who remained independent of the Californio households formed into distinct neighborhoods.

⁸⁵⁰ The details of secularization of Mission Santa Cruz have been explored in depth by the late Edna Kimbro. Kimbro put together her research on this important area in notes apparently in the hopes of publishing an article to be titled “The Aftermath of Secularization at Santa Cruz Mission, Alta California.” My work here draws heavily on her notes and research. See notes in the folder titled Secularization at SCM, Kimbro Archives. Kimbro relied on both Mexican documents and the account provided by Lorenzo Asisara, found in Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 102–13. In these accounts, Asisara offers insights into the character of the three administrators.

⁸⁵¹ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 158. Haas pointed out that this changed from earlier plans which would have allowed for Indigenous *alcaldes* to supervise secularization. According to Lorenzo Asisara’s account, he was the *alcalde* at this time, which suggests that he would have overseen the transition. In Santa Cruz, Asisara recalled these administrators for their mismanagement and unwillingness to look out for the interests of the Indigenous community. The consequences of this alteration were sizeable. It is tempting to consider how Asisara might have handled it. José María Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” Bancroft Library (hereafter referred to as BL), BANC MSS C-D 28, 113.

⁸⁵² Lisbeth Haas explored the varied Indigenous responses to emancipation at missions San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Rey, including refusals to work, open revolt, or demands for mission lands or village sites, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 38–44. Despite these demands, Haas contends, few received legal title for lands they occupied. In Santa Cruz, a similar dynamic took place, where land demands resulted in small gains, with even fewer receiving official legal title.

⁸⁵³ The corruption and slow movement towards emancipation at Mission Santa Cruz is similar to other communities in Alta California, as shown by Salomon at Mission San Luis Rey. José María de Echeandía, *Decreto de emancipación á favor de neófitos*, July 25, 1826, Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, (San Francisco, CA: The History Co., 1886), 103.

Secularization and Emancipation at Mission Santa Cruz

Specific details about secularization at Mission Santa Cruz were related in an interview with Lorenzo Asisara in 1877. Asisara was born in 1820, and by the 1830s he was a young man closely involved with the mission padres. In his own accounts, Asisara says that he was treated well, working in the homes alongside the padres.⁸⁵⁴ Asisara recalled that in 1833 General Jose Figueroa came to Mission Santa Cruz on his way to his new post at the presidio of Monterey when Padre Jose Antonio Real was in charge. Figueroa and his party were received with great ceremony and fireworks. This official visit lasted about ten days.⁸⁵⁵ Conversations involving liberation and freedom from the missions increased further as Indigenous individuals from neighboring missions made their way into the region.⁸⁵⁶

A succession of three administrators oversaw secularization at Mission Santa Cruz between the years 1834 and 1840. Juan Gonzales was the majordomo in August of 1834, when secularization administrator Ignacio del Valle came to check on Mission Santa Cruz.⁸⁵⁷ Asisara accused Gonzales of raiding mission storehouses for gold, silver, and supplies on the very night that del Valle arrived. Asisara recalled that he caught Gonzales, along with Padre Antonio Real, mission housekeeper Maria AltaGracia, and two Gonzales family members

⁸⁵⁴ E.L. Williams, “Narrative of a Mission Indian, etc.,” in *History of Santa Cruz County*, ed. Edward S. Harrison (San Francisco: Pacific Press Publishing, 1892), 47.

⁸⁵⁵ Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 105. Asisara reported this.

⁸⁵⁶ Friar Antonio Real to Figueroa, July 14, 1934, SFAD# 2117. Padre Real complained about potential for troublemakers if freed. In this letter he mentioned freed Indians from other missions loitering in the area, as well as Clareños loitering in San Jose. This suggests that some Indigenous people from neighboring missions experienced an increase in mobility, an uneven application of liberation between the mission padres.

⁸⁵⁷ Kimbro notes that Gonzales was officially appointed majordomo of Mission Santa Cruz on October 31, 1834, and paid \$40 per annum. She cites “records in Parish Church.” Handwritten notes in folder titled Secularization Notes, Kimbro Archives. While I have not encountered this document, the timeline matches up with Asisara’s account.

looting the supplies, after being alerted by del Valle about the possibility of such misappropriations. Asisara confessed that he was bribed to remain silent by Padre Real’s gift of \$40 in gold and a chest of beads for his father, Llencó.⁸⁵⁸

Asisara retelling of secularization and emancipation suggests a high level of administrative incompetence or neglect.⁸⁵⁹ In January 1839, Francisco Soto replaced Gonzales as the mayordomo. Asisara recalls that Soto was a heavy drinker who physically abused his Indian charges.⁸⁶⁰ This portrait of Soto is reinforced by the Hartnell report.⁸⁶¹

During the 1830s, the vast majority of local lands were given to prominent members of the local Californio community, while very little land ended up in the hands of the Indigenous residents.⁸⁶² Over 160,000 acres of large Rancho grants were distributed to prominent Californio families in these decades. Most went to members of the Castro and Rodriguez families, the two most influential and land-rich families in the region.⁸⁶³ Land

⁸⁵⁸ Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 103–10.

⁸⁵⁹ George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California, 1769–1906* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 5–13. Phillips argues that the unwillingness of a group of southern Californian Indians to work for an administrator after emancipation, lead to the decline of the mission.

⁸⁶⁰ Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 110–12.

⁸⁶¹ The Hartnell report on the state of the California missions in 1839 was referenced at the beginning of this chapter. Later in this chapter I will present the transcript the relevant parts of this report.

⁸⁶² Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*, 45. Haas recognized a similar pattern in southern California.

⁸⁶³ A detailed look at the distribution of both large rancho lands and smaller plots within the Villa de Branciforte, as well as the ensuing loss of lands in the American era, is found in my master’s thesis, *The Americanos Came Like Hungry Wolves: Ethnogenesis and Land Loss in the Formation of Santa Cruz* (University of California, Santa Cruz, 2010). Of the more than 161,000 acres given out in land grants in the greater Santa Cruz region between 1833 and 1843, members of the Rodriguez and Castro families received 56%. Indigenous families witnessed large tracts of lands handed to others before finally receiving some lands for themselves. Miroslava Chávez-García argues that Californio women who held rancho properties were better able to hold power in the American era, *Negotiating Conquest : Gender and Power in California, 1770s to 1880s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004). In Santa Cruz, three Castro sisters received 36% of the total rancho land grants. The largest of

grants consisted of large-scale ranchos averaging more than 7,000 acres, as well as smaller plots lands within the Villa de Branciforte, given to local working-class Californios.⁸⁶⁴ Reports of the time support this nepotism in both land and livestock allotment; when French explorer Eugène Duflot de Mofras passed by Mission Santa Cruz in 1841, he reported that “the livestock [had been] divided among the governor’s friends.”⁸⁶⁵

Finally in late 1839, it appears that some Indigenous folks began to receive small plots of lands, although few received actual legally binding grants or paperwork supporting their land ownership. Likely as a result of the Hartnell report, a new mayordomo was appointed late in 1839, Don Jose Bolcoff.⁸⁶⁶ Asisara reported that Bolcoff distributed the

these was Martina Castro’s Soquel Rancho, which totaled 34, 370.4 acres. Martina Castro lost much of her lands by the mid 1850s, as women’s land claims fell into “a more subordinate position under the U.S. system,” María E. Montoya, *Translating Property: The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict over Land in the American West, 1840-1900* (Univ of California Press, 2002), 16. For a full examination of Castro’s legal battles, including transcripts of the court proceedings, see Ronald G. Powell, “The Castros of Soquel,” 11 Volumes, unpublished, on file at UCSC, McHenry Library.

⁸⁶⁴ Michael J. González, “‘The Child of the Wilderness Weeps for the Father of Our Country:’ The Indian and the Politics of Church and State in Provincial California,” in *Contested Eden*. González argues that debates about the capabilities of the Indians were at the center of disputes between the missionaries and civilians. This pattern does characterize tensions in Santa Cruz. Monroy points out that in southern California, the padres “saw secularization as a nefarious plot the lazy gente de razón perpetrated so that they could reap the material harvest of the padres’ spiritual sowing. Everyone agreed that the Indians, sixty-two years after the founding of the first mission remained unready for independence from the priests; but to give the mission lands over to the rancheros, whose minds and bodies lay as fallow as much of the mission lands, would be a scandal.” Aside from the correction that “everyone” here did not include the views of Native peoples, the attitudes of padres like Gil y Taboada in Santa Cruz were similar to those reported by Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, 125.

⁸⁶⁵ Eugène Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration du territoire de l’Orégon, des Californies et de la mer Vermeille, exécutée pendant les années 1840, 1841, et 1842* (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1844), 216.

⁸⁶⁶ Marion D. Pokriots, “Don Jose Antonio Bolcoff: Branciforte’s Russian Alcalde,” in *Santa Cruz History Journal, Issue Number 3, Special Branciforte Edition* (Santa Cruz, CA: Santa Cruz County Historical Trust, 1997), 97–107. Don Jose Bolcoff was a Russian-born resident of the local Californio community. He had arrived in the area originally as a translator for the Aleutian seal hunters brought down by Russian colonists. Bolcoff was stationed in Monterey, where he came to work for the Mexican governor before settling into the Villa de Branciforte and marrying one of the prominent Castro sisters. Pokriots pointed out that Bolcoff’s mother, Ana Macoris, was of Itelmen or Kamchadal ethnicity, Indigenous of the Kamchatka Peninsula. His mixed heritage is likely how he was conscripted to translate.

remaining animals among the few remaining Indians. Asisara also credits Bolcoff with bringing to light records regarding land concessions made by Figueroa to the Indians. Bolcoff was instructed that while the “Indians may work freely in the fields of the establishment at whatever they wish,” they remained subordinate to him and “subject to cooperate in whatever work is offered them in the interest of the establishment itself.”⁸⁶⁷ Thus the instructions continued for Indians to remain as second-class citizens.

Labor, Punishment, and Restrictions

The proliferation of large rancho tracts within the area also resulted in the need for workers to attend to crops, livestock, and domestic needs.⁸⁶⁸ Californio rancho owning families turned to Indigenous laborers, continuing the social and labor hierarchies that had formed in the colonial era. Rancho owners exercised a great deal of authority in distributing physical punishment on Indigenous workers.⁸⁶⁹ With the transition away from missionary oversight of the Indigenous community, the Californio administrators were put in a new position of managing the Indian population, who were still expected to provide labor to the

⁸⁶⁷ Manuel Jimeno, October 16, 1839, from Kimbro, “The Aftermath of Secularization at Santa Cruz Mission.”

⁸⁶⁸ Hackel, “Land, Labor, and Production,” 134—5; and Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (University of California Press, 1990), 100—2. Monroy characterized this system as a form of peonage, while Hackel synthesized several views to conclude that it was a system of exploitation “based upon an exploitation and degradation of Indian labor,” 144n. The rancho laborers in the Santa Cruz region appear to follow a similar pattern, suggested by the absence of any records indicating any type of payment for service. Here, I add to their findings by tracing patterns of movement, suggesting that rancho workers more frequently came from mission communities a distance away, not from the mission directly in proximity.

⁸⁶⁹ “Private letter from Jesus Rodriguez to Rafael Castro asking Indian labor for his wheat,” undated, California Pre-Statehood Documents, MS 105, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 2:1, #148. Castro, who was notorious for his treatment of his Indian workers, request from his nephew included mentioned of the poor work of Indian Faustino, but pleaded, “don’t punish him for this.”

community.⁸⁷⁰ One way they did this was through the establishment of an office entitled *encargo de justicia*, as happened in San Diego. This new official administered justice to former *neofitos* who had committed petty crimes. These laws were extremely vague in defining these crimes, despite outlining punishments of imprisonment in chains and forced labor.⁸⁷¹ Crimes appear to have included drunkenness and “public scandal.”⁸⁷² The creation of this administrative oversight further undermined the Indigenous *alcalde’s* standing as an authority.

In the greater Santa Cruz region, it appears that most of the labor on the Ranchos was done by incoming refugees from neighboring California mission communities. Some Indigenous families recently emancipated from neighboring missions by the early 1830s,

⁸⁷⁰ Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican culture in Frontier California* (University of California Press, 1990), 186. Monroy claimed that the rancho labor system “was easier for the Indians than what had come before in the missions and came later on the Anglo ranches,” suggesting that the absence of guards supported their satisfaction. Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*, 40. In contrast, Haas cites compelled conditions of labor for public works and the lack of respect for Indigenous land rights as reasons why labor relations in this period “continued to bind the former neophytes to many of the same conditions of coercive labor that had characterized their previous state.” In Santa Cruz the situation more closely resembled that described by Haas, as rancho owners retained substantial power over Indian laborers. For example. Rafael Castro, owner of the Aptos Rancho, requested that the Indian Petron of San Juan Bautista not only be sent to work for him, but also reimburse Castro “ten pesos and two trips which it cost me to make search for him.” “Rafael Castro to William Thompson asking him as Juez to order Vicente Alviso to send the Indian Petron back to him,” March 13, 1847, California Pre-Statehood Documents, MS 105, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 3:10, #337. In Santa Cruz, Indigenous workers continued to flee from oppressive conditions.

⁸⁷¹ José María de Echeandía, *Reglamento para los encargados de justicia y de la policia de las misiones del Departamento de San Diego*, January 29, 1833, Archives of California, State Papers, Missions and Colonization, Tomo 2:112–15. This law was enacted along with Echeandía’s secularization plans. Article 8 stated that crimes committed near the missions could be punished by imprisonment in chains for between sixty hours and eight days, with the possibility of an eight-day period of forced labor.

⁸⁷² Salomon, “Secularization in California,” 357–58. Salomon noted that these laws were vague enough to allow for punishment for failure to work for the administrator.

presumably after petitioning for their liberation.⁸⁷³ Some of these laborers may have been local Indigenous orphans. The continuing high mortality rates frequently led to orphaned youth. For example, the children of Sayanta man David Huallas were reported to live on the Rancho of Juan Gonzales.⁸⁷⁴ Most commonly these children found homes with relatives or kin, but in certain cases, children ended up living with Mexican families. In these cases, Indian children were noted as such, distinct from the Mexican families.⁸⁷⁵ Though these orphans were not always listed as ‘servants,’ as with most Native workers in Californio ranchos, they were frequently listed as “*criados*.” The term is connected with the Spanish word *criar* – to raise or bring up. Thus, the terms of their arrangement reinforced their second class status and the paternal relationships tracing back to the colonial casta system.

While laborers were permitted to move to rancho sites, Indigenous people used a system of passports and passes. Mexican officials carefully monitored Indigenous people through this period, frequently complaining of unmonitored flights or movement, or

⁸⁷³ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 140—6. Haas presents multiple petitions stating that “we solicit our freedom.” I have found a few similar petitions, although none of them by members of Mission Santa Cruz. For example, Nasario, neofito of Mission San Fernando Rey, petitioned for liberty for himself and his family in a letter to Don José Castro, Prefect of Alta California, August 5, 1839, Monterey Historical Society, Robert B. Johnston Archival Vault, Book 9, 495.

⁸⁷⁴ Testimony of Manuel Rodriguez, 472, Land Case 285 SD, Rancho Tres Ojos de Agua, Documents Pertaining to the Adjudication of Private Land Claims in California, , circa 1852-1892, BANC MSS Land Case Files 1852-1892; BANC MSS C-A 300 FILM, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. David Huallas (SCZB#413), as he was known by the 1840s, was originally named Guallac, and baptized as David in 1795, when he arrived at Mission Santa Cruz as a nine-year-old. The Sayanta Huallas was Geronimo’s cousin.

⁸⁷⁵ For example, in the 1840 Padron, nine-year-old “Juliana, Yndia” is listed under the Mexican couple Guillermo Marce, 30, and Maria Estefania Robles. This is clearly the recently orphaned Juliana (SCZB#2177), born in January of 1831, daughter of Criños (alternatively spelled as Ynox at the time of his baptism, Spanish name given as Eleutherio, SCZB#319) and Mororoli (alternatively spelled as Mororoti at the time of her baptism, Spanish name given as Pantaleona, SCZB#1811). Criños died in 1838 (SCZD#2032), and Mororoli died in 1839 (SCZD#2052).

requesting workers sent from one rancho to another.⁸⁷⁶ Specific passes were given to Indigenous laborers, whose movements were carefully documented by Mexican officials.⁸⁷⁷ Californio officials frequently sent notice about Indigenous workers who had left their rancho, stolen something, or otherwise “fleeing from justice.”⁸⁷⁸ In this way, Californio landholders retained a great deal of control over the movement and punishment of Indigenous workers.

Rancho San Andrés, for example, became home to nine people who worked as servants for the Castro family. These nine included two families and a few more individuals, all from neighboring mission communities like San Juan Bautista and Soledad. This included the family from Mission San Juan Bautista: Carlos, Faustina, and their daughter, Ynocente.⁸⁷⁹ They are recorded as living and working at the rancho property in the censuses from 1840 until 1843, although they probably remained on the property despite their absence from the census. Though the exact conditions of their work relations are undocumented, given the large amount of oversight and supervision, it is unlikely that they had much control over

⁸⁷⁶ “Pass from San Jose for two Indians,” March 30, 1843, California Pre-Statehood Documents, MS 105, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 3:7, #308.

⁸⁷⁷ “Pass signed by Ricardo Juan for the Indian Cibero to go to San Andres to work for Juan Jose Castro apparently in 1846,” March 28, 1846, California Pre-Statehood Documents, MS 105, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 1:14, #33.

⁸⁷⁸ “San Jose Juez writes Bolcoff to return two Indians who have run away,” November 30, 1841, California Pre-Statehood Documents, MS 105, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 4:3, #386. Buelna sent word to Santa Cruz that “Natives Jose Artes and Sinforoso are leaving for your jurisdiction, fleeing from justice and taking their wives with them. I hope you will be kind enough to order their apprehension and deliver them to Citizen Jose Maria Flores who is commissioned for the purpose of conducting them to court.”

⁸⁷⁹ The Mutsun/Pagsin man, Carlos (SJBB#673), was descended from some of the earliest members of Mission San Juan Bautista. Faustina (Native name Chicaylao, SOLB#1594) was a woman from the Cutucho village (Yokuts territory), who had arrived at Mission Soledad as an eight-year-old in 1817. The couple married at Mission Santa Cruz (SCZM#840, March 2, 1840). Ynocente (SJBB#3784) was the daughter of Faustina from a previous marriage. This family appears to have moved between mission communities through the 1830s, settling at Rancho San Andrés by 1840.

their work, land, or day to day lives. It is likely that the descendants of these families continued to live in the area that would become known as Aptos up through the 1860s.⁸⁸⁰

The presence of these Indigenous workers from neighboring communities point towards one possibility during this time. Another option included returning to eastern homelands.

Disrupted Yokuts Homelands and Livestock Raiders

The violence and warfare that characterized tensions over questions of liberty and freedom increased through the 1820s and 30s.⁸⁸¹ As more and more Indigenous people left the Bay Area missions, so did the incidence of horse and cattle raids from Indigenous raiding parties.⁸⁸² Yokuts families returned to their ancestral homelands only to find the landscape transformed, many of their village sites destroyed and abandoned. With few left to manage

⁸⁸⁰ Another Indigenous family to work at Rancho San Andrés was that of Josefa and Jose Antonio. While I am not certain of their baptismal information, it is likely that they came from Mission San Luis Rey, which may have lost their baptismal records. The couple first appeared on the 1840 padron and the 1843 padron, where they lived with the previously mentioned Carlos, Faustina, and Ynocente. A marriage in Santa Cruz in 1859 (SCZM#972) includes the following regarding the bride: “Maria Crecencia, born in San Luis Rey, daughter of Jose Antonio Verona and of Josefa Antonia, both Indigenous and living in Aptos.” Rancho San Andrés was in the town that would become Aptos, which suggests that the family continued living in the area into at least the late 1850s.

⁸⁸¹ Sherburne Friend Cook, *Expeditions to the Interior of California, Central Valley, 1820-1840*. Vol. 20, no. 5 (University of California Press, 1962); and Natale A. Zappia, *Traders and Raiders: The Indigenous World of the Colorado Basin, 1540-1859* (UNC Press Books, 2014). Cook documents records about military expeditions into Yokuts territories, while Zappia examines the larger web of trading, raiding, and warfare that connected the Indigenous southwest, including California.

⁸⁸² Sylvia M. Broadbent, “Conflict at Monterey: Indian Horse Raiding, 1820-1850.” *The Journal of California Anthropology* 1, no. 1 (1974): 86—101; George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769-1849* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1993). Both authors have explored the increase in Indigenous raiding during this period. Broadbent ultimately argued that the horse raiders must have come from non-missionized Indians, a mix of Yokuts, Miwok, and Ohlone, who arose from the introduction of horses. I agree that the proliferation of horses helped the Indigenous raiders, but, as Phillips also points out, the people involved included many former mission based people. In fact, in Santa Cruz it is clear that familiarity with the local terrain, as well as with the local Indigenous and Californio population aided local incoming raiders. For example, late in her life Californio rancho owner, Maria de los Angeles Castro Majors related a story of being spared by a group of these raiders who had chased her on horseback. The attackers relented after one of the group recognized her from their childhood, when she had helped to heal their wounds. Interview by Belle Dormer, *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 16, 1896.

the landscape and resources, they must have found it difficult to return to traditional practices. Some worked together in raiding Californio owned ranchos and settlements, stealing livestock. These horse and cattle raiders, referred to as Tulareños by the Californios, became engaged in ongoing battles with the local Californios. The vecinos at the Villa de Branciforte and neighboring ranchos continually complained about horse raiding Tulareños creating havoc.

In 1838, Branciforte resident Eugenio Soto’s body was found hanging from a tree not far from Mission Santa Cruz, his body riddled with arrows.⁸⁸³ Cornelio Perez, another vecino from the Villa, recalled raids by Tulare Indians in 1835 and 1838. Regarding the latter raids, Perez recalled that “In the year 1838, the Indians stole the horse of Don Carlos Castro of Soquel. As Juez de Campo, I gathered up the principal residents from Santa Cruz in order to go out in pursuit of the savages we managed to catch up with them in the dangerous arroyo called the ‘Lake of the Pot’... we defeated them, killing two Indians who were left there shot.”⁸⁸⁴ Californio military excursions in pursuit of horse thieves were commonplace.⁸⁸⁵ In 1844, Perez recalled “the Indians invaded Rancho Refugio to steal the horse herd of Juan Jose Feliz. Afterward, five men left in pursuit of the robbers... succeeding in catching them where the Sayanta Arroya ends up. The Indians threw knife... they killed an

⁸⁸³ Phil Reader, “Branciforte History Chronology,” in *Santa Cruz History Journal, Issue Number 3, Special Branciforte Edition* (Santa Cruz, CA: Santa Cruz County Historical Trust, 1997), 17.

⁸⁸⁴ Karen Theriot Reader, translator, “Reminiscences of Cornelio Perez,” in *Ibid.*, 121.

⁸⁸⁵ “Serrano to Santa Cruz 2nd” Alcalde relative to a hunt for Indian horse thieves,” July 8, 1844, California Pre-Statehood Documents, MS 105, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 3:7, #301. The story of a local man, Jose Antonio Amaya, who was killed by arrows during an expedition to recover stolen horses is related in Sherburne Friend Cook, *Expeditions to the Interior of California, Central Valley, 1820-1840*. Vol. 20, no. 5 (University of California Press, 1962), 203. His burial is recorded in SCZD#2104, on October 2, 1844.

individual named Antonio Amaya.”⁸⁸⁶ The interior of California formed a borderland of violent interaction between Mexican colonizers and Indigenous peoples.⁸⁸⁷

Not all local Indigenous people worked in solidarity with the raiders, as some aided the Californios in fighting against the raiders. For example, in 1843, Jose Bolcoff enlisted a group including Pasqual, Cristobal, Guadalupe, Ventura, Domingo, and Victoriano to assist in defense. These were Yokuts men, including Pasqual, the son of Coletto, and Victoriano Chuyuco, the Tejey husband of Lino’s daughter, Petra Nicanor.⁸⁸⁸ Only Pasqual and Cristobal had weapons of their own, presumably the others were asked to fight barehanded.⁸⁸⁹ Like the dynamics between the Indian auxiliaries and rebels in earlier years, Indigenous people navigated these times through a variety of alliances and rivalries, engaging in their own politics built around kinship ties and family connections.

⁸⁸⁶ Karen Theriot Reader, translator, “Reminiscences of Cornelio Perez,” in *Santa Cruz History Journal*, Issue Number 3, Special Branciforte Edition, 121.

⁸⁸⁷ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 177—9. Haas points out that the Yokuts formed a similar boundary comparable to the *apacheria* or *comancheria* in New Mexico territories.

⁸⁸⁸ Victoriano Chuyuco (SCZB#1515) and Pasqual (SCZB#1647). In addition to these two, the group includes the Huocom Domingo Yocoguehs (SCZB# 1828), the Hupnis Buenaventura Chavan (SCZB#2182). The exact identity of Cristobal and Guadalupe is less certain, though it is likely that they are also Yokuts. 1834 Padron, and 1839 Padron, Santa Cruz Mission *Libro de Padrones*, Monterey Diocese Chancery Archives, Monterey, CA. The 1834 census (*padron*) lists a 20 year old Tejey man, Cristobal Sandobal, and the 1839 census lists 20 year old Cristobal Santual. although I have yet to corroborate his baptismal entry, this is almost certainly the Cristobal here, who also shows up living among the other Yokuts in later census lists. These include the 1836 census, which lists a Cristobal, Bentura, and Guadalupe in order, and the 1841 census lists Cristobal and Guadalupe together in the same Potrero de la Guerta, along with Pascual [sic].

⁸⁸⁹ “Indians named to hunt down horse stealing Indians,” June 4, 1843, California Pre-Statehood Documents, MS 105, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 4:2, #377—C.

Indigenous Neighborhoods⁸⁹⁰

In the 1841 census, three distinct Indigenous neighborhoods appear for the first time, showing the expansion of Indigenous people into the lands surrounding Mission Santa Cruz (figure 5.2).⁸⁹¹ These three distinct neighborhoods persisted as homes for local Indigenous people for a short time, as the only two of these persisted as homes for Indigenous families beyond the 1840s – the potrero lands behind the mission given to the Yokuts, and the lands on the west side given to Geronimo and his kin. These three neighborhoods spread out adjacent to the mission. One formed on the former mission agricultural lands (Westside Santa Cruz), one in the orchard fields behind the mission, and the third appears to be on fields adjacent to the orchards. In addition to these were the adobe *neofito* housing that had been built in the early 1820s, which continued to serve as homes to prominent Indigenous families into the 1840s. For example, Petra Nicanor and Victoriano Chuyuco lived in the potrero (the name of the fields behind Mission Santa Cruz) after secularization, likely following Victoriano Chuyuco’s ties to the Tejei Yokuts community.⁸⁹² At some point in the 1840s they and their family moved into one of the

⁸⁹⁰ The 1841 padron refers to these three areas as “rancherias.” Rancheria had multiple meanings tracing back to Spanish colonial times. They often referred to Indigenous villages, and, in the Mexican years, they continued to be used to refer to lands that Indians lived on. They were clearly not Ranchos like the large land grants handed out to wealthy Californio families, lacking the land base or the legal protections of the rancho entities. In the case of Santa Cruz, the rancheria designation was simply a diminutive reference to a neighborhood. As such, I will refer to them as neighborhoods rather than as rancherias. As I’ll show throughout this chapter, there was little legal and civic protection of these lands, and local Californios quickly took possession of most of these lands.

⁸⁹¹ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 393. Hackel shows that in Monterey, Indigenous people gained small tracts spread throughout the greater region. Options appear to have existed in all directions, in small Native pockets. In contrast, Indigenous lands spread out in the direct vicinity of Mission Santa Cruz. The only options for Santa Cruz Indigenous society lay in local lands, movement out of the region, or work on the Californio ranchos.

⁸⁹² Their placement is shown on the 1841 Padron, *Libro de Padrones*, Monterey Archdiocese.

adobe homes in front of the mission.⁸⁹³ It seems likely that Petra Nicanor continued to hold special standing, given her unusual marriage and access to the adobe home.

The first of these neighborhoods was listed in the 1841 census by the name “Rancheria de la Fuentes” (little lands of the Springs). These lands formed a small portion of the larger coastal terrace that has become known as the Westside of Santa Cruz. These larger terrace had been the agricultural fields tended by the *neofitos* of Mission Santa Cruz. The larger area included three fresh water springs that had been used as the main water source for Mission Santa Cruz.⁸⁹⁴ The region referenced as “de la Fuentes,” became home to Geronimo Chugiut and his family. The 1841 census listed thirty-three members in four households made up primarily of Awaswas- and Mutsun-speaking Ohlone from local lands (figure 5.2). The story of Geronimo and his kinship network will be explored in depth shortly.

The second Indigenous neighborhood was named Potrero del Carmen, which by 1841 was home to thirty members in four households (figure 5.2). These lands appear to have formed part of the larger pasture lands behind Mission Santa Cruz. The Potrero del Carmen families here were mostly Huocom but also included some Tomoi, a few Teje, Chaneche, Locobo, and Hupnis—basically a mix of Yokuts along with a few Mutsun. This included Simon Chaujana, the chief of the Yokuts-speaking Hupnis tribe.⁸⁹⁵ This area is only specifically mentioned in the 1841 census, as it appears likely that it merged with the third

⁸⁹³ Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz*, 29.

⁸⁹⁴ The *zanja*, or aqueduct, built to bring spring water to the mission, is currently the site of High Street, which traces a straight line from the entrance of UC Santa Cruz to the site of Mission Santa Cruz. Much of Santa Cruz Westside became the property of Joseph Ladd Majors, who was granted Rancho Tres Ojos de Agua (Three Eyes of Water), named for the springs.

⁸⁹⁵ Simon Chaujana (SCZB#1866). His status as chief is noted in his wife Simona Yujuhilil’s baptismal record (SCZB#1881).

neighborhood sometime in the 1840s, most likely as portions of both began to be settled and claimed by Californios.

The third neighborhood was called the Potrero de la Guerta (Potrero of the Orchard) and was home to the sons of Coletto and their kin. By gaining the lands around the orchard, where their homes had been built, this community was able to gain valuable resources. This is the one that became known more generally as the Potrero in later years, though it is likely that it merged with the aforementioned Potrero del Carmen. One large household of mostly Teje Yokuts lived communally alongside three other smaller mixed households of Mutsun Ohlone and Yokuts families, thirty three people in four households altogether (figure 5.2). Coletto had died back in 1822, and his oldest son Agustin Moctó died in 1832.⁸⁹⁶ As mentioned in the last chapter, his other son Estevan Guajsilii had left Mission Santa Cruz in the early 1830s. Huich (Vicente Francisco) died a few months after the smallpox epidemic of 1838.⁸⁹⁷ The two remaining sons, Pasqual Chulnoquis and Bernardino Punis, became recipients of the potrero lands behind the mission, along with the Sagim Yokuts man Fidel Yayama.⁸⁹⁸ The prominence of the Coletto heirs in the potrero suggests that these lands were given as a reward for the family’s years of service to the mission, a notion that is supported by newspaper reports many years later.⁸⁹⁹ The potrero lands continued to serve as home for

⁸⁹⁶ Coletto Malimin (SCZD#1493, December 18, 1822), and Agustin Moctó (SCZD#1880, July 2, 1832).

⁸⁹⁷ SCZD#2043, on December 26, 1838. The records indicate that Huich died of throat issues, the first to appear in the burial records following the smallpox victims.

⁸⁹⁸ Fidel Yayama (SCZB#1687) arrived a few months after Pasqual and Bernardino, in the same wave of Yokuts in 1817. Though it isn’t clear if he was directly related, their proximity in the baptismal rolls and continued collaboration suggest that they tied through kinship.

⁸⁹⁹ An 1866 article debated the protection of the potrero lands, asking, “Would it not be well for the citizens of Santa Cruz to now determine that the Potrero, the land granted to two Indians, shall be forever set apart to those Indians and their children, and that no vandal shall ever despoil them of what the good priest gave them for services rendered?” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, June 6, 1866, 2:6.

the Yokuts community for many years. Within a few years the communities of the two potrero lands (the latter two neighborhoods) consolidated, as the Indigenous land base shrank.

At the same time that many found homes in the nearby lands, for a select few, new opportunities for social, economic, and geographic mobility led some of the youth to travel and find work throughout the greater Bay Area.⁹⁰⁰ Just as recently emancipated members of neighboring missions such as Soledad, Santa Clara, San Juan Bautista, and even as far south as Santa Barbara moved to the area to work on local ranchos, or through intermarriage with Californios or incoming foreigners, a some local Natives took advantage of this mobility.⁹⁰¹ For these few select local Indigenous youth, work, training, or other service offered opportunities for mobility. These opportunities appear tied to youth and service to the Mexican state, as will be seen with the story of Lorenzo Asisara.

Lorenzo Asisara: Social, Racial, and Geographic Mobility

Perhaps best remembered of any member of the various Indigenous communities forming around Santa Cruz is Lorenzo Asisara.⁹⁰² Born in 1820, Asisara came of age during

⁹⁰⁰ Movement between mission communities and even between villages and missions had continued since the earliest days of Spanish colonization, as witnessed by the ongoing flights of fugitives. By the 1820s, larger numbers of families began to officially move between missions. For example, the 1822 Mission Santa Cruz Bi-Annual Report, original held at the SBMAL, reports that “In these two years four Indians from Mission San Juan Bautista have settled at this Mission and from here seven have moved there, one has moved to Mission San Carlos and one to Mission Soledad.”

⁹⁰¹ One example of intermarriage is seen with the marriage between the American Paul Sweet and the Chumash woman Margarita. The couple, who lived off of modern Paul Sweet Road, had children and grandchildren that lived in the area well into the twentieth century.

⁹⁰² SCLB#1832. Asisara’s name is written out in a variety of ways—Asisara, Olivares, and Olivaras. I’ll have more comments on his name and the implications of his names shortly. Asisara was born and baptized on the same day, August 10, 1820. He would become famous as one of very few mission-

the final years before the secularization of Mission Santa Cruz. Through his father, Llencó, Asisara held kinship connections with the early Mission Santa Cruz families, those involved with protecting the community from Padre Quintana.⁹⁰³ Like many of his generation born within the mission, Asisara came from a mixed Ohlone Yokuts lineage, as his father was a local Awaswas-speaking Cotoni, while his mother came from Yokuts territory.⁹⁰⁴ Lorenzo and his father were key members of the local Indigenous community, as Llencó worked as the mission orchardist.⁹⁰⁵ Asisara described his own changing roles within the mission as foreman, key keeper, sacristan, alcalde, and musician. He followed in the tradition of Lino and other mission-born children in holding important stature and power within the mission community.⁹⁰⁶

born Indians to have their story recorded through interviews, which he gave in 1877 and again in 1890.

⁹⁰³ Llencó (Venancio (SCZB#215) was discussed in chapter 3.

⁹⁰⁴ There is some uncertainty about the origins of Asisara’s mother, Luasatme (baptized as Manuela, SCZB#1803). Her baptismal record indicates that she was from the Chalahua Village. Edward Castillo believed that she was from the Salinan village, Chalome, near the confluence of Estrella Creek and the Salinas River. Milliken disagrees, and believes that she was from a Yokuts village inland. I agree with Milliken’s assessment, considering that she was baptized along with a group of seven others, all from Yokuts nations, Huocom, Tejey, and Apil. Two of the other youth include the children of Huocom chief Suluu (discussed in more depth in chapter 6).

⁹⁰⁵ Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County*, 46. Luasatme died in 1833 (SCZD#1908). Asisara described his father as the mission orchardist. This is confirmed by the 1834 census, which lists the sixty-one-year-old Cotoni man “Benancio Olivares” and his fourteen-year-old son, “Loreso Olivares.” Between them is a name crossed out, that of Llencó’s fourth wife, a fifteen-year-old woman from the Yokuts-speaking Hualquelmne people, Maria Blandina (SJB#3739). She died in late 1836 (SCZD#1973), so it is unclear why her name is crossed out. Llencó may have begun taking care of the mission orchard following the arrest of his friend Lacah (Julian Apodeca). Lacah had previously served as the mission gardener, which meant his home was in the strategic location where the assassination of Quintana was carried out.

⁹⁰⁶ Asisara’s story is a complex one, worthy of its own study. I have plans to examine his life and accounts in greater detail in a future project. For just a small example of this complexity, Asisara and his father appear to form their names in ways that suggest connections to Indigenous linguistic practices. In the 1877 interview with Savage, Lorenzo stated that his father was from the “Asar Rancheria on the Jarro Coast.” El Jarro was the name of a mission rancho near modern Davenport, on traditional Cotoni lands. Did the surname ‘Asisara’ derive from their village, Asar? Furthermore, given

Asisara’s life reflected one of relative privilege within the mission community. Asisara revealed that he avoided punishment at the hands of the padres by working close with them. After describing the ways that the majordomos administered punishments, Asisara reflected that “I was never punished, except for a few slaps for forgetfulness. I was always busy in the padres’ house, doing the work of a house servant.”⁹⁰⁷ Asisara claimed that he worked as a sacristan in his youth, working closely with the padres in domestic as well as ecclesiastical servitude. His involvement with the choir points to the prominence of young Indigenous musicians.

Padre Antonio Real sent Asisara to Monterey for six months sometime around 1833 or 1834, shortly after Governor Figueroa’s visit to Santa Cruz. The trip is an example of the special status afforded musicians, as Asisara was sent southward along with four other unidentified young men. There, he learned clarinet from Sergeant Rafael Estrada, adding to his previous skills with the flute.⁹⁰⁸ It is likely that Asisara and the other musicians played string instruments like the violin as well.⁹⁰⁹ While there, Asisara claims he was taught to read and write Spanish by one of the padres, another reflection of special access for musicians.

Music was a central element of Indigenous participation in the social world of Santa Cruz, as it was throughout Indigenous California, and musicians formed an important class

the similarity between the names Llencó and Lorenzo, could this be another example of crossover between Indigenous and Spanish names?

⁹⁰⁷ Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County*, 46–47.

⁹⁰⁸ Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 103.

⁹⁰⁹ Joaquin Adam, “Rare Old Books in the Bishop’s Library,” *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* 5 (1897), 154–56. Father Joaquin Adam recounted a story about Asisara and two other mission musicians, who frequently played their violins and sang for the padre. Adam’s story involved him paying them a small sum for their service to the church, and then finding them drunk by the mission steps. Adam related learning that he should lock the musicians up if he wanted to make sure that they were sufficiently sober to play for mass, recalling that the musicians would say, “Father, here we are, lock us up if you wish to have us sing on such a day.”

within mission communities.⁹¹⁰ Music and dance were not new to the Indigenous community, but the use of new Spanish instruments was. Where once they had used bird-bone whistles, clapper sticks, turtle-shell shakers, and other instruments made from local products, the choir was now introduced to horns, woodwinds, and other instruments common to Catholic practices. Mission musicians could receive special training or privileges, and they were frequently asked to perform for visitors.⁹¹¹

The elevated status of musicians is most visibly reflected in the distribution of lands following secularization. The lead song leader, Ricardo Xuclan, received a piece of land near the mission, in the direction towards what was known as Rancheria de los Fuentes, the lands of Geronimo and other local Ohlone. Xuclan was a good friend of Asisara's, and the latter lived on his property at times into the 1860s. Xuclan would eventually become the last landholding Indian in Santa Cruz, giving up his parcel of mission lands following a court case

⁹¹⁰ Kristin Dutcher Mann, *The Power of Song: Music and Dance in the Mission Communities of Northern New Spain, 1590–1810* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010). Sandos, *Converting California*, and “Identity Through Music: Choristers at Missions San Jose and San Juan Bautista,” in *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769–1850*, ed. Steven W. Hackel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010). Sandos argues that “Spanish occupation offered upward social mobility to Indians who could replicate European sound in European song,” 112.

⁹¹¹ Justo Veytia, *Viaje a La Alta California, 1849–1850* (1a ed. México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000), 58. For example, the Mexican traveler Veytia stayed with the Arano family and described attending a fiesta that included mass, a bullfight, and dancing. He described, “the orchestra was made up of a group of Indians who sang accompanied by violins, triangles, drum and bass drum, creating a din that almost equaled that of a small cannon they shot off outside from time to time.” Eliza Farnham described her experience with the Mission Santa Cruz choir, which she witnessed before a bear-and-bull fight, by noting, “What particularly amused Charlie and myself in the festivities of this day, was the sight of the church choir turned out, after the rites were over, into a street band. Their instruments consisted of a bass and kettle drum, two violins, a triangle and a banjo. The performers, all Indians, appeared to have suffered in some recent encounter; for every head was more or less damaged, the eyes, foreheads, noses, and cheeks, being badly battered, and patched; doubtless a reverent, but certainly not a very reverend choir!” Farnham, *California, In-Doors and Out; or, How We Farm, Mine, and Live Generally in the Golden State* (New York, 1856), 134. As for special privileges, Father Adam related of mission musicians, “once a year at least each one of them was given a new suit, and other privileges were granted to them to encourage them to serve in the choir.” Adam, “Rare Old Books,” 154.

in 1866.⁹¹² And yet, despite Xuclan’s lands, compensation for musicians was not always offered. Typically, musicians received little in the way of economic recompense for their work, especially during secularization, when Catholic administrators resisted paying their musicians, in response to the statewide defunding of the church.⁹¹³

Asisara represents a rare example of racial malleability, as he is identified in his marriage records as “*razon*” following his marriage in 1837 to Maria Tomasa Alvarado, a member of the Spanish settler community of Mission San Gabriel. Maria Tomasa’s father, Juan Nepomuceno Dolores Alvarado, had been a soldier stationed at the presidio of Santa Bárbara.⁹¹⁴ Spanish society divided along racial lines, between “*gente de razon*” and “*gente sin razon*”: people with reason and people without reason, terms used to designate neophytes and Christianized or baptized Indians against so-called heathen, gentile, or unbaptized Indians.⁹¹⁵ Asisara’s ability to transcend his racial and social status demonstrates

⁹¹² Xuclan’s story will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. For the trial over his land, see Santa Cruz County Clerk’s Office, *Rice v. Ricardo*, Case 577, M.R. 3.11. Ricardo, with Lorenzo Asisara listed as fellow defendant, successfully defended his title to the lands but then sold his lands to Rice for fifty dollars in the months following the trial. Little has been written about landholding Indians during the Mexican and American eras. For one such study exploring land held in nearby San José, see Laurence H. Shoup and Randall Milliken, *Inigo of Rancho Posolmi: The Life and Times of a Mission Indian* (Novato, CA: Ballena Press, 1999).

⁹¹³ “Nicolas Gutierrez to Administrator of Santa Cruz,” March 2, 1836, California Pre-Statehood Documents, MS 105, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 1:5, #43.. “Orders that ‘the communal funds of the ex-Mission not be burdened’ with salaries and gratifications for musicians and singers. He should advise them to assist as they did formerly in the communal functions of the Church without remuneration—for private functions they should be fairly paid by the Father Minister.”

⁹¹⁴ Maria Tomasa’s baptism is found in Mission San Gabriel Baptism Record 5472. Her father is found in Santa Bárbara Presidio Baptism Record 93. Asisara and Maria Tomasa’s marriage is found in SCZM#823.

⁹¹⁵ Robert H. Jackson, *Race, Caste, and Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999). Jackson explores ways in which the “*de razon*” and “*sin razon*” designations, as well as the *sistema de castas* and Spanish classifications of race, have worked in California. These themes continue to be explored in Latin American historiography. See María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*

the fluidity of these categories, while illuminating marriage as a pathway to social mobility. For Asisara, this social and racial transcendence remains a transitory one, as following Maria Tomasa’s death sometime before 1845, Asisara returns to being classified as an “Indio.”⁹¹⁶

Perhaps it was during his time in Monterey that Asisara met Maria Tomasa Rafaela Alvarado, the daughter of a Spanish soldier. The Alvarado family had moved between Mission San Gabriel and the presidio at Santa Barbara in the early 1800s. Asisara married Maria Tomasa at Mission Santa Cruz on February 7, 1834.⁹¹⁷ Interestingly, on the entry for their marriage, Asisara and his wife are both listed as being “razon.” Did Asisara’s marriage with the daughter of a soldier automatically elevate his status from “Indio” to “razon”? Surely Asisara was well known to the Mission Santa Cruz padres, so it is unlikely that this would have been a simple mistake. It isn’t entirely clear how this process worked, but it does appear that social mobility was to some extent tied to marriage. The couple lived together in the Santa Cruz region for a few years before tragedy struck.

Smallpox and the Lost Generation

The Indigenous population in the Santa Cruz region changed from forming just over the majority of the total population in 1834, to around a quarter of the total population by 1845 (figure 5.1). This downward trend was the result of a combination of factors, including the previously discussed return of some Yokuts people to traditional homelands. The

(Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), and Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O'Hara, *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

⁹¹⁶ His return to “Indio” status is reflected in the census of 1845, available in the *Libro de Padrones*, archive of the Monterey Diocese.

⁹¹⁷ SCZM#823.

smallpox epidemic of 1838 was one of the big factors that killed off a large number of the overall population. The influx of Indigenous workers from neighboring missions to work on the new ranchos helped to augment the overall population of Indigenous people, from a demographic perspective, but the net result meant the local population with ties to Mission Santa Cruz experienced a substantial demographic collapse (figure 5.1).

In June of 1838, a smallpox epidemic began to sweep through the region. The burial records indicate that thirty-eight Indigenous members of Mission Santa Cruz died that summer.⁹¹⁸ If the total population was somewhat less than the two hundred and forty seven listed in the 1836 census, this would have meant that somewhere around fifteen percent of the Indigenous population died from this epidemic (figure 5.1). The last Indigenous person to die in this epidemic was Llencó, Asisara’s father.⁹¹⁹ In later years, Asisara recollected that “smallpox came through and killed off any of the survivors.”⁹²⁰ The losses were substantial, but not total. Still, the majority of those who died during this period were the elderly generation, those who had made it through the rough years under mission control, and who did not live to see actual emancipation. It is easy to understand why Asisara felt that this disease decimated his community, especially as it was personally connected to the loss of his father.

The elders were hit the hardest during this epidemic, and the loss of these important figures must have been difficult. One of the elders who died of smallpox was a

⁹¹⁸ SCZD#’s 2003—40. All but one of these burials were of Indigenous people. The final entry with the words “virulas” written on it (2040) belonged to Jose Joaquin Castro, the owner of the San Andrés Adobe. As will be talked about later this chapter, Castro kept a handful of Indigenous servants at his rancho, possibly receiving the smallpox from one of them.

⁹¹⁹ SCZD#2039, on September 1, 1839.

⁹²⁰ Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 113.

survivor of the Quintana affair, Quihueimen.⁹²¹ His life and that of his family shed light on psychological duress and transgenerational trauma.⁹²² While it is difficult to pinpoint historical psychological processes like trauma, there are moments where it is reflected in the records. The story of Quihueimen and his son Rustico suggest evidence of transgenerational trauma. Quihueimen was the longest-living survivor of the Quintana assassination convicts; he survived his sentence and was the only one to return to Santa Cruz. Quihueimen must have returned to Mission Santa Cruz sometime in the 1820s. At that point he would have served somewhere between six and nine years of hard forced labor at the Santa Barbara Presidio.⁹²³ Quihueimen had been sentenced to two hundred lashings, though it is likely he would have received more physical abuse during his time in prison when considering the years of hard labor. In the process of his arrest itself, he was undoubtedly dragged along with the other convicts in front of his community, their thumbs fastened with twine, marched up to San Francisco. It is hard to imagine the intensity of the psychological and corporal punishment that he experienced, but however he managed, Quihueimen was the only convict to survive his full sentence.⁹²⁴

⁹²¹ This is the same Quihueimen (baptized as Quiricio, SCZB#65) from chapter 3.

⁹²² Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, "The American Indian Holocaust: Healing Historical Unresolved Grief," *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research* 8, no. 2 (1998): 60–82, Eduardo and Bonnie Duran, *Native American Postcolonial Psychology* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), and Joseph P. Gone, "A Community-Based Treatment for Native American Historical Trauma: Prospects for Evidence-Based Practice," *Journal of Consulting & Clinical Psychology* 77, no. 4 (2009), 751–62. Within the field of psychology, recent studies, frequently led by Indigenous scholars, have developed theories and language around the idea of transgenerational trauma. I believe that these studies can be applied carefully to historical situations to help understand dynamics of violence, trauma, and survival.

⁹²³ Padre Olbés to Solá, June 23, 1819, SCPSD, Box 4, Letter 975. We know from Olbés's letter that Quihueimen was in Santa Bárbara, as Olbés writes to Solá to inquire about the status of Quihueimen and Lacad.

⁹²⁴ As discussed at length in chapter 3, Ètop reduced his sentence and survived. He died before Quihueimen, while living in the woods outside of Mission San Carlos.

His wife Chesente had died back in 1815, while Quihueimen had been imprisoned in the Presidio of San Francisco, leaving their only son, Rustico, to be raised within the community.⁹²⁵ Father and son must have reunited after their long separation sometime in the 1820s. Rustico had been born in 1811, and would have been two years old when his father had been marched away by soldiers. In 1828 Quihueimen married Ulalixmi (Coleta), a Yokuts woman who had recently arrived.⁹²⁶ The couple had a child.⁹²⁷ Quihueimen continued to serve as padrino in his later years, after his return to Mission Santa Cruz.⁹²⁸ Among the people for whom he served as padrino was Catarina, the daughter of Xuclan (José Ricardo), the mission song leader.⁹²⁹ Xuclan was born shortly before the assassination, the son of a Sumus couple who entered the mission about eight months before Yaquenonsat.⁹³⁰ Quihueimen died in a the smallpox epidemic in 1838, along with Asisara's father.⁹³¹ The devastation of the smallpox epidemic meant the loss of this crucial generation of heroes who had protected the mission.

It is clear that Quihueimen was able to reintegrate into his community. His involvement in the godparentage system, a system of kinship and honor, suggests that he

⁹²⁵ Chesente's burial, SCZD#1240. Rustico's baptism is listed in SCZB#1561, January 7, 1811.

⁹²⁶ Ulalixmi (Coleta) was from a village called Piluri. She arrived at Mission Santa Cruz in October of 1826, in SCZB#2112. They married on June 1, 1828 (SCZM#748).

⁹²⁷ Their child, Rosa Maria, is recorded in SCZB#2194.

⁹²⁸ He served as *padrino* in SCZB#s 2157, 2184, and 2280, the last taking place in 1837.

⁹²⁹ Xuclan (José Ricardo), recorded in SCZB#1377, is previously mentioned in relation to Asisara. His daughter, Catarina, is recorded in SCZB#2280. Her mother is Tupat (Maria Margarita), a Yokuts from the Huocom village, recorded in SCZB#1745. In almost all records he is listed as Ricardo, José Ricardo, or Ricardo Carrion (on 1834 Census); only in his marriage record is his Native name given as Xuclan, SCZM#706.

⁹³⁰ His father, Chaparis (Bruno), is recorded in SCZB#1292, while his mother, Legem (Bruna), is recorded in SCZB#1295. I mention Yaquenonsat here, as another Sumus.

⁹³¹ Quihueimen's burial is recorded in SCZD#2034. Two other people died of smallpox the same day. Coincidentally, one of them is Chalognis (Vicencio Salvador), another Uypi, like Quihueimen, who was baptized as a two-year-old two days before the seven-year-old Quihueimen, listed as SCZB#64.

was still well connected. The psychological impact of the years of imprisonment and physical labor is harder to gauge, but it is likely that Quihueimen internalized his pain and anger. And how did this impact his son, Rustico? Did he conflate his father’s absence with his mother’s death a few years later? By the time his father returned, Rustico must have been over ten years old. How did he respond to his father’s return, and how did Quihueimen manage to return to fatherhood after his absence? Incidents in the 1840s may suggest some answers.

In 1842 Rustico was arrested for pulling a knife on his wife, Maria Alvina.⁹³² Back in the 1815 questionnaire, the Ohlone were characterized by their affection for their families and their wives.⁹³³ And yet, Rustico appeared to have issues with anger and violence directed at his family and loved ones. Though it is impossible to prove the existence and transference of trauma from one generation to the next in historical documents, it is worthwhile to ponder the role played by Rustico’s upbringing, his awareness of his father’s punishments, and the influence of his father. Quihueimen had managed to survive years of imprisonment and subjection to physical and psychological abuse. It is certainly likely that some of this violence left its mark. Was Rustico modeling what he had learned from his father? While it is difficult to identify psychological experiences and traumas in the historical records, it is important to consider the context and emergence of this evidence.

⁹³² “Bolcoff sentences Indian Rustico to labor for having menaced his wife with a knife,” October 30, 1842, California Pre-Statehood Documents, MS 105, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 4:4, #393. This letter claimed that “the Indian Rustico has threatened his wife with a short dagger,” and requested that Rustico be sentenced to labor on public works.

⁹³³ Maynard Geiger and Clement W. Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813–1815* (Santa Barbara, CA: SBMAL, 1976), 26.

The padres had long tried to control Indigenous access to alcohol, frequently trying to prohibit neofitos from visiting Villa de Branciforte for fear of drinking and gambling. By the 1840s, the growth of distilleries led to ongoing complaints about Indians and drinking. Rustico was specifically mentioned, along with Lorenzo Asisara, in a story by a local padre. Padre Adam recalled Rustico, Lorenzo, and another unnamed musician drinking to excess and needing to be restrained to perform their musical duties.⁹³⁴ Did Rustico drink to numb his own traumatic experiences? How might others in the community have used alcohol or other vices to deal with colonial traumas and abuses? We are left only with the occasional anecdotes about drunken Indians, but should be asking how the survivors learned to cope with the traumas of colonial violence.⁹³⁵ Evidence suggests that they did so through both ceremony and alcohol. Asisara’s recollection of this time reveal his sense of loss: “The smallpox epidemic came and finished off the Indians. Not finding anything else to

⁹³⁴ Adam, “Rare Old Books,” 154—56. Father Joaquin Adam, who will be discussed in the next chapter, recalled the following story in 1898: “Some years ago while pastor of Santa Cruz I had the pleasure of hearing three survivors of the old mission musicians – Lorenzo, Rustico, and another whose name I cannot recollect. They sang for me on Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, and it was a treat to hear them. They sang and played their violins. After service Saturday morning one of them came to my house to know if their services would be needed for Easter Sunday. I told him no; he asked the same question three or four times. I could not see then what his object was in asking so often. I paid them and soon after one of the altar boys ran to me saying, ‘Father one of the Indian singers is lying down drunk outside the church door.’ As soon as they found out they were free they indulged in their old habit. Another priest told me that when he wanted to secure the Indian musicians for the choir he had to lock them up in a room a day or two before in order to be sure of their services. And the amusing part of it was that, knowing their weak points, they would present themselves and say: ‘Father, here we are, lock us up if you wish to have us sing on such a day.’” Despite Adam’s misguided suggestion that the relatively recently introduced liquor was an “old habit,” this story suggests that liquor became a common means of coping with incredible loss, generations of physical and psychological abuse and displacement. While alcohol abuse was commonly reported regarding the former mission Indians, it is worth wondering what role these traumas played in connection with the use of alcohol.

⁹³⁵ Testimony of Jose Arana, 93, Land Case 285 SD, Rancho Tres Ojos de Agua. Stories of the “drunken Indian” continued through the American years, which will be explored next chapter. It is worth noting that some Californios classified Indians by whether they were drunks or not, as seen with Jose Arana, when he described Geronimo as being “honorable, not a common man, not a drunkard, a good man.”

appropriate, Bolcoff took to his ranch the adobes, bricks, roof tile, timbers, and old beams also belonging to the mission. That is how the belongings to the mission came to vanish. The lands had been distributed to the Indians; those who survived sold their properties for liquor; those who died abandoned their lots and others took possession of them.”⁹³⁶

Despite Asisara’s portrait of staggering loss, it does not tell the whole story. Surviving Indigenous people looked to more than just alcohol for relief. The persistence of traditional song, dance, ceremonies such as the Kuksu, and the use of sweat lodges also attest to the various ways that people looked for comfort and healing. The continued use of Indigenous languages and stories handed down about histories and landscapes attest to the importance of community and the sharing of stories. Yes, these were clearly traumatic times of great loss, but survivors looked persevered and continued to build community the best that they could.

Asisara: Geographic Mobility

Returning to the story of Asisara, sometime in 1841, a few years after the burial of his father, Asisara and his wife, Maria Tomasa, moved up to San Francisco.⁹³⁷ By 1845 Asisara was a widow.⁹³⁸ In 1845 Asisara served as part of the barefoot, unarmed Native

⁹³⁶ Amador, “Memorias sobre la historia de California,” 113.

⁹³⁷ The couple appear on the Santa Cruz padrons of 1839, 1840, and 1841. They next appear on the 1842 San Francisco padron. On this document Asisara was listed as age 26, employed in the household of Jesus Noe along with two other Santa Cruz Mission ex-neophytes: Francisco and Concepcion.

⁹³⁸ There is no burial record for Maria Tomasa, and she does not appear on any padrons or census after 1842. In the 1845 Santa Cruz padron, Asisara is listed as a widow.

American troops formed under the oversight of General Vallejo.⁹³⁹ He later recalled witnessing Americans arrive under the tensions of the Bear Flag Revolt.⁹⁴⁰ His participation with the army during these years helped build status within the Mexican community. Many years later, Asisara was invited to share his stories with Thomas Savage through his friend Jose Maria Amador. It seems likely that Asisara’s involvement with the Mexican military was at least a partial contributor to his connection with Amador. Asisara eventually moved between Monterey, Santa Cruz, San José, and San Francisco, before returning to Santa Cruz by 1845.⁹⁴¹

After his return to the area, Asisara lived on the west side with Geronimo and his friend Ricardo Xuclan, but also continued to get involved with the local Californios living across the river at the Villa de Branciforte. Local newspapers reported many years later that Asisara was involved in the story of the wife-murderer Pedro Gomez in 1847. Gomez had killed his pregnant wife Barbara, whom he suspected of having an affair. The heavily stylized article recalled that “Lorenzo, the Indian violist, the choir master, the chanter of Latin hymns, the scholar, the teacher and the lover of little Barbara, shut his sinewy fingers into

⁹³⁹ Little study has been devoted to the Indigenous forces under Vallejo. It is unclear whether they were compelled into service, or whether this was a voluntary strategy to earn status. More needs to be done.

⁹⁴⁰ Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County*, 46. Asisara claims he was at the San Francisco Presidio when Fremont arrived. The participation of Native people in the Californian theater of the Mexican American War has been severely understudied. Passing mention is given by George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California, 1769–1906* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 61; and James Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 82–105. This absence is best addressed by Lisbeth Haas, “War in California, 1846–1848,” in *Contested Eden*. Meanwhile, Brian DeLay has explored the central role played by Indigenous southwestern nations in this war, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the US-Mexican War* (Yale university press, 2008).

⁹⁴¹ In the 1845 Santa Cruz Padron, twenty-six-year-old widow “Lorenzo Olivara” is the first listed for the Native American portion. He is listed as the head of Geronimo’s household, which we will talk about shortly.

the strings of his violin and tore them asunder ever as the strings of his heart were torn.” Gomez was sentenced to die by firing squad, but it is Asisara who was credited with killing him by knife while he awaited his sentence.⁹⁴²

Asisara’s complex life reveals much about the social and geographic mobility that some were able to find during the Mexican era. While his story is the most visible, largely due to his rare interviews later in life, it is clear that some Indigenous youth explored the greater region in the hopes of finding new labor opportunities. At the same time, his involvement with numerous members of the Californio community suggest some degree of lessening of social hierarchies of the Spanish colonial world. But what about families that stayed in the area following emancipation? The life of Geronimo Chugiut, the most visible of the community of the Rancheria de los Fuentes, demonstrates the possibilities of the time, as newly emancipated Indigenous people began to form an Indian pueblo, with multiple economic and social ties to the Californios.

Geronimo Chugiut, Barbara, and the Lands of the Springs

As discussed in the opening of this chapter, members of the Indigenous population met with William E.P. Hartnell. On this September morning in 1839 a group of seventy one

⁹⁴² Belle Dormer, *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, October 8, 1932. Dormer claims that she heard this from E.L. Williams, the man who interviewed Asisara in 1877. Asisara was not the only local Indigenous man to have an affair with a Californiana. A few years before the Gomez affair, the Partacsi / Cajastaca youth Jubenal de la Cruz (SCZB#1998) was involved in a scandal with Lucia Bolcoff, the daughter of the Russian Jose Bolcoff. Jubenal and Lucia ran away together, infuriating her father and starting a scandal that resulted in numerous testimonies regarding the couple’s activities north of town. The complex story testified to a high degree of social mixing between local Indigenous people and the Californios, and included mention of Lucia staying at the home of Xuclan (Ricardo) and his Huocom wife, Margarita. Another person mentioned in this account is Cecilia, the daughter of Geronimo, whose life will be explored shortly. Lucia Bolcoff, uncataloged Mexican Archives of Monterey County, March 8, 1842, Starr Gurke translations, University of California, Santa Cruz, McHenry Library.

Indigenous people gathered to meet. According to 1839 padron, there were actually one hundred and twenty one Native people living near the mission, so Hartnell’s meeting must have only met with representatives of the total community (figure 5.1). Hartnell reported the following:

The Indians ask for their freedom and that the cattle, horses, etc. be apportioned to them. They do not like the Administrator; they are afraid of him. They do not want the orchard taken from them or their houses or the place del Refugio which it is said was given to Juan Jose Felis. There is a house roofed with the tile belonging to the Mission; they need the area from the Mission to the Arroyo del Matadero, adjacent to the Russian, for their plantings and livestock. **Geronimo especially wants his freedom because of his old age.** Jose Antonio Rodrigues is trying to administer the Mission and says that with the looms and orchard there is enough to maintain it. The Father also wants the orchard.⁹⁴³

The sixty-year-old Sayanta man known as Geronimo Miguel Chugiut finally got his wish, although not all of the groups demands were met.⁹⁴⁴ The administrator Bolcoff (and his family ended up with the Rancho Refugio (contemporary Wilder Ranch) and the Arroyo del Matedero. Chugiut received lands that he had previously tended, former Mission Santa Cruz grazing and agricultural lands on the west side of Santa Cruz.⁹⁴⁵ He lived on these lands

⁹⁴³ “Diary and Blotters of the Two Inspections made by W.E.P. Hartnell, General Inspector of Missions in Alta California, 1839-1840,” September 28, 1839, Starr P. Gurcke papers, MS 8, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 3:12. The orchard was down in the potrero, where the Yokuts lived, so it is likely their homes mentioned here.

⁹⁴⁴ The ten-year-old Sayanta boy, Chugiut, was baptized as Geronimo Miguel (SCZB#184) on February 16, 1793. In the mission documents Geronimo appears repeatedly as Geronimo Miguel Chigiut, Chaguit, Chugiat, or some other variation of his Native name. In the 1834 census, the fifty-one-year-old Sayanta mason appeared as “Geronimo Pacheco Leal.” His *padrino* was a Spanish soldier named Miguel Pacheco, which was likely the source of his surname. Like many at Mission Santa Cruz, Geronimo appeared to have kept his Native name (Chugiut) as his surname into the 1840s. I will refer to him by the name Geronimo Chugiut, as this was the name he was most frequently known by.

⁹⁴⁵ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 369–70. Hackel points out that “select Indians – namely craftsmen, former mission officials, survivors with political and economic ties to the Franciscans or influential californios, and those with large and extended family networks – found opportunities in the midst of

through most of the 1840s, becoming an integral part of the local economy, selling fruits and vegetables to local Californios. In choosing these rich lands of the west side, Chugiut also gained control over the rock quarry and one of the local springs.⁹⁴⁶ Chugiut and his family lived in a style that relied on Indigenous practices and incorporated elements of Spanish and Catholic practices.⁹⁴⁷ They continued to speak a mix of Spanish and their Awaswas Ohlone language, migrated seasonally, continued to use traditional foods, practiced their own dances, and used their sweat lodges and ceremonies.⁹⁴⁸

Geronimo lived on the west side with his Cajastaca (Aptos) wife Barbara, their immediate family, and extended kinship network.⁹⁴⁹ Between 1819 and 1840, the couple had ten children.⁹⁵⁰ Only three survived into adulthood: Cecilia, Acursio, and Luis de los

the upheavals.” Geronimo was both a skilled craftsman (mason) and had an extended kinship network, and his gaining of these resource rich lands fits the pattern identified by Hackel.

⁹⁴⁶ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 100—1. Haas argued out that rocks played a significant role in Indigenous spiritual life. as their “cracks, crevices, and holes served as portals to the supernatural.” Furthermore, Haas points out that shaman often gained control of special rock sites. Geronimo’s control over the rock quarry have held meaning beyond the control of a significant resource.

⁹⁴⁷ Testimony of Claimant Nicolas Dodero, 591, , Land Case 285 SD, Rancho Tres Ojos de Agua.. Details regarding Geronimo, his family, and his engagement with the Californio community were revealed in a series of interviews concerning the land grant known as Tres Ojos de Agua (Three Eyes of Water), referring to the three fresh water springs in the region. The more than six hundred pages of interviews concerning the boundaries of this land grant focus repeatedly on the exact location of Geronimo’s lands, as they marked one of the boundary lines. The interviews, recorded in 1862, provide many details regarding the lives, work, and social standing of Geronimo, his family, and extended kin network. Not surprisingly, while many of the Americans interviewed knew little about Geronimo, members of the Californio community provide great detail.

⁹⁴⁸ Joseph Frey responded that Geronimo spoke “Spanish and Indian,” Testimony of Frey, 300, Land Case 285 SD, Rancho Tres Ojos de Agua. Chapter 6 will look at examples of the continued use of sweat lodges. In 1916, Maria Josefa Velasquez related to ethnographer John Aldon Mason stories of witnessing Kuksu dances in her youth, in the 1840s. This too will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. But both practices continued into the American era.

⁹⁴⁹ Barbara (SCZB#976) was born at Mission Santa Cruz on January 8, 1802, to two Cajastaca parents (Cajastaca being the subtribe of the Aptos). Barbara and Geronimo married on July 29, 1817 (SCZM#593).

⁹⁵⁰ SCZB#s 1783 (Barvara), 1829 (Norverta), 1951 (Cecilia), 2045 (Rudesindo), 2094 (Acursio), 2136 (Dolores), 2162 (Fortunato), 2186 (Maria Candelaria), 2205 (Maria del Carmen), and 2238 (Luis de los Reyes).

Reyes. By the mid 1840s, their two adult children, Cecilia and Acursio, had married and lived with Geronimo and Barbara on the west side.⁹⁵¹ Cecilia had married Gabriel, who was likely a Coast Miwok who had moved into the region shortly before.⁹⁵² They lived on the west side, where they rotated seasonally between two homes. In the summer months they lived on the lower part of the bluff where they planted their summer crops. In the winter they moved above the bluff by the lake now known as Westlake and planted their winter crops.⁹⁵³ Local Californio Roman Rodriguez later testified that:

When I first knew [Geronimo] he was one of the mission Indians living in the mission. After the secularization of the missions he then went to live near the corner of Majors Mill where there is a pear tree. Then he went to live above. When he sowed summer crops he lived at the place below but the most of the time he was living above near the Laguna...

Indigenous women during this period were omitted from even the few rights that Native men experienced at this time. Mexican patriarchal practices, which Indigenous men and women had been exposed to since initial Spanish settlement further cemented sexual hierarchies in these decades. Women were not permitted to vote or to petition for emancipation, instead men had to petition on their behalf.⁹⁵⁴ Few records are left to give a

⁹⁵¹ Acursio married a woman named Carmen (most likely the mission born, Taratac, Chitactac, and Cajastaca descended woman, baptized as Maria del Carmen, SCZB# 2189) on November 12, 1844 (SCZM# 856).

⁹⁵² Gabriel is listed on the 1845 census as being from Bodega, almost certainly a reference to Bodega Bay, Coast Miwok territory just north of San Francisco. The couple married on March 2, 1840 (SCZM#838).

⁹⁵³ Testimony of Roman Rodriguez, 172, Land Case 285 SD, Rancho Tres Ojos de Agua. Their seasonal movement was noted in the interview with Rodriguez, who lived in the mission plaza. Later in the interview, when asked about Geronimo's home, Rodriguez answered, "I saw the house for the first time forty years ago—the house was only there for the Indian to take care of his crop but not for the Indian to live in for the Indian was living in the mission," 198. Juan Jose Castro recalled that Geronimo "had two sowing places. In the upper one he sowed wheat and in the lower one summer crops," 230.

⁹⁵⁴ Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 141.

sense of the life of Barbara or their children, as all of the records, written or remembered by men, focus on Geronimo as head of the household.

The family raised and sold melons, onions, squash, tomatoes, potatoes, corn, mutton (sheep), eggs, and chicken.⁹⁵⁵ When Geronimo did not have what the Californios came to buy, Geronimo, Barbara, or Cecilia would act as go-between and sell the produce of their Indigenous neighbors.⁹⁵⁶ Geronimo had long worked these same lands while living at the mission, and when finally emancipated, he went to live on the same lands.⁹⁵⁷ Their seasonal movement, which followed the crop cycle, echoed precontact Ohlone practices, when local tribes followed resource availability. In addition to their crops, they also supplemented their yields with traditional foods. Acorn grinding stones were later used to identify the old homestead, revealing the persistence of acorn grinding, so central to traditional practices.⁹⁵⁸

Geronimo Chugiut was well respected by Californios and Indians alike. When asked in later years by American interviewers if Geronimo had been a chief, Californio Roman Rodriguez responded, “He was an Indian like the rest of them—a mason by occupation and in the service of the mission. He was not a captain of the other Indians, or anything of that

⁹⁵⁵ Testimony of Arana, 93, Land Case 285 SD, Rancho Tres Ojos de Agua..

⁹⁵⁶ Arana, when asked whom he bought from when Geronimo was not around, replied, “Of his daughter [Cecilia] or his wife [Barbara],” Ibid. When asked about how he knew it was Geronimo’s produce, Arana replied, “I did not know. Geronimo would go and cut what I wanted. At times I considered that what I purchased was raised there, Geronimo was the head of the other Indians and when he had not what I wanted he would take from the other Indians and pay them for it.”

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid., 195. Roman Rodriguez: “Before he had his liberty from the Priests he used to go out there to cultivate there some lands, and after he had his liberty from the Priests he went there to live.”

⁹⁵⁸ Ibid, 273. Dabadio, when asked how to locate where exactly Geronimo’s home had stood, testified that he had found “pieces of large stones that had had holes in the centre with which the Indians use to ground the acorns.”

kind. He was esteemed by the other Indians and they worked for him for that reason.”⁹⁵⁹ He was seen as a reliable businessman, someone to buy food from, and trustworthy.⁹⁶⁰ Yet, he lived and worked closely with his community, which included his Sayanta kin, David Huallas.⁹⁶¹ David served in multiple roles within the mission’s political structure for many years, taking roles as early as 1811 and into the 1830s.⁹⁶² When Bolcoff was asked, “Who was the head businessman and the most prominent one among the Indians?” he responded, “David, Geronimo, and Lorenzo.... David was first and then Geronimo.” David died during the smallpox epidemic.⁹⁶³

The lands that Chugiut and his people lived on were rich in resources and included one of the three springs that flowed along the west side, as well as a rock quarry known then as the Calero.⁹⁶⁴ Geronimo and his people came from local tribal nations, people who had intimate knowledge of these lands going back generations. His deep local knowledge may have informed his selection of these resource rich lands. The potrero lands of the

⁹⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁰ Ibid, 93.

⁹⁶¹ This is the aforementioned David Huallas, whose orphaned children worked on the Rancho of Juan Gonzales.

⁹⁶² January 16, 1823, SFAD# 1424. David served as “*alcalde de hombres*,” SCZM#s 524–31 (1811), 556a–59 (1815), SCZB#1568. He also served as *procurador* (deputy).

⁹⁶³ SCZD#2017, July 28, 1838. It is possible that one of David’s orphaned sons came to work at Rancho San Andrés. A young man with a similar age to his son and also named Ybon appears on the 1840s padrons at Rancho San Andrés.

⁹⁶⁴ Testimony of Elihu Anthony, 138, Land Case 285 SD, Rancho Tres Ojos de Agua.. Anthony, an American entrepreneur like many of his American counterparts, could not identify Geronimo or any other Indian specifically (this theme will be explored in depth in chapter 6). Yet, he offered his description of these lands: “There was near the Laguna or springs that makes the stream that passes Majors house this mill, to the south and west side of the spring to the best of my recollections. There was a kind of Indian village, part of them on one side and part of them on the other. I will not be certain, they were there circling about the spring.” It is possible that he was observing the distinct Potrero and Westside lands, although he may have just noted the distribution of houses among Geronimo’s kin. Regardless, his observations about the centrality of the spring testify to their importance.

Yokuts did have access to the mission orchards, but did not include access to the rock quarry or springs. Members of the Californio community would purchase rock and lime from Geronimo’s rock quarry on the upper bluff.⁹⁶⁵ With his training in masonry, Geronimo would have been familiar with the rock quarry and would have known its potential use for building.⁹⁶⁶ Picking these fertile lands, Geronimo also had access to the fresh water from the springs, as he frequently lived alongside the small lake made from one of the springs. In fact, he was known to have sold leeches from his pond to community members.⁹⁶⁷

While gaining control of important resources, Geronimo was also known for sharing, remembered for his generosity and kindness. French immigrant Joseph Frey arrived in Santa Cruz in 1847. He had formerly worked as a blacksmith back home, but sought a piece of land that he could cultivate. After his arrival Frey farmed down on the potrero, by permission of the Yokuts community. While working down in the potrero one day, Frey met Geronimo and shared with him that he would like to have another piece of land so he could plant a few potatoes. He later recalled that Geronimo offered him a piece of land up in his fields for “so long as [Frey] pleased.”⁹⁶⁸ Frey reported that Geronimo told him, “Here is my land. You can

⁹⁶⁵ Testimony of Paul Sweet, 118, Land Case 285 SD, Rancho Tres Ojos de Agua.. Sweet reported that he would buy rock from Geronimo. Rafael Castro testified that he had “taken lime out of [the rock quarry] by the permission of Geronimo,” 222.

⁹⁶⁶ Geronimo was listed as a mason in both the 1836 and 1845 padrons. It is likely that he was one of the young men trained in the early 1800s, as discussed in chapter 2.

⁹⁶⁷ Bautista Dabadio, a fifty-five-year-old carpenter who had arrived in the area in 1843, testified in response to a question about how long Geronimo had lived near the Laguna, “All the time that I knew him I have known him to live in that house. The house was well known, being covered with tile. He was living there when I came to Santa Cruz in 1843. I then went there to buy leeches from him that were found in the laguna,” 273.

⁹⁶⁸ Testimony of Frey, 301, Land Case 285 SD, Rancho Tres Ojos de Agua..

have it just so long as you please and if you want to pay me something for the rent it is alright. And if you don't it is just the same.”⁹⁶⁹

While Geronimo and his family expanded their land holdings and quickly integrated economically and socially with the Californio community, a closer look at land transactions during the 1830s and '40s reveals limitations on the extent of Indigenous landholding.⁹⁷⁰ Records exist for the titles of a handful of Indigenous land recipients. Recipients include Ricardo Xuclan, the song leader and Matias Jotoime.⁹⁷¹ Records indicate that Geronimo Miguel Pacheco received his title for lands on November 27, 1839.⁹⁷² On the same day a

⁹⁶⁹ Ibid., 302.

⁹⁷⁰ Unfortunately the majority of Indian land grants and documents are lost. As the late Edna Kimbro explains, “early Santa Cruz land ownership is nearly impossible to research successfully because the official land records previous to 1847, including those of the mission and the Villa de Branciforte are missing and have been well over 100 years. Such records are known to have existed up until 1841 when Bolcoff mentions having recorded a grant ‘in the respective book in my charge.’ They seem to have gone astray sometime between then and 1847 when William Blackburn began ‘Alcalde Book A’ August 1, 1847, in which to record his indiscriminate grants of Mission lands to all comers. In 1862 when the validity of some of Blackburn’s grants to San Franciscans was challenged in court, the Supreme Court of California heard testimony from Emmanuel Rodriguez, former alcalde of Santa Cruz. Rodriguez said of the land records, ‘They were destroyed at the time Fremont came here; I mean by their being destroyed, the house [courthouse] was locked up and they thrown away.’” See folder titled Secularization at SCM, Kimbro Archives.

⁹⁷¹ The surviving records are found in the Santa Cruz County Book of Deeds (referred to hereafter as SCCD). For Xuclan (Jose Ricardo Carrion), see SCCD 1:96. Jotoime (Matias, SCZB# 934), SCCD 1:29. A 1986 study by Rob Edwards and Edna Kimbro examined a 1931 aerial photo that revealed lines of cultivated fields on the Great Meadow area of University of California, Santa Cruz campus. They concluded that the fields most likely belonged to Matias (Jotoime), “Mission Fields in the Great Meadow, University of California, Santa Cruz,” November 1986, copy on file in the Edna Kimbro Archives. This conclusion and a brief sketch of Jotoime is also printed by Rob Edwards, Cabrillo College Archaeological Program, Annual Report 1986—87. Jotoime died during the smallpox epidemic (SCZD#2019). His brother, Aspan (Pacifico, SCZB#937), appears to have died of a fever a few months before smallpox hit the area (SCZD#1996). Their father, Rojuisi (Juan Antonio, SCZB#991), may have been a Cajastaca chief, as he had multiple wives and at least six children. Could his standing have influenced Jotoime’s land title? His daughter, Maria Agueda (SCZB#2194a), will be discussed in chapter 6.

⁹⁷² This record is rewritten into the Santa Cruz County Deeds book, as the originals were likely lost with the alcalde’s book. SCCD 1:47. The record was written by Jose Bolcoff and states that “Miguel Geronimo Pacheco has petitioned for his benefit and that of his family a 100 vara lot for tilling.”

similar title was given to Canuto, the Tomoi man connected to the Geronimo kinship network.⁹⁷³

On the same page there is a record of a transfer of title from Geronimo to Joseph L. Majors dated April 4, 1843.⁹⁷⁴ It appears that within four years, actual title of these lands was no longer held by Geronimo and his people. They continued to live on these lands regardless of title, and years later Majors claimed that he bought up the titles to protect the Indians from being exploited by others. While it is tempting to dismiss Majors’s comments for their paternal attitude, the records do show that Majors and his wife, Maria de los Angeles Castro, continued to provide homes for members of Geronimo’s kin until the 1890s.⁹⁷⁵

The Yokuts of the potrero held their lands collectively. These were the initial lands that were cultivated along following the initial founding of Mission Santa Cruz, alongside the San Pedro Regalado River. Ownership of the potrero lands are documented through their sale. The group sold their lands to Thomas J. Farnham for two hundred dollars, which was

⁹⁷³ SCCD 1:47. This title was given to an “Indian Correcto Fondador,” which most likely is a reference to Canuto. In the land case documents, multiple interviewees referred to Canuto as a relative or cousin of Geronimo’s. The real Canuto Sieboo (SCZB#1262) was a Tomoi man who arrived in early 1806. In these interviews, Rafael Castro responded about a question regarding Geronimo’s second house, that “there lived there also a man named Canuto, living there together in a body or as one family. Canuto had land sowed there and living together like wolves.....” Testimony of Castro, 214, Land Case 285 SD, Rancho Tres Ojos de Agua.. The latter comment is seemingly a critique of the more expansive Indigenous kinship conception of family and communal living.

⁹⁷⁴ SCCD 1:47.

⁹⁷⁵ Ibid. The connection between the Majors family and local Indigenous families will be discussed in chapter 6. The transfer to Majors claimed that “On [April 4, 1843] there appeared the Indian Miguel Geronimo in my office to have transferred his rights to the tilling land and the house lot as expressed in the title, to Don Jose Majors, to which there appeared as witness Don Rafael Castro....”

overseen by Joseph L. Majors in 1847.⁹⁷⁶ This document was signed by a group of Yokuts men, including Coletto's two surviving sons, Pasqual and Bernardino, as well as the latter's stepson, Angel. Despite the official sale, the Yokuts community continued to live on the potrero lands, albeit a much smaller portion of these, well into the American period, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

At certain times, members of these distinct communities worked together. Geronimo appeared to help the Yokuts in fighting for their rights and lands. In 1844, the Californio Jose Arana took some of the potrero lands without permission of the Yokuts community.⁹⁷⁷ In 1847, three Indigenous men petitioned the incoming United States officials, because their previous claims made to Governor Micheltorena had been “put in the

⁹⁷⁶ SCCD 1:590-1. The potrero title is signed to a group that included the following: “Bernardino Coletto, Pascual Coletto, Angel Coletto, Mariano Bassillo, Pedro Viejo, Fidel Viejo, Carlos Fidel, Andres Viejo, Alarahio Viejo—Indians of the Mission of Santa Cruz in Alta California, who according to law in such case made and provided are now the owners of the following described premises and free men and citizens by the law in such cases governing for and in consideration of the sum of two hundred dollars lawful money, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged. Do hereby sell and convey in full ownership the following described lands to wit The Potrero lying north of the church of the mission aforesaid...” Note that Coletto's sons and grandson use their patriarch's name as their surname in this document, while others use the Spanish word “viejo” (old). Carlos (SCZB#2007) similarly uses his father's name, Fidel (SCZB#1976), as his surname. Farnham died shortly after the exchange, but his wife, the famous feminist Eliza Farnham came to Santa Cruz, and lived on these lands for many years. Her memoirs and recollections of Santa Cruz are discussed by Jo Ann Levy, *Unsettling the West: Eliza Farnham and Georgiana Bruce Kirby in Frontier California* (Heyday, 2004). Throughout her account, there are numerous mentions of unnamed Indians who tended lands around her, presumably Yokuts individuals, 59.

⁹⁷⁷ Records of Jose Arana's petition to Mexican authorities is copied into the Santa Cruz Deeds book. Original land petitions from the Mexican era (1821–48) are mostly lost in the aforementioned missing alcalde's book. Arana's petition claimed that, “having negotiated to make a garden of fruit trees I petition to be granted me a piece of land situated on the bank of the river and also at the edge of the Camino Real which leads to the pueblo, below or adjoining the land of the Indians Pascual and Fidel, the dimensions of which are 500 varas north and south and 150 from east and west, that said land may be used for the work of agriculture and, to the best advantage provide for the maintenance of my increasingly numerous family... Santa Cruz, March 10, 1844.” SCCD 1:11.

oven," presumably the back burner.⁹⁷⁸ The three men included Bernardino Farias, one of Coletto's sons; Carlos Roun; and Geronimo Real Pacheco.⁹⁷⁹ By this time, Geronimo and his kin were known to be living up on the west side, not on the potrero with Bernardino and Carlos. Did Geronimo attempt to use his clout and standing within the Californio community to help the Yokuts to fight for their lands? In later interviews, Arana defended Geronimo's character, saying that he was "honorable, not a common man, not a drunkard, a good man," someone that Arana would trust with his children.⁹⁸⁰ Did Geronimo join the complaint to lend his weight to their cause? The letter stated the following:

We, Bernardeno Farias, Carlos Roun, Geronimo Pacheco Real, [sic] present ourselves before you as the principal authority of this jurisdiction of Santa Cruz of the Government of the United States. First, in the year 1834 the missions were secularized by the previous Mexican government and land was apportioned to us, a certain plot for cultivation to each person. In the year [18]44 Sr. Jose Arana took our land away from us without our knowing by whose order. We made some claims to the Mexican Government which was Sr. Micheltorena who put our petitions in the oven. We therefore beg you to bring this to the attention of the present Government of the United States so that Sr. Arana returns to us our lands which we need for our sustenance. Since our fathers worked for this land, the only gift left to us, we therefore humbly beg that you heed our petition and return to us the land that belongs to us, whereby we will receive mercy and grace.

By the end of the 1840s most of the landholding Indigenous people of the region had sold or lost their lands.⁹⁸¹ The exact conditions of these sales are not known, but the quick turnover shows how quickly the promise of Indigenous land ownership passed. Xuclan

⁹⁷⁸ University of California, Santa Cruz, McHenry Library, Pre-Statehood Documents, Uncataloged Starr Gurke Translations, February 12, 1847, Reel 13, 1013.

⁹⁷⁹ Carlos and Bernardino appear on the previously cited sale of some of these lands.

⁹⁸⁰ This quote by Arana was previously cited, 93, Land Case 285 SD, Rancho Tres Ojos de Agua..

⁹⁸¹ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 404. Hackel finds the same pattern in Monterey.

retained title to his home, but it appears that everyone else had sold their lands or otherwise never received official title. Despite the legal dispossession, many surviving members of these Indigenous communities remained in the region, finding ways to maintain homes on former mission lands.

Geronimo is said to have died sometime around 1850, but there is no burial record for him at the mission. Instead, there is a note requesting reimbursement from the county “Indian fund, to J.L. Majors, for digging grave for Indian Geronimo (deceased) for \$3; for making \$6 (cut to \$4), \$7 paid, P. Tracy, clerk.”⁹⁸² Did Geronimo make an intentional choice to be buried on his lands, instead of within the mission cemetery? His wife Barbara also does not appear in the mission burial records, though she seems to have passed a few years earlier.⁹⁸³ Perhaps the exclusion of the two is a statement of discontent by Geronimo and Barbara regarding the Catholicism offered at the mission, or a desire to receive a traditional Indigenous burial.

Conclusion

The 1830s and 40s were yet another period of rapid change. After years of imposed ties to Mission Santa Cruz, Indigenous families finally experienced emancipation from the limits of *neofía*. After the closing of the mission, three distinct Indigenous communities formed Indigenous neighborhoods surrounding the mission. Some left to work on Californio

⁹⁸² Rowland Files, Pre-Statehood Documents, McHenry Special Collections, Rowland Files, B-1, 1062.01, County Government, University of California, Santa Cruz. The county clerk, Peter Tracy, will reappear briefly in chapter 6, benefitting by gaining lands at a time when Indians were forbidden from holding them. It appears that Tracy learned how to navigate American legal policies regarding Indians.

⁹⁸³ Barbara last appears on the padron of 1841. The 1845 padron lists Geronimo as a widower.

ranchos, while others moved into the area through marriage or for rancho work. Life for those on the rancho was carefully overseen by the Californios, and movement in general was subject to permissions and restriction by Californio officials. Some left the region to return to ancestral lands. Some of these returned to steal horses from local ranchos, likely building on their regional familiarity and local ties formed from their mission days. A select few of the younger generation, such as Lorenzo Asisara, explored the greater region.

Geronimo Chugiut’s story best exemplifies the promise of social and economic integration with the Californio community. His success offers a glimpse of the possibilities during the Mexican National era. Yet, despite his relative success, these gains were always held in check by remnants of the colonial racial and social laws that had established notions of second-class status.

During the 1840s, large numbers of European and American foreigners began to distinguish themselves from the local Californio and Indigenous communities. The demographic shift of the 1840s, the first decade that the Native American population become a minority in the region, resulted in growing power and influence of the Americans. Locals such as Isaac Graham and his friends in Zayante became involved in California politics, helping to undermine Mexican authorities while building momentum for the Bear Flag Revolt.⁹⁸⁴

⁹⁸⁴ By the 1840s, Graham and his followers began to actively challenge Mexican authorities, leading to numerous skirmishes and even the arrest and temporary deportation of Graham. See Doyce Blackman Nunis, *The Trials of Isaac Graham* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1967). This dissertation does not examine the Mexican American War in depth, as I focus on the perspective of Indigenous people. For the most complete study of the war, see Neal Harlow, *California Conquered: The Annexation of a Mexican Province, 1846-1850* (University of California Press, 1989).

In 1848, after years of tensions between Americans and Mexicans, the whole of the Southwest was turned over to the United States through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Despite the lack of formal treaty or title to the large region that constitutes contemporary California, the Mexican government “gave” these lands to the United States. The consequences for local Indians were immense, as new racial and political policies targeted Indians. The promises of the 1830s and ‘40s quickly faded as new challenges and waves of violence entered the land.

Chapter 6: “They won’t try to kill you if they think you’re already dead”

“They won’t try to kill you if they think you’re already dead”

– Gregg Castro (Salinan/Ohlone), October 1, 2015⁹⁸⁵

On a cold December morning in 1884, two young Indigenous men known as Tahoe and Cache watched as a local barn burned, smoke rising up in the dawn sky. The fire was the latest in a series of arsons that had burned new barns and homes in the lands historically inhabited by the local Indigenous communities following the closing of Mission Santa Cruz, which had fallen in an earthquake back in 1857. In response to the latest fire, the local constable arrested two young men, Rafael Castro and Jose Lend, known in town as Tahoe and Cache, respectively, descendants of local Indigenous families. Tahoe and Cache had done their best to adjust to their changing world, working a variety of jobs in town. They played shortstop and catcher, positions of advanced skill and athletic ability, for the local Santa Cruz Powder Works baseball team. Locals knew the two young men for their knowledge of local plants and animals, for catching and selling local fish and game, as well as for being expert egg collectors who could find nests of even the rarest of local birds. American authorities sentenced the pair after a hurried appearance before a judge.⁹⁸⁶ In their interrogation regarding the fires, printed in the local paper, Cache testified that they

⁹⁸⁵ This quote came from informal discussion following a talk given by Castro at Cabrillo College on October 1, 2015. Castro gave a talk for Stan Rushworth’s English class that evening, telling stories of local history and on Indigenous survival and perseverance. Here, Castro explained why his family hid their Indian heritage.

⁹⁸⁶ “Their Childish Innocence in Having a ‘Little Fun’ at the Expense of Property Owners – the Community Can Now Sleep in Peace,” *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, December 10, 1884. Deputy Sheriff Alzina and Officer Majors arrested the two young men on Friday, December 5, they appeared before a judge on Monday, December 9, and sent to San Quentin two weeks later, on December 24. *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, December 24, 1884.

had lit the fires “just for fun.”⁹⁸⁷ Joe Lend confessed to the arsons, while Rafael Castro claimed that he was asleep at the time, but that he knew about Joe’s involvement in the other arsons.⁹⁸⁸ The two young men had no legal representation, and the quick trial did not include a jury.⁹⁸⁹ The responses given by Tahoe and Cache suggest that at least one other American man was involved with the arson, but nobody else was questioned.⁹⁹⁰

The judge sentenced the two men to six years at the newly built San Quentin facility and sent them away before within a few weeks. Neither survived their sentence. These young men had been well liked before the incident, as Mrs. Fagen, Cache’s employer, described her employee affectionately if somewhat condescendingly, as “faithful and industrious, his simple tastes were like a child’s... Mrs. Fagen was very much surprised to hear that Cache was implicated, and attributed his being led into it through strong drink... [she] had trusted him with sums of money and had invariably found him honest.”⁹⁹¹ Yet, despite their affability and relative success in navigating their changing world, these two young men were under suspicion and denied access to real justice by an incoming American

⁹⁸⁷ “Two Indian Boys Arrested for Arson – One Confesses, the Other Denies,” *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, December 10, 1884. Santa Cruz officials brought the two men before Justice Spalsbury, and the interrogation was conducted by the District Attorney.

⁹⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁹ Ibid. This article states that the two young men “did not want an attorney.”

⁹⁹⁰ *Daily Alta California*, April 13, 1884, 1:1. I am referencing Henry Martin True. Tahoe and Cache testified that True had given them liquor in exchange for burning the barn of True’s son-in-law a few months earlier. True was also involved, possibly as an extortionist, in the infamous Senator Sharon Scandal in San Francisco, a connection pointed out to me by Santa Cruz local historian Geoffrey Dunn. True died suspiciously during the Sharon investigation earlier in 1884, testifying on his death bed. Since True had “gone to a higher tribunal, over which the Justice Court of Santa Cruz Township has no control,” American authorities focused only on the two young men. “Their Childish Innocence in Having a ‘Little Fun’ at the Expense of Property Owners – the Community Can Now Sleep in Peace,” *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, December 10, 1884.

⁹⁹¹ Ibid.

society that criminalized any who fit the racial category of Indian.⁹⁹² The two young men died shortly after their sentencing. Joe Lend died on May 3, 1886, from tuberculosis of the lymph nodes about sixteen months after sentencing. About a year after Lend’s death, Rafael Castro was reported to have gone “insane” and was sent to the Stockton Insane Asylum in August 1887, where he died about a year later.⁹⁹³

The two young men’s potential involvement in the arsons has to be understood in the larger historical context of land loss and colonialism, as has been argued by local historian Geoffrey Dunn.⁹⁹⁴ The arsons took place during a period of dangerous and grim circumstances facing Indigenous families after American annexation of California in 1848. I say ‘potential involvement’ because the convictions were given hastily, and that the two young men did not get a fair trial. Tahoe never admitted guilt, and it is possible that local white citizens used the two young men as scapegoats or at least failed to investigate the involvement of others. I do not explore the question of guilt in depth here; instead I offer an understanding of the potential motivations for why they may have burned down these white settlements that had recently been built on historically Indigenous lands.

One article celebrated the arrest of these “two illiterate and drunken Indians.”⁹⁹⁵ The unnamed author asked “What do they care? They do not own property; they want some fun.” The author observed, without irony, that the men did not own property, failing

⁹⁹² Dunn, “Conquest and Destiny: The Tragic Story of ‘Cache’ and ‘Tahoe’” in *Santa Cruz Is in the Heart, Volume II: Further Writings on Local History, Culture, Politics & Ghosts* (Capitola, CA: Capitola Book Company, 2013), 19–26. Dunn tracked down records of their deaths. This article expands Dunn’s argument by examining the family histories of these two men, as well as providing a larger context of Indigenous Santa Cruz in the American era.

⁹⁹³ Ibid. Research on their fates was conducted and reported by Dunn.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁵ “Their Childish Innocence in Having a ‘Little Fun’ at the Expense of Property Owners – the Community Can Now Sleep in Peace,” *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, December 10, 1884.

to take into account the historical dispossession of lands that was underway at this time.⁹⁹⁶

This same article made a point to connect the arsons with the murder and robbery of a white community member from eight years earlier, a crime that ended with the lynching of two dark skinned suspects.⁹⁹⁷

Newspaper reports pointed out that the two “Indian firebugs” descended from “Maria” and her sister, two of the survivors of Mission Santa Cruz.⁹⁹⁸ This is likely a reference to Maria Filomena and her sister, Maria Guadalupe.⁹⁹⁹ Maria Filomena, who survived locally into the twentieth century, was the stepdaughter of Xuclan (Ricardo), the former mission song leader who up until 1866 held the last parcel of mission lands granted to a local Indigenous person. Filomena and her son would have been intimately aware of Xuclan’s dispossession, which likely shaped the sense of loss and injustice of his grandson, Rafael (“Tahoe”) Castro.¹⁰⁰⁰ Were the arsons attempts by these two young men to challenge

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid. It is probable that the Duncan McPherson, the owner of the Sentinel and leader of the local anti-Chinese movement.

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid. American officials arrested Jose Chamales and Francisco Arias for the murder, and accused them of having used the stolen money to attend a local circus. This event resulted in the lynchings of the two men on the Water Street bridge, and is discussed in depth by Ken Gonzales-Day, *Lynchings in the West, 1850–1935* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 93–100, and by Dunn, “Santa Cruz’s Most Notorious Lynching,” *Good Times*, November 12, 2013. The cited *Sentinel* article drew connections between Tahoe and Cache, claiming that “Two Indians, in their childish innocence may kill a man for the fun of seeing him kick, and then rob him of money with which to purchase tickets for a circus, and spend the balance, if any is left, in buying peanuts for their copper-colored squaws. Without any compunction they can set buildings on fire.” There are no actual connections between the two events, other than their dark skin and the vitriol of the newspaper journalists.

⁹⁹⁸ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 24, 1884. The reference to the “Indian firebugs” came from a short article about the sentencing of the two young men, stating that “the Indian firebugs were taken to their future home in San Quentin.” The reference to “Maria” came from undated articles by local historian Ernest Otto, who penned a column on local history in the 1940s and ‘50s. For more on Otto, see the chapter on him titled, “A Historian for All Time,” in Dunn, *Santa Cruz Is in the Heart: Selected Writings on Local History, Culture, Politics & Ghosts* (Capitola Book Company, 1989).

⁹⁹⁹ Santa Cruz Baptismal Record (hereafter referred to as SCZB#) 2191, and Maria Guadalupe, SCZB#2647.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Rafael “Tahoe” Castro, SCZB#3428. Maria Filomena “Castor” appears in the 1900 US census, as a seventy-five-year-old servant to Maria de los Angeles Majors, who herself was listed as eighty-three

the loss of their lands? Was this a subtle rebellion against encroachment on their family lands and the violence leveled at their community? Or had they been manipulated by others, bribed into helping burn down the barns of competing neighbors? Unfortunately, the lack of investigation by contemporary authorities leaves these questions open.

The young men’s involvement in the fires, despite these remaining unanswered questions, points to a long history of local Indigenous use of fires. The fire that led to their arrest came ninety-one years after the Quiroste rebellion in December of 1893, when local Indigenous people attacked and burned down the first Santa Cruz Spanish mission settlement. While the Quiroste rebellion was an attempt by an Indigenous majority to challenge initial Spanish occupation and a small number of foreign settlers, the barn burnings of 1884 could possibly have represented frustration over the increasing encroachment of incoming Americans on lands that had belonged to local survivors of the mission. In these ninety years, the demographics had switched, and the surviving Indigenous community watched as great numbers of settlers moved onto these lands. Along with the Americans came more violence directed at Indians and dark-skinned Californios. Much had changed over these ninety-one years, and these young men seem to have used fire as a tool of resistance in a time when their Indigenous community was marginalized and subjected to American genocidal policies and attitudes. This chapter examines the story of these two young men, along with other stories of perseverance and struggle by Indigenous survivors.

The story of Tahoe and Cache exemplifies the larger situation facing the surviving Indigenous community in the years following American annexation in 1848. This is a story of

years. As will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, the Majors family provided a home for a number of local Indians, including Filomena’s stepfather, Xuclan (Ricardo), as noted in the previous chapter.

survival in the face of state-sponsored violence and displacement, where Indigenous families persevered by relying on community, cultural practices and knowledge—like sweat lodges, traditional songs and dances, and geographic familiarity built on ancestral knowledge.¹⁰⁰¹ Despite the short period of limited rights and land ownership during the Mexican national years (1834–1848), the surviving Native community found this short window closing quickly as newly imposed American racial, legal, and political structures pushed Indians to the margins of society.¹⁰⁰² While the gold-filled interior of California became the stage for military campaigns, militias, and Indian wars, those living within established Mexican settlements, speaking Spanish and wearing similar clothes, faced their own versions of this statewide campaign of anti-Indian violence. Indigenous survivors in Santa Cruz found strategies of racial passing, relocation, labor, and even outright resistance, as seen in the burning of houses built on family lands.¹⁰⁰³ At the same time, American newspapers celebrated stories embracing the vanishing remnants of the local Indigenous inhabitants, helping to justify homesteading and land grabs.¹⁰⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰¹ Throughout this chapter will be examples of stories, mostly related by white settlers, of local Indigenous people and their familiarity with natural resources like water and springs, knowledge of local plants and animals, and other stories equating Indigenous survivors with these type of skills. To some extent this speaks to romanticized notions of the Noble Savage, with white settlers seeing Indigenous people as animalistic. On the other hand, this does speak to the deep ancestral knowledge and familiarity of the region of local Native peoples. For more on the myth of the noble savage, see Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

¹⁰⁰² This brief period of relative rights, as well as patterns of land ownership and loss, is covered in chapter 5.

¹⁰⁰³ The genocidal policies of early American occupation are explored in depth by Brendan C. Lindsay, *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846–1873* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012) and Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846–1873* (Yale University Press, 2016).

¹⁰⁰⁴ Boyd Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence* (First Peoples: New Directions in Indigenous Studies, 2014). This study focuses on the ways that narratives about the Modoc War have worked to justify land grabs and genocide while absolving guilt.

This chapter explores the ways that the local Indigenous population navigated these increasingly hostile times, spanning the second half of the nineteenth century. In these violent years, Indigenous politics became a politics of survival. Incoming Americans targeted Mexicans and Indians alike through lynchings, dispossession, and violent intimidation. Indigenous people survived by drawing on and seeking out connections with other Indigenous communities while relying on traditional practices to help facilitate survival. This chapter will first examine the changing policies of the incoming American state regarding Indians in the new state of California, beginning in 1848. This will include a look at the increasing violence towards Indigenous people from the 1850s onward. Then I will bring the focus back to Santa Cruz, looking at the effects of these policies on a local level, and including examples and stories of perseverance and survival, before returning to the story of Tahoe and Cache in the 1880s.

Santa Cruz became a site for relocating Indigenous Californians, who formed new kinship ties with local survivors; at the same time, some members of the Indigenous community sought larger groups of survivors in neighboring areas such as Watsonville and San Juan Bautista. Others found work in local ranches and households, limited labor opportunities that sometimes divided families. Despite popular American narratives that highlighted the impending disappearance of the local Indigenous community, the survivors of the mission and their descendants continued to inhabit the region.¹⁰⁰⁵ Somewhere

¹⁰⁰⁵ Clifford Trafzer and Joel R. Hyer, *Exterminate Them: Written Accounts of the Murder, Rape, and Slavery of Native Americans During the California Gold Rush, 1848–1868* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999). Trafzer has recovered early American newspaper articles highlighting genocide and campaigns of extinction throughout Gold Rush–era California. Still, many historians have repeated these misconceptions about extinction, referring to the “demise of the Indians” who “stood at the brink of doom” in the American era, see Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers:*

around two hundred Native peoples lived in the area up through the latter half of the nineteenth century (see figure 6.1). Immigration to California following the discovery of gold in the Sacramento region in 1848 resulted in a huge population boom. Existing Indigenous and Californio communities quickly became outnumbered by incoming foreigners. While Indians had become outnumbered for the first time by the 1840s, from the 1850s onward they formed a small minority of the overall population (see figure 6.1).

In many of these early census reports, Indigenous presence was severely underreported. This resulted from a mix of misperceptions and American ideas about citizenship. For example, in an account given by John J. Boyle of Watsonville, enumerator of the 1860 census, Boyle claimed that “before I finished my count, I received instructions that Indians who are not taxed should not be enumerated. Consequently there were a greater number of Indians I could not enumerate.”¹⁰⁰⁶ Despite the shortcomings of unreliable American census enumerators, Census documents show that this community persevered through this period. This chapter will illuminate stories of families and individuals who sought ways to survive in the midst of violence, disease, and dispossession that characterized the local Indigenous situation throughout the years of early American occupation.

The transition of California into an American state meant changing status for Indigenous Californians. Along with the huge influx of foreigners following the discovery of gold, the switch to political and legal control by the United States resulted in new racial and

The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California (University of California Press, 1990), xvii and 189, respectively.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Recorded in undated *Santa Cruz Sentinel* clipping by Leon Rowland. Copy held in Kimbro Archives, folder on Indians and Census. While Boyle was referencing the 1860 census, which did report more than two hundred Indians, it is likely that the 1850 and 1870 census enumerators were similarly instructed.

identity politics. The Mexican national system, while formally outlawing the *sistema de castas*, retained legacies of this complex and plural system of racial categorization. American courts relied on a much less nuanced binary built around skin color. This meant incoming whites failed to recognize distinctions between local Indigenous people and mixed blood or mestizo Mexican settlers. The legal and racial category of “Indian” shifted in these years to exclude a larger number of people from rights of representation and citizenship.

Year	Villa de Branciforte	Foreigners	Indians	Santa Cruz (County) totals
1845	294	56	120	
1850				643
1852			110	1,219
1860			218	4,944
1880			131	12,802
1900			68	21,512
1910			15	26,140
1920			45	26,269

Figure 6.1: Overall population figures, including “Indians.”¹⁰⁰⁷

Moreover, American politicians began to institute laws aimed to deal with the “Indian problem”—through a combination of federally funded extermination campaigns and child-indenture laws. For the Indigenous community throughout the Santa Cruz region, this was a time of struggle to find means of survival while hiding from incoming Anglos amongst the Mexican community. This was a time of violence and racially motivated lynchings. While the mission no longer stood, despite its reconstruction in the 1880s, remaining members of the mission community fought to protect their potrero lands behind the mission from the

¹⁰⁰⁷ These figures are all from US census records. The 1890 records only indicate the total numbers as the original census rolls were destroyed in the San Francisco fire. Santa Cruz County only technically applies after American incorporation. Here I mean in the area currently known as Santa Cruz County.

hordes of incoming foreigners. Some families remained on these lands through the 1880s, while others moved to surrounding communities.

American Statehood and Genocidal Indian Policies

By the middle of 1849, American officials began putting together plans for the political transition of California into American statehood. This came the year following the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and the subsequent news of gold. President Taylor sent his agent Thomas Butler King with instructions to apply for statehood as soon as possible. A few Californio elites, along with a number of foreigners, took part in the convention in Monterey in September. A few of these members had connections to Santa Cruz, including the Frenchman Pierre Sansevine and Thomas Larkin.¹⁰⁰⁸

Of the forty-eight delegates, eight were Californio, and another six included foreigners who had lived in California for ten years or more. Others included Larkin, Johann Sutter, John C. Frémont, and William Tecumseh Sherman. The Californio members included prominent figures such as Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and Pablo de la Guerra y Noriega, eldest son of the legendary José de la Guerra.¹⁰⁰⁹ These two were the only Californio members who spoke some English, and unsurprisingly were the two who spoke up the most. Pablo de la Guerra served as representative of Santa Bárbara, accepting an invite from

¹⁰⁰⁸ Annick Fourcrier, “Sailors, Carpenters, Vineyardists,” in *Santa Cruz History Journal, Issue Number 3, Special Branciforte Edition* (Santa Cruz, CA: Santa Cruz County Historical Trust, 1994), 135–44. Sansevine, the nephew of Californio Jean-Louis Vignes, one of the original viticulturists in the state, had lived at the Villa de Branciforte since the early 1840s. See Larkin was closely tied with the local Californio community and is the namesake of Larkin Valley Road, which runs between Aptos and Corralitos.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Louise Pubols, *The Father of All: The de La Guerra Family, Power, and Patriarchy in Mexican California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009). José de la Guerra would have been nearly seventy at the time of these meetings. By this time, his sons were in control of his estate and political responsibilities. The story of the de la Guerra family and their perspective in these meetings has been explored in depth by Pubols (284–87).

Manuel Jimeno of Monterey. The de la Guerra family had resisted acknowledging the rule of the United States prior, but the family hoped to preserve some of their own political powers.¹⁰¹⁰

The constitutional debates covered issues such as slavery and citizenship. One of the items of business included debates about the status of “Indians.” During the debates about the constitution, members of the Californio community were asked to comment and answer questions regarding citizenship, status, and race. The question of voting rights was discussed in depth.

De la Guera spoke out on this issue, asking to clarify “whiteness.” Here the colonial legacies of the more nuanced racial system, the *sistema de castas*, came into conflict with American racial binaries. American legal systems rested on exclusion of citizenship of Indians and Africans. Meanwhile, following independence, Mexican politics abolished race-based exclusion in an effort to challenge Spanish colonial casta restrictions. The discussion is recorded as follows, with Mr. de la Guerra referred to as Mr. Noriega [*italics mine*]:

Mr. Noriega desired that it should be perfectly understood in the first place, what is the true significance of the word white. *Many citizens of California have received from nature a very dark skin; nevertheless, there are among them men who have heretofore been allowed to vote, and not only that, but to fill the highest public offices. It would be very unjust to deprive them of the privileges of citizens merely because nature had not made them white.* But if by the word white, it was intended to exclude the African race, then it was correct and satisfactory.

Mr. Botts had no objection to color, except so far as it indicated the inferior races of mankind. He would be perfectly willing to use any words which would exclude the African and Indian races. It was in this sense the word white

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid. Pubols explores the ways in which male members of the de la Guerra family navigated power through the shifting political climate of nineteenth-century California.

had been understood and used. *His only object was to exclude those objectionable races not objectionable for their color, but for what that color indicates.*

Mr. Gilbert hoped the amendments proposed by the gentleman from Monterey [Botts] would not prevail. He was confident that if the word white was introduced, it would produce great difficulty. *The treaty [of Guadalupe Hidalgo] has said that Mexican citizens, upon becoming citizens of the United States, shall be entitled to the rights and privileges of American citizens.* It does not say whether those citizens are white or black, and we have no right to make the distinction. *If they be Mexican citizens, it is sufficient;* they are entitled to the rights and privileges of American citizens. No act of this kind could, therefore, have any effect. The treaty is above and superior to it.

Mr. Gwin would like to know from the gentleman acquainted with Mexican law, whether Indians and negroes are entitled to the privileges of citizenship under the Mexican government.

Mr. Noriega understood the gentleman from Monterey [Mr. Botts] to say that Indians were not allowed to vote according to Mexican law.

Mr. Botts said that, on the contrary, it was because he believed they were, that he had offered the amendment. He wished to exclude them from voting. Mr. Gwin asked the gentleman from Santa Barbara [Mr. Noriega] whether Indians and Africans were entitled to vote according to Mexican law.

Mr. Noriega said that, according to Mexican law, no race of any kind is excluded from voting.

Mr. Gwin wished to know if Indians were considered Mexican citizens? Mr. Noriega said that so far they were considered citizens, that some of the first men of the Republic were of the Mexican race.

The conflict resulted from distinctions between Californio (Spanish/Mexican) and American racial categories and histories. The Californios understood Indigenous Californians as forming two groups—those who had been affiliated with the missions (and therefore Hispanicized through linguistic, cultural, and religious conversion) and those still living in

their traditional ways.¹⁰¹¹ These they distinguished as being either *neofitos* or *gentiles*.¹⁰¹²

The Americans did not have the same distinctions. Instead they had their own preconceived notions about Indians formed through years of Indian wars and removal policies. Ultimately, the committee decided that the Constitution of 1848 would retain whiteness as a qualification for citizenship. They feared that incoming citizens would be outnumbered by the large majority of remaining Indigenous people throughout California.

Following the decisions of the committee, new policies targeted tribal peoples for extermination. Initially, meetings with tribal representatives took place in 1851 and 1852. At these meetings, officials negotiated plans for eighteen treaties, but the Senate refused to ratify them. The treaties remained shelved and hidden from the public for fifty years.¹⁰¹³ These unratified treaties were followed by policies that targeted Indian children for capture and forced indenture, vagrancy laws that targeted poor and unemployed Indians, and funding to reimburse militias and military campaigns against Indian peoples.¹⁰¹⁴ During the early years of American statehood, federally funded militias and military expeditions

¹⁰¹¹ These distinctions are explored in more depth in earlier chapters. Of course, colonial contact changed both Spanish and Indigenous; the idea that those outside of the missions lived in an uninterrupted continuum of tradition is flawed.

¹⁰¹² This distinction, which is also similar to the *casta* designations *de razon* (with reason) and *sin razon* (without reason), was used to distinguish between those living in accordance with Spanish values and those not.

¹⁰¹³ Larisa K. Miller, “The Secret Treaties with California’s Indians,” *Prologue* 45 (Fall/Winter 2013): 36–43.

¹⁰¹⁴ Kimberly Johnston-Dodds, *Early California Laws and Policies Related to California Indians* (California State Library, California Research Bureau, 2002). Indian indenture in relation to Rancho Guajome in San Diego County is specifically examined by Michael Magliari, “Free Soil, Unfree Labor: Cave Johnson Coutts and the Binding of Indian Workers in California, 1850–1867,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 73, no. 3 (August 2004), 349–89. A more recent study focuses on Sacramento, Magliari, “Free State Slavery: Bound Indian Labor and Slave Trafficking in California’s Sacramento Valley, 1850–1864,” *Pacific Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (May 2012), 155–92.

regularly waged war along the peripheries of Mexican settlement.¹⁰¹⁵ For Indigenous survivors in Santa Cruz, skills and experience with Spanish and Mexican language, clothing, and religious and cultural practices at times helped to hide them within the Californio community, or at least helped to make the differences between the communities tough for the typical Anglo settler to distinguish.

In 1874 an ad ran in the *Santa Cruz Sentinel* stating that Santa Cruz County had voted to end reimbursements for scalp bounties. The ad noted that “Modocs can let their hair down now,” a reference to the Modoc War that had recently ended in Northern California.¹⁰¹⁶ This attitude reflected the local American sense that the “Indian problem” that faced interior California did not exist in Santa Cruz—as Santa Cruz did not have any “wild” long-haired Modocs. This helped to assuage potential feelings of guilt and justify local land acquisitions. This limited perception of “Indian-ness” complicated American perceptions of local Indigenous people, as Americans viewed “real Indians” as being more along the lines of the tribal Modocs to the north. In fact, newspaper reports in the 1860s suggested that some sympathy for the local Indigenous peoples did exist. One article argued

¹⁰¹⁵ The devastating effects of these policies of outright extermination has been explored by a few scholars beginning with Robert F. Heizer, *The Destruction of California Indians: A Collection of Documents from the Period 1847 to 1865 in Which Are Described Some of the Things That Happened to Some of the Indians of California* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993) and William B. Secrest, *When the Great Spirit Died: The Destruction of the California Indians, 1850–1860* (Sanger, CA: Word Dancer Press, 2003). Survival in the face of these campaigns is emphasized by Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). Also see Lindsay, *Murder State*, and Madley, *An American Genocide*.

¹⁰¹⁶ Madley, “California and Oregon’s Modoc Indians: How Indigenous Resistance Camouflages Genocide in Colonial Histories” in *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, ed. Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto, and Alexander Laban Hinton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 95–130. The Modoc War was really the war waged against the Modoc people who attempted to retain access to their homelands, has been analyzed by Benjamin Madley. The ways in which narratives about the Modoc War were used to justify settler colonialism have been examined by Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War*.

for the protection of the potrero lands behind the mission.¹⁰¹⁷ But even this supportive article was patronizing, ultimately arguing for more restrictive measures preventing Indians from access to liquor.¹⁰¹⁸ For the *Sentinel* editors, the image of the hostile ‘savage Indian’ became the image of the Modoc, despite the persistence of local Indigenous survivors.

Other policies targeted Indian children for capture and servitude, under the guise of Indian indenture.¹⁰¹⁹ Indian indenture was eventually outlawed following the Civil War. In Santa Cruz, while no official documents record petitions for Indian indenture, the census shows that many families did indeed have young Indigenous children who worked as

¹⁰¹⁷ “Lo! The Poor Indian,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, June 6, 1866, 2:6. The author claims in reference to remaining Native Americans, that “All are now scattered, or have passed away; their trial character has become extinct – except about forty, who have their houses on the Potrero, within the limits of our Incorporation. These few keep up their tribal distinctions... Would it not be well for the citizens of Santa Cruz to now determine that the Potrero, the land granted to two Indians, shall be forever set apart to those Indians and their children, and that no vandal shall ever despoil them of what the good priest gave them for services rendered?” The article concludes by stating, “the poor fellows are industrious, earn their own living, are a tax upon no person, and are quiet and inoffensive. Then, for humanity’s sake, if not for the sake of law and justice, let us protect them in what is their right, and punish those who do them this great injury.” The two unnamed Indians who received the grant are Fidel and Pasqual, discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Ibid.* The newly established American courts in Santa Cruz had prosecuted Americans for selling liquor as early as 1848, see Rowland Card Files, Santa Cruz Pre-Statehood Documents, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box B-1, Card 289.01 –.05, June 16, 1848, Box C, Cards 150–52: Court of Sessions, December 1–February 4, 1851. The Alcalde Records, Santa Cruz Pre-Statehood Documents, Box B-1, Card 361.02, 1850, report that “Any person who shall be convicted of selling or giving any intoxicating liquors to any Indian shall for each offense be fined in a sum of not less than \$50 nor more than \$200 at the descrrsion [sic] the court.” Still it is clear that alcohol was a problem for the local Indigenous community, although, as I elaborated in chapter 5, alcohol abuse was likely closely tied to transgenerational trauma.

¹⁰¹⁹ Stacey L. Smith, *Freedom’s Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2013). Smith’s study examines the contradictions of slavery and freedom in early American California. Other studies that have looked at this include James A. Sandos, “Between Crucifix and Land: Indian-White Relations in California, 1769–1848,” in *Contested Eden: California, Before the Gold Rush*, ed. Ramón A. Gutiérrez (San Francisco: University of California Press, 1997), 220, and more in depth by Benjamin Madley, “Unholy Traffic in Human Blood and Souls: Systems of California Indian Servitude under US Rule,” *Pacific Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (November 2014), 626–67.

servants.¹⁰²⁰ This came at a time when other communities of color, such as a small number of African Americans and the more numerous Chinese men, began to find work in white households. The Santa Cruz community of the American era was made up of a diversity of settlers, the majority being composed of Germans, Italians, Portuguese (including fishermen from the Azores), and eastern-born Americans.

Locally, a group of American vigilantes focused their anger on the local Californio community, including the Mexican settlers and Indigenous people. Lynchings throughout the greater region by these vigilantes, frequently led by Matt Tarpy, created an atmosphere of racial hostility aimed at dark-skinned people.¹⁰²¹ These hostilities extended to Californio civilians and important members of local society. The case of Macedonio and Romualda illustrates the effects of these shifting racial politics.

Macedonio and Romualda: “Indian” as a Social Category of Exclusion

In 1851, a land trial in the new American courts highlighted the changing status of those classified under the shifting racial category of “Indian.” This case involved a prominent family in the Villa de Branciforte community, early settlers of the region, Macedonio Lorenzana and his wife, Maria Romualda. The story of this family leads back to a young

¹⁰²⁰ Official requests for Indian children as indentured servants can be found in the Center for Sacramento History, Indian Indentures: 1861 and 1862, filed March 4, 1861, and January 28, 1862. None of these examples are from Santa Cruz, yet the practice existed before official legislation. In the 1860 census, for example, the following youth were listed as Indian servants in white households: ten-year-old Samuel Offen, page 634, visit 1101; sixteen-year-old Louis Cannarth, page 625, visit 1009; sixteen-year-old Francisca (no last name), page 577, visit 491; and fifteen-year-old Refugio, page 584, visit 554.

¹⁰²¹ Gonzales-Day, *Lynchings in the West*. Lynchings in Santa Cruz are documented as early as 1851, with white mobs predominately targeting Indians or Mexicans. Sixteen such lynchings are documented in Santa Cruz County between 1852 and 1877. The most infamous of these is the previously mentioned lynching of Jose Chamales and Francisco Arias in 1877. With much less infamy, a few months earlier a local Indigenous man, Carlos, had been murdered at a saloon (discussed in more depth later in this chapter). It was a time of extreme violence, especially for darker-skinned community members.

mestizo orphan from Mexico City named Macedonio who made his way to the Villa de Branciforte.¹⁰²² There, he and his wife, herself the daughter of a Spanish soldier and a local Ohlone woman, raised their large family. Their story demonstrates the rapid downward social mobility facing Californio families following the transition to US statehood. The parents worked hard to provide for their large family, yet found themselves targeted for their mixed-blood racial status; they were seen by the incoming settlers as “Indians”—and thus not citizens.¹⁰²³ This story illustrates not only the downward trajectory of rights for those with Indigenous heritage in the new American state, but also a defiant stand taken by Lorenzana, as he defended his rights, and by implication, the rights of his wife and of others identified as Indian.

The Lorenzana family arrived at the Villa de Branciforte in the early years following Mexican Independence. His trial was wrapped into issues of land ownership and grants from the Mexican era. Beginning in the 1830s many local Californios petitioned for and received lands from the Mexican government. Politically prominent local families like the Castros and the Rodriguezes received rancho plots of great acreage, whereas working-class members of

¹⁰²² Robert H. Jackson, *Race, Caste, and Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999). In the Spanish colonial world, an elaborate hierarchical caste system (*sistema de castas*) was used to explain race and heritage—built around many variations of Native American, African, and Spanish ancestry. *Mestizo* was one of these categories, and meant a person with Native American and Spanish parents. The *sistema de castas* was used to justify racial hierarchies, as Spanish-born Americans (*criollos*) held higher positions than the rest. In California, for example, the Spanish prohibited local Native people (*indios*) from using firearms, lighting fires, or riding horses. These ideas were spread through *Casta* paintings from Spain, which taught stereotypes of superiority and inferiority, see Magali Marie Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

¹⁰²³ Details about the life of Maria Romualda and the migration of young Macedonio along with the group of children from the Lorenzana Orphanage is examined in my forthcoming article, “He Came from an Indian Kingdom: The Lorenzana Family, Race & Rights in a Changing Society,” *Santa Cruz County History Journal* 9 (Museum of Art & History, Santa Cruz, 2016).

the Villa de Branciforte received smaller plots and shared communal pasturelands (*ejidos*) for their livestock. Macedonio was one of these. In Branciforte, Macedonio worked as a manual laborer.¹⁰²⁴ In the 1830s, he began to fulfill roles of civil service for the growing Branciforte community, serving as *regidor* (councilman) by 1838, and as second *alcalde* (mayor) in 1841.¹⁰²⁵ Macedonio became known as a reputable and reliable member of the community.¹⁰²⁶ After a fire consumed his home, he received a grant of land in the Villa de Branciforte by September of 1841.¹⁰²⁷ Eventually his older children received lots, including his oldest son, Jose. Jose’s home still stands as the lone adobe on old Villa de Branciforte lands, known today as the Craig-Lorenzana Adobe.¹⁰²⁸

¹⁰²⁴ Macedonio is listed as a “laborer” in the censuses of 1839 and 1845. For these see Santa Cruz Mission Libro de Padrones, Monterey Diocese Chancery Archives, Monterey, CA, and Robert H. Jackson, “The Villa de Branciforte Census,” *Antepasados* 4 (1980–1981), 45–57.

¹⁰²⁵ Macedonio was cited as regidor in the notes in “Proceedings of the trial of Francisco Pinto for not having done right by Margarita Castro,” May 14, 1838, California Pre-Statehood Documents, MS 105, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 2:3, #170. He is also noted as “secretario” in 1834 in Rowland Collection, C-878, #396, and as second alcalde in 1841 by Cornelio Perez in testimony about the land grant of Tres Ojos de Agua (modern Westside Santa Cruz). See Bancroft Library (hereafter referred to as BL), Documents Pertaining to the Adjudication of Private Land Claims in California, circa 1852–1892, BANC MSS Land Case Files 1852–1892, BANC MSS C-A 300 FILM, Land Case 285 SD, Tres Ojos de Agua, Transcript 591: “Tres Ojos de Agua” Nicolas Doderio, Claimant, 150. The late local historian Leon Rowland noted that Macedonio “served as second alcalde under Buelna and Bolcoff in 1845 and the first half of 1846, and at various times in the preceding two decades was regidor or sindico,” see Pre-Statehood Documents, University of California, Santa Cruz, Rowland Collection, C-636.

¹⁰²⁶ “Book of trials and municipal affairs of Branciforte Alcalde for 1833 and 1834,” January 29, 1834, California Pre-Statehood Documents, MS 105, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box 2:3, #169. In the book of Settlement of Disputes, 1833–34, reliable members of the local Californio community called upon “good men” (*hombres buenos*) to testify. Macedonio was called upon in this manner.

¹⁰²⁷ His petition for a new piece of land adjoining the San Lorenzo River and approval by Jose Bolcoff are found in Santa Cruz County Book of Deeds (referred to hereafter as SCCD), 1:11-2, September 18, 1841.

¹⁰²⁸ The Craig-Lorenzana or Branciforte Adobe is today a private residence on the corner of Branciforte and Goss Avenues.

By the 1850s, the influx of gold seekers now looking for land, together with the new statehood regulations, forced land owners to defend their lands in US courts.¹⁰²⁹ These courts required translators, surveyors to confirm boundaries, and legal representatives, all hoping to be paid in land. The smaller landowners couldn’t afford the legal costs to keep their lands, and settling Americans claimed the common pasturelands.

Heavy drought years in the 1850s surrounding flood years and followed by the drought of 1862–65 had a heavy impact on the once thriving cattle industry, bankrupting many Californio ranchers.¹⁰³⁰ Others lost land to squatters, who used homesteading laws to claim tracts of their own. In some cases, families feuded over their lands, losing more lands in costly courtroom procedures.¹⁰³¹ In the case of Amesti v. Castro, two families fought over the boundary lines between their two ranchos. Macedonio Lorenzana played a role in this case—a role that would later affect his standing in the community.

The dispute centered on the boundaries between two of the first rancho properties granted by Governor Arguello following Mexican Independence. Spanish-born Don José Amesti received Rancho Corralitos, while the locally born Jose Joaquin Castro received

¹⁰²⁹ Many of the settlers did not know that the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo obligated the United States to honor Mexican land claims. US Congress enacted the California Land Act of 1851, formally titled “An Act to Ascertain and Settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California.” This act set up the Board of Land Commissioners, who established strict guidelines for proving land ownership.

¹⁰³⁰ David Igler, *Industrial Cowboys: Miller & Lux and the Transformation of the Far West, 1850–1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 56. The Mexican government taxed ranchers by production, while the US tax system taxed by land, increasing the devastating impact of these drought years. After heavy flooding in 1861–62, California experienced one of its driest periods in recorded history in the drought of 1862–65. Many historians credit this drought for breakdown of the cattle industry. Meanwhile, some industrious immigrants profited from the subsequent sales of rancho lands. A broader study that looks at cattle, environment, and colonialism in California and Hawaii can be found in John Ryan Fischer, *Cattle Colonialism: An Environmental History of the Conquest of California and Hawai’i* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

¹⁰³¹ Leonard Pitt, *Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966). Pitt was the first to explore the particularly rapid change in Northern California following the Gold Rush.

Rancho San Andrés. In the spring of 1846, Macedonio, who was serving as second alcalde at the time, was called on to document the boundaries between the two ranchos. At the time Jose Bolcoff, “El Ruso”—the Russian who had married into the Castro family—was serving as first alcalde.¹⁰³² Worried that this might be a conflict of interest, Bolcoff instructed Macedonio as second alcalde to oversee the mapping of the rancho lands. Amesti protested the boundary lines and was allowed to arbitrate before the alcalde of Monterey, Walter Colton. In May of 1847, the Vermont-born former naval chaplain decided on behalf of Amesti.¹⁰³³

After the death of Joaquin Castro in 1850, his heirs sued Amesti. They claimed that the “extraordinary proceeding” of the arbitration hearing of 1847 had been fraudulent and fixed by Amesti’s allies. The court proceedings lasted into the early 1870s, as Amesti appealed the ruling after losing his claim. Ultimately, Amesti’s wife, María Prudencia Vallejo de Amesti, won the court battle and was able to keep the lands.¹⁰³⁴ The Castro heirs sold off much of the remaining Rancho San Andrés lands in 1873.¹⁰³⁵

¹⁰³² Marion D. Pokriots, “Don Jose Antonio Bolcoff: Branciforte’s Russian Alcalde,” in *Santa Cruz History Journal* 3, *Special Branciforte Edition*, 97–107.

¹⁰³³ Barry Goode, “The American Conquest of Alta California and the Instinct for Justice: The ‘First’ Jury Trial in California,” *California History* 90, no. 2, 2013, 4–23. Goode relates the story of the former naval chaplain appointed as the Monterey alcalde by Commodore Robert F. Stockton following the United States seizure of Monterey in July 1846.

¹⁰³⁴ María Prudencia was a member of the Bay Area Vallejo family. Don Amesti died in 1855. While she won this case, she was forced to sell much of her lands to cover court costs in dealing with squatters who moved onto her lands in the 1860s. Records of her land sales are found in Santa Cruz County Office of the Recorder (SCCR), Deeds, 36:158, 35:113, 34:486, and 34:491. She sold the majority of her lands to the family’s San Francisco–based attorney William Patterson, SCCR Deeds, 2:87-91.

¹⁰³⁵ Kimbro, et al, *Historic Structure Report for Rancho San Andrés Castro Adobe: State Historic Park* (Davenport, CA: Historical Investigations, 1985), 22–29. Ironically, they sold the majority of the lands to Amesti attorney, Patterson, for two thousand dollars, to recover court costs and damages from the trial. Kimbro pieced together records to find that Guadalupe Castro had actually “sold more of the rancho than finally existed making it necessary that the lawsuit against Amesti be won. Losing the lawsuit ensured the ruin of all,” 29.

During the hearing in 1851, Macedonio was called to testify, as he had been the one who had signed and authorized the boundary lines in question. This was only the tenth local case to be tried in the newly established US courts. Under United States racial and legal practices at the time, those identified by the racial category “Indian” were not recognized as citizens.¹⁰³⁶ Although he had been classified as mestizo at his orphanage, the dark-skinned Macedonio now identified himself as an “Indian.”¹⁰³⁷ If Native Americans in Mexican and Spanish society were second-class citizens due to the legacies of the caste system, in US society “Indians” were complete outsiders.¹⁰³⁸ US laws prohibited Native Americans from citizenry and the rights it conferred: to own land, vote, and even testify in court.¹⁰³⁹ Macedonio fell victim to these shifting racial politics.¹⁰⁴⁰

¹⁰³⁶ Article II, Section 1 of the California State Constitution of 1849 outlined voting rights for “every white male citizen of the United States, and every white male citizen of Mexico.” It allowed the legislature to, by two-thirds vote, admit “Indians or the descendants of Indians, in such special cases.” While the *sistema de castas* emphasized ancestry, the California constitution shifted racial identity to a focus on skin color, dividing the Californio community in new ways.

¹⁰³⁷ María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008). These racial categories (*sistema de castas*) were somewhat fluid, as people shifted in classification over time. Martínez examines the origins of this system, its connection to Spanish concepts of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood), and the limitations of these categories.

¹⁰³⁸ Johnston-Dodds, *Early California Laws and Policies*. Along with California statehood came laws targeting California Indians. These included laws supporting the kidnapping of Native children and provided millions of federal dollars to support militias and scalp bounties..

¹⁰³⁹ The US government passed the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924 in recognition of the large numbers of Native American servicemen and -women who fought during World War I. This included many local Ohlone people; see the stories shared on the website for the Muwekma Ohlone (<http://www.muwekma.org/>), for one example.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Macedonio was not the only person to find himself on trial over his racial identity and Indigenous heritage. In 1858, during the land case regarding the Rancho el Pescadero in modern Pebble Beach (Monterey County), claimant Jose Armenta was similarly questioned about his Indian heritage. See Documents Pertaining to the Adjudication of Private Land Claims in California, Land Case 157 SD, circa 1852–1892, BANC MSS Land Case Files 1852–1892; BANC MSS C-A 300 FILM, BL, University of California, Berkeley. This connection was pointed out to me by UC Santa Cruz history graduate student John Klein.

The judge inquired about Macedonio’s racial identity and Peter Tracy, the county clerk, transcribed the court discussion as follows:

Macedonio Lorenzana being sworn duly says that he is of Indian descent, that he never knew his father and mother, that he has the right of holding property and voting in Mexico—was born in the City of Mexico. He cannot say how long he lived in Mexico. He came to this country when quite an infant. He came here by order of the government of Mexico—about six or seven years—to populate the land. He does not know the name of the person who brought him here. He came here one year before the year one—he lived in the Pueblo of San José about ten years working with Francisco Castro, deceased. Francisco Castro was uncle to the plaintiffs in this suit. He worked for Castro as a son. He belong[s] to the Kingdom of the Indians of Mexico and considers himself an Indian.

Cross examination:

Cannot tell about a subject so remote but believes he belongs to the tribe of the Monterunias [sic].¹⁰⁴¹ He knows his parents were Indians—he knows it because the Kingdom of Mexico is Indian—and by that he knows he is an Indian. Cannot give any other reason for believing that he is an Indian other than he came from an Indian Kingdom. He has held office under the Mexican Government nearly one year. He has but little recollection of the City of Mexico...

The court decided the witness to be incompetent.¹⁰⁴²

American justice was situated within assumptions about racial hierarchies, and Macedonio’s testimony was not enough to avoid legal invisibility. Macedonio argued that he

¹⁰⁴¹ There is no tribe named “Monterunias.” Macedonio was likely referencing Moctezuma or Montezuma, the legendary emperor of the Aztecs. Alternatively Monterunias is similar to the two Spanish words *monte* and *ruinas*, which translate to mountain ruins. In either case, certainly Macedonio’s sense of identity is informed by stories and legends that likely circulated in California regarding the Aztecs. Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930* (Duke University Press, 2007). Earle describes the dynamics of mythmaking, Indigenous histories, and national memory. Similarly, Haas discusses “visions of Aztlan” and the making of California as a native story, *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2014), 151.

¹⁰⁴² Museum of Art & History, Santa Cruz County Records, Superior Court Material, File #10, Amesti v. Castro, Evidence in Case, 2.

had rights under Mexican law, the law that had ruled the land just a few years before this trial. When Macedonio pointed out that he had full citizenship rights “in Mexico,” he was not referring to the physical location of Mexico, but instead to California, a part of Mexico only a few years earlier. He was asserting that he held full rights, including voting and land ownership, in Mexican Santa Cruz in the years before US statehood.

Macedonio had been raised within Spanish colonial society, where racial identity signified status but did not necessarily exclude one from rights. The Spanish colonial world included both Indian communities and Spanish towns. Branciforte was no exception, as the majority of people in the area before the 1850s had some degree of Native heritage. Macedonio saw himself as a member of this diverse Indian society. Although he had little recollection of his early years in Mexico City, he proudly traced his heritage to the Aztecs of central Mexico.

Although it was not Macedonio’s land and home at stake in this trial, his standing within the community was diminished. The orphan, settler, citizen, family man, laborer, and former alcalde found himself excluded from the political process of the United States despite his years of hard work and community service. He never served in public office again. In February of 1852, Macedonio sold his lands to Peter Tracy, the same county clerk who recorded his testimony.¹⁰⁴³ Tracy clearly knew that Macedonio did not hold rights in the American legal system, including the right to hold land. Did Tracy use his knowledge from the trial to intimidate Macedonio into selling his lands? Without knowing the details of their interaction it is impossible to say, but this does fit a pattern of intimidation and dispossession.

¹⁰⁴³ Records of the sale of Macedonio’s lands are found in SCCR, Deeds, 1:275.

Macedonio died on January 29, 1863, a few months after this picture was taken of him alongside Jose Joaquin Juarez, his longtime neighbor and the husband of fellow orphan Pasquala Lorenzana.¹⁰⁴⁴

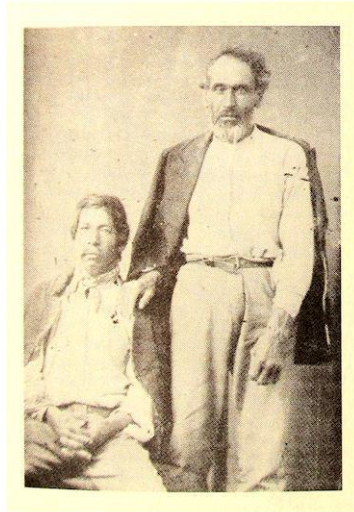


Figure 6.2: The man sitting is believed to be Macedonio Lorenzana, while the man standing is longtime neighbor and husband of Pasquala Lorenzana, Jose Joaquin Juarez.

Shortly after Macedonio’s death, his son, Faustino, began to have skirmishes with the law. Ironically, the younger generation of Californios, whose parents had been in frequent conflict with Native American horse and cattle raiders and bandits throughout the 1830s and ‘40s, now found themselves resorting to similar tactics, after watching their parents lose their land and rights.¹⁰⁴⁵ The Lorenzana boys ran alongside their cousin Tiburcio Vasquez and the local Robles and Rodriguez boys. As a response to these ‘bandits’ Vigilante

¹⁰⁴⁴ Macedonio’s death is recorded in Santa Cruz Holy Cross death record (SCZD#) 2415.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Many of these Indian raiders were Yokuts tribe members, brought to the local mission by Spanish soldiers during the colonial era. These Yokuts, called Tulareños by the Spaniards, were familiar with the area from their time at the mission. They returned to steal horse and cattle from local ranchos throughout the 1830s and ‘40s. Maria de los Angeles Castro Majors related a story of being spared by these raiders, when some of the members recognized her from their childhood; see interview by Belle Dormer, *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 16, 1896.

mobs responded to the presence of these ‘badits’ by rounding up and harassing local Californio families. Watsonville resident Matt Tarpy and his group the Pajaro Property Protective Society played a central role in these vigilante movements.¹⁰⁴⁶

In 1865, local American Jack Sloan was shot and killed, the murder blamed on Macedonio’s son Faustino. In response , a vigilante mob marched through town, arresting Macedonio’s grandson, Pedro, as well as Jose Rodriguez. Faustino escaped. The mob arrested other members of the local Californio community, including Faustino’s brother, Mattias, and his wife, Concepción. It was this kind of indiscriminate rounding up of the Californio community that created an atmosphere of racially based violence.¹⁰⁴⁷

While the others were released after being held for nearly three months, Pedro was taken from jail by a mob and thrown into the bay with weights tied to his legs. In 1870, Faustino was eventually tracked down by a posse in Santa Barbara, and shot more than fifteen times.¹⁰⁴⁸ Macedonio’s granddaughter, Josie, was arrested in connection with prostitution and involvement in running the local “house of ill fame” on Front Street in 1884.¹⁰⁴⁹ Other members of the Lorenzana family similarly found themselves in trouble with the law throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁵⁰

¹⁰⁴⁶ Phil Reader, *A Brief History of the Pajaro Property Protective Society: Vigilantism in the Pajaro Valley during the 19th Century* (Santa Cruz: Cliffside Publishing, 1995). Reader covers the history of local vigilantism and Matt Tarpy, who himself was lynched in March 1873.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Reader, “Charole”—*The Life of Branciforte Bandido Faustino Lorenzana* (Santa Cruz: Cliffside Publishing, 1991), Kimbro, *Historic Structure Report for Rancho San Andrés Castro Adobe*, 36–41. In this climate of violence from the 1850s through 1870s, local vigilantes indiscriminately rounded up Californios: widows, elderly couples—anyone.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Reader, “Charole.” The story of the burning of the jail by suspected arsonists, though never confirmed, is found in *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, June 17, 1965, 3:1. Pedro was the only inmate at the time of the fire.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Reader, *Harlots and Whorehouses* (Santa Cruz: Cliffside Publishing, 1991). Reader tells the story of Jose Lorenzana and the brothel at number 10 Front Street. For the article on the arrest of Jose

While Macedonio did not survive to see his children’s and grandchildren’s struggles with the law, Maria Romualda did. She lived until September 1884, though the American newspapers failed to recognize the rich history tying her to local Indigenous people.¹⁰⁵¹ At the time of her death local papers clearly did not know her story; they referred to her only as Mrs. Lorenzana and mistakenly claimed that she was born in Santa Cruz and had lived to be 104 years old, the details of her life obscured in the romanticized American account.¹⁰⁵² Yet the article correctly linked her to her son, Faustino, claiming that “one of her sons shot and killed ‘Jack’ Sloan at Arana Gulch about twenty years ago, and is well remembered by many.”¹⁰⁵³ The outlaw story, with its tales of the local bandidos, sold papers, while the struggles and perseverance of this hardworking family did not.¹⁰⁵⁴

In a brief period of time in a rapidly shifting cultural landscape, the Lorenzana family moved from a position of civic leadership to extreme marginalization. The American courts had totally discarded Macedonio’s right to testify, the family lost most of their lands, and his sons had been brutally killed. The local Californio community had once held great tracts of lands and controlled local politics, but by the late nineteenth century found themselves stripped of the majority of their land and power, now occupying the lower social rungs

Lorenzana, see *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, August 7, 1884, 3:1. Public support for the closing of the number 10 Front Street brothel is found in *The Daily Surf*, August 9, 1884.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Jesus Lorenzana was arrested for stabbing Alex Bernard; see *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, June 14, 1884. Jesus Lorenzana and Jose Jesus Juarez were arrested for fighting and disturbing the peace; *The Daily Surf*, October 19, 1885. James Lorenzana was arrested for the shooting of Joe Rodriguez; *The Daily Surf*, July 5, 1893. Julia Lorenzana was arrested for assault with a knife; *The Daily Surf*, September 2, 1895.

¹⁰⁵¹ Maria Romualda’s death is recorded in SCZD# 3055, September 26, 1884

¹⁰⁵² Maria Romualda would have been eighty-five at the time of her death.

¹⁰⁵³ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, September 27, 1884.

¹⁰⁵⁴ John Boessenecker, *Bandido: The Life and Times of Tiburcio Vasquez* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010). Boessenecker examines the story of local bandido Vasquez and his local connections in detail.

within the rapidly expanding state. Newly imposed racial categories had disenfranchised a complex society, no longer recognizing people’s human or civil rights. The incoming society collapsed both Indians and Californios into a singular underclass, both subjected to violence and persecution.

Indigenous Survival, Indigenous Lands—The Potrero

By the beginning of the American period, Indigenous survivors lived in a variety of places in the county. Groups of families, mostly descendants of the Yokuts, continued to live in the potrero fields below the mission bluff, the last of the former mission lands to be occupied by Indians. This area became known throughout Santa Cruz as home to the Indians, as the reservation. But not all stayed there. As discussed in the previous chapter, multiple Indigenous communities formed following secularization. Some moved north to Pescadero or south to Aptos or Watsonville.¹⁰⁵⁵ A few individuals remained on lands on the west side previously owned by Geronimo and his family, working in households like the

¹⁰⁵⁵ As mentioned in chapter 5, some of those living in Aptos were descended from families that moved into the region in the 1840s to pursue labor opportunities on ranchos, like Rancho San Andrés. Some of these families remained in the Aptos region well into the twentieth century. Elizabeth Spedding Calciano, “Paul D. Johnston: Aptos and the Mid-Santa Cruz County Area from the 1890s through World War II” (Santa Cruz: Regional History Project, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1973). Johnston and Calciano had the following exchange: “Calciano: Were there any Indians around in 1900? Johnston: Well, there was a lot of half-breeds around, you know. They’re practically all gone now. The last one was one that lived up at Valencia [Aptos] for years. We called him Willy. I don’t know what his name was. That’s all I ever heard. He was harmless, but he was a wild-looking bird I’ll tell you. (Laughter) Kids were all afraid of him. Never forget; the game warden arrested him down here for getting clams out of season one time, you know. But the Indians had a privilege; they could hunt or fish anytime they wanted. The game warden took him in and the judge turned him loose. (Laughter) But he was a real old original Indian. I don’t know where he came from. He lived in Valencia for years. Calciano: When did he die? Johnston: Oh, he died ten, fifteen years ago. You know the valley Indians used to come over and camp around here. When they were putting in that golf course at Rio Del Mar, when they were grading it, the bulldozer dug out a 125 mortars; a fellow from Watsonville came over and packed them all up and took them to Watsonville,” 77—8. Johnston’s account attests to an active Indigenous presence that was aware of and in protection of sacred sites.

Majors/Castro family.¹⁰⁵⁶ These were remnants of the lands formerly owned by Geronimo and his family. While the Majors family consolidated much of the Indigenous-owned lands along the west side, his family continued to offer homes to members of these families. One man, Xuclan (Ricardo), the song leader, was able to hold onto his home next to the mission into the 1860s.

The potrero lands were of special significance for many families, as they had been homelands for incoming families and individuals throughout the mission era. The lands had been formally granted to two men, Huayiche (Fidel) and Chulnoquis (Pasqual).¹⁰⁵⁷ As late as 1866, newspaper reports argued for the protection of the potrero, as the last remnants of land for descendants of these two men.¹⁰⁵⁸ These lands were used for more than just homes, as they were the site of important spiritual and cultural usage.¹⁰⁵⁹ One early American resident whose family migrated into the area described the following:

¹⁰⁵⁶ The establishment of the potrero and west side communities following emancipation and secularization in 1834 is explored in depth in chapter 5.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Chulnoquis (Pasqual, SCZB#1647) was the son of the Tejeý chief Coleto, who became an important figure within the mission community. The story of this family is explored in chapter 4. The Quitchas (Yokuts) Huayiche (Fidel, SCZB#1976) was the other recipient of the lands. Carlos (SCZB#2007), the son of Huayiche, continued to live in the potrero along with his wife, Rosa (SCZB#2314), and their four sons: Agustin, Juan Jose Rafael, Juan Bautista, and Jose Martial Carlos (SCZB#s 3001, 3102, 3234, and 3476, respectively). In yet another example of violence visited upon the local community, Carlos was killed by John Cantwell at the local Bausch Brewery on February 28, 1877. Cantwell was tried and sentenced to fifteen years for the murder, see Pre-Statehood Documents, University of California, Santa Cruz, Rowland Collection, A-2, Card 53.

¹⁰⁵⁸ The argument for protecting the potrero claimed that descendants of local Indigenous peoples “all are now scattered, or have passed away; their tribal character has become extinct—except about forty, who have their houses on the Potrero... these few keep up their tribal distinctions,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, June 23, 1866, 2:6. It does appear that most who continued to live on the potrero were Yokuts descendants, supporting the journalist’s claims of keeping up tribal distinctions.

¹⁰⁵⁹ In the 1980s, Edna E. Kimbro attempted to protect these lands, recognizing their historic importance. Kimbro, who compiled much information about the local Indigenous community before her untimely passing in 2005, filed an Environmental Impact Report to recognize the “post mission period dwellings of Fidel and Pasqual, located immediately north and south of Pogonip Creek in the precise area where the Salz pond is today” She noted that “Pasqual and Fidel were among those granted the potrero area as a rancheria upon secularization of Mission Santa Cruz. This site is

The Indian settlement was in the Potrero on the left side of the street by that name near Evergreen Cemetery, and was fenced in by a deep ditch so that their horses could not escape. Most of the [Indians'] houses were made of [wooden] slabs with shake roofs. They had a sweat house plastered with mud on the outside. A fire was built in the center with a small place for the smoke to escape. The Indians sat around the fire. When sufficiently sweated, they ran from the building and plunged into a hole of cold water in the creek... They made their living by working for the white people. They were expert pickers of wild blackberries and got many where the golf links are now.¹⁰⁶⁰

While this account related that the local Indigenous community worked as laborers in white households, they also continued to work as gardeners, messengers, carriage drivers, drovers, and delivery men or found work as laborers in fields or in local industry like the tannery.¹⁰⁶¹ Labor options in the American era diminished for members of the local Indigenous community, a result of the population boom as well as the arrival of various other populations, such as Chinese immigrants.¹⁰⁶² For the first time, local Indigenous

potentially one of the most significant remaining in the City of Santa Cruz and must be assessed prior to approval of any project.” See Kimbro Archives, File on Indians and Census, document dated October 23, 1986, Re: 1111 River Street, #PD-SUP-DP-85-292.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Sarah Hinton Gourley, “My Early Childhood Memories,” *Santa Cruz County History Journal* 2 (Santa Cruz, CA: Santa Cruz County Historical Trust, 1995), 72–74. The golf links refers to the modern park Pogonip, near the potrero lands. Pogonip was home to the local golf course. Gourley’s account described two young Indian boys, “Lahugh” and “Kajesus” (Jose de Jesus?), that she believed had developed crushes on her and her friend. Gourley recalled that the two boys frequently brought the girls berries. She further tells a story where her friend’s brothers attempted to humiliate one of the Indian boys, suggesting that he ask her father for her hand. The father, Gourley relates, “told him it would be a terrible thing to do for a white girl to marry an Indian. So that was the end to the Indian beaus when we were young girls.”

¹⁰⁶¹ Ibid., p. 78. Gourley also mentions that Indians worked delivering groceries, stating that “the Cooper Brothers had a grocery and dry goods store on Front St. The only means of delivery they had was a clothes-basket filled with goods carried on the shoulders of an Indian.” The various census reports identify these other jobs as being performed by Indians, while the reports on Tahoe and Cache mention Cache’s work as a buggy driver. Indigenous workers at the tanneries will be discussed shortly.

¹⁰⁶² Sandy Lydon, *Chinese Gold: The Chinese in the Monterey Bay Region* (Capitola, CA: Capitola Book Co., 1985). The arrival of Chinese immigrants in the Monterey Bay has been explored in depth by Lydon. He points out that in Santa Cruz the incoming Chinese community became heavily involved

survivors found themselves competing for jobs as domestic laborers or field workers.¹⁰⁶³

Some local community members continued to employ Indian workers, the most prominent among them being Joseph Ladd Majors and his wife, Maria de los Angeles Castro.¹⁰⁶⁴

Another example of this is found with the Huocom man Guiyamach (Mariano), who became known by the white community as Mariano Hablitas or “Cooper’s Indian.”¹⁰⁶⁵ He married four times between 1821 and 1844.¹⁰⁶⁶ He had one child, the boy Salvador, who died before the age of two months in early spring of 1834.¹⁰⁶⁷ By 1834, Guiyamach worked in town as a day laborer.¹⁰⁶⁸ By 1841, he lived in the potrero area along with a large community of survivors of the mission era, before marrying his fourth wife, Andrea. By 1860, Guiyamach appears to have lived with Huocom kin and even to have helped them

with domestic labor, frequently gaining jobs within homes in addition to the downtown laundry services and vegetable gardens. The relative increase in labor opportunities in Santa Cruz during the Mexican era (1820—1848) is detailed in chapter 5.

¹⁰⁶³ William J. Bauer, in *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California's Round Valley Reservation, 1850–1941*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

¹⁰⁶⁴ On August 4, 1851, the Majors family appears to have “adopted” two young orphaned Indigenous men, the twelve-year-old Juan de Dios (SCZB#2898) and nine-year-old Tomas de Jesus (SCZB#2899). The Majors couple appear as the godparents for both boys, their parents noted as deceased. In December of 1856, Tomas, “who had been for some time in the employ of Joseph L. Majors,” was found dead of unknown causes in a field on the west side. Article in the *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, December 13, 1856, 2:1. Tomas de Jesus burial is recorded in SCZD#2233, on December 7, 1856.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Guiyamach (baptized as Mariano, Native name alternatively spelled Quimayach, SCZB#1799), was baptized on April 2, 1820, as a seventeen-year-old Huocom man. He was baptized along with a group of eight Teje, Huocom, and Apil teenage men and women. This group of eight included two of the sons (Najaruy and Choótg, SCZB#s 1796 and 1800, respectively) of the Huocom chief, Suulu, who will be discussed later in this chapter, as well as the future mother of Lorenzo Asisara, Luasatme (Manuela, SCZB#1803), who was listed as being from a village site called ‘Chalahua,’ presumably from the Yokuts territories near the Huocom and Teje lands.

¹⁰⁶⁶ He first married the Huocom woman Huslalsme (Bernardina, SCZB#1853) on June 24, 1821 (SCZM#660). Huslalsme died on January 3, 1822 (SCZD#1460). He then married a mission-born Teje woman, Luisa Daniela (SCZB#1587), on January 12, 1827 (SCZM#736). Luisa Daniela died on July 28, 1832 (SCZD#1882). His third marriage was to a mission-born Natualls (Yokuts) woman, Felipa de Jesus (SCZB#1752), on June 26, 1833 (SCZM#793). Felipa de Jesus died December 24, 1840 (SCZD#2064). His final marriage was to a mission-born Hupnis woman, Andrea (SCZB#1894), on February 4, 1844 (SCZM#853). Andrea died shortly after, in July 1845 (SCZD#2110).

¹⁰⁶⁷ Salvador (SCZB#2206), born March 28, 1834, died May 5, 1834 (SCZD#1922).

¹⁰⁶⁸ 1834–35 padron, on file at the Monterey Archdiocese.

procure deeds to lands in the potrero.¹⁰⁶⁹ Yet, despite the records indicating that he lived in the potrero lands through these years, it appears that he spent much of his time working for two brothers who moved into the area in 1849 from Pennsylvania, William and John Cooper.¹⁰⁷⁰ Stories suggest that Guiyamach accompanied the brothers on their trips to the gold mines, where he worked for them as an aide-de-camp. In Guiyamach’s later years, he continued to work for the Coopers in their general merchandise store on the corner of Front and Cooper Streets, in downtown Santa Cruz, staying sometimes in the backroom. It is here that he became known as “Cooper’s Indian,” at least within the white community. Guiyamach, who had become blind in his later years, died on December 28, 1876.¹⁰⁷¹

The significance of the potrero lands continued despite the physical absence of Mission Santa Cruz. An earthquake in 1857 caused enough damage that the incoming American community chose to let it stand in disrepair. The debris was eventually removed, but it wasn’t until 1885 that the newly arrived Father McNamee began serious plans to build

¹⁰⁶⁹ Guiyamach, whose age is unlisted, appears as “Mariano” in the 1860 US census, Santa Cruz County, page 623, visit 992. He is listed along with the family of the Huocom Meregildo and Maria Agueda, who will be discussed later in this chapter. A “Mariana Narcissa” appears to have received a partial grant to some potrero lands along River Street in 1866, at the same time that one was denied to a “Merehelda” [Meregildo] and Jesus Maria. The record indicates that the two young men were unsuccessful claimants, while “Mariana” received the property, “probably for joint use of remaining redmen in this city.” See Rowland Card Files, Santa Cruz Pre-Statehood Documents, McHenry Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, Box C, Card 305, Property Distribution 1866.

¹⁰⁷⁰ These brothers are descendants of the famous James Fenimore Cooper, frequently credited with or blamed for his role in popularizing the romanticized notion of the noble savage, as well as writing about the “vanishing Indian” (for example, *The Last of the Mohicans*).

¹⁰⁷¹ *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, January 6, 1877, 3:2. His burial is recorded in SCZD#2740, two months after the report of his death. It isn’t clear why he was buried two months later. Information regarding his connection to the Cooper brothers is related by Phil Reader in *A Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast* (Santa Cruz, CA: Santa Cruz Historical Trust, 2002), 14. Reader incorrectly identified him as the Chaloctaca Tejos (SCZB#115), because Tejos was baptized as Mariano Hablitas. This is a case of Reader misidentifying based on recycled names.

a new church where the adobe mission once stood.¹⁰⁷² After the fall of the original adobe mission, the lone remaining adobe structure from the mission era was the neofito housing, which remains standing today.¹⁰⁷³ The rooms of this structure had continued to be used through the late 1840s by local Indigenous survivors such as the family of Maria Petra Nicanor, the daughter of a local hero of the Quintana assassination.¹⁰⁷⁴ By 1840, these rooms had become homes for members of the Californio community.¹⁰⁷⁵

Before constructing the new Victorian-style mission, thousands of bodies from the mission cemetery were removed, carried in wagons, and re-interred in a mass grave at the

¹⁰⁷² Friar McNamee took over for Father Adam in 1883. These plans are discussed in a bulletin requesting that “those having friends or relatives buried in the lot adjoining the old adobe to have them removed within two weeks. From this it is evident that preparations for laying the foundation for the new church building will soon commence.” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, July 14, 1885, 3:1. Eight days later it was reported that “The old cemetery will be leveled to the grade of the rest of the ground and those who desire will remove the remains of friends buried there. Others will remain under the new church, which however, will cover only a portion of the ground devoted to the cemetery,” *Santa Cruz Daily Surf*, July 23, 1885.

¹⁰⁷³ This is the contemporary School Street Adobe, which is part of the Mission Santa Cruz site of the California State Parks. These rooms are open to the public for walking tours.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Rebecca Allen, *Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz, 1791–1834: Interpreting the Archaeological Record* (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 29. Petra Nicanor (under her own name, not her husband’s) eventually sold her lands to Joseph Majors for fifty dollars on June 7, 1848. See Santa Cruz County Office of the Recorder (SCCR), Deeds 1:100. Petra Nicanor’s Teje (Yokuts) husband, Chuyucu (alternatively spelled Chuyuso, Chugucu, or Chuiucuu, although it is also reported as Yeulile, SCZB#1515), was buried in July of 1849 near Mission Santa Clara (Santa Clara Burial Record, hereafter referred to as SCLD#8267), suggesting that he or the family moved between communities after they left the adobe. Petra Nicanor died of cholera in January of 1851 and was buried at Mission Santa Cruz (SCZD#2179). Her burial record indicated that she was “married to Victoriano, Indigenous woman of forty years, daughter of the deceased Lino and Maria Vibiana [sic].” Very few Indian burial records of this time included information about parents, suggesting that the padres were well aware of her father’s legacy and involvement with Quintana’s assassination. Her mother’s name is incorrectly given, although it is possibly a reference to Viviana Maria (SCZB#1725), wife of Jotoime (Matias, SCZB#934) and mother of Maria Agueda, although the two would have been about the same age. Maria Bibiana died nearly a decade earlier, in March of 1839 (SCZD#2049). Maria Agueda is discussed later in this chapter, and her father was discussed in chapter 4.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Kimbro, *Como La Sombra Huye La Hora: Restoration Research: Santa Cruz Mission Adobe: Santa Cruz Mission State Historical Park* (Davenport, CA: Historical Investigation, 1985). This exhaustive study provides the most complete and detailed information to date regarding the local Indigenous population and their relation to the mission lands. Details about the potrero, as well as the deeds of those who sold their rooms in the adobe, are on page 68.

new Holy Cross Cemetery site.¹⁰⁷⁶ The body of the assassinated Padre Quintana was reported to have been exhumed in October of the same year, inviting American newspapers to embrace romanticized stories about the “wild Indians” and their “acts of depredation.”¹⁰⁷⁷

The removal of these bodies also led to interesting discoveries that may point to local Indigenous rejection of Catholic ceremony in favor of more tradition-based funeral practices. A local news item reported that “In one of the coffins dug up at the old Catholic cemetery Monday afternoon nothing was found but more silver ornaments, the bones having mysteriously disappeared.”¹⁰⁷⁸ It would seem that a body was removed, and replaced with an offering. Could this be evidence of an Indigenous body removed for burial or other funeral treatment? The journalist’s mention of the discovery of “more silver ornaments” suggests that this was not the first time they had found missing bodies replaced by offerings. This evidence suggests that there had been an ongoing practice within the Indigenous community, and outside of the awareness of the mission friars.

Justiniano Roxas and Mythical Ancient Indians

In the early 1870s, Santa Cruz newspapers ran stories about “Old Times Roxas, the Oldest Inhabitant on the Earth.”¹⁰⁷⁹ Justiniano Roxas received this attention in the American newspapers, helping promote a narrative of antiquity and disappearance. Father Adam located an early entry in the Mission Santa Cruz baptismal book of a local Uypi man similarly

¹⁰⁷⁶ The mass grave used to bury these bodies remains unmarked, although plans are currently being made to add a memorial.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *Sacramento Union*, October 1, 1885. This was not an isolated report, as a poem honoring the late Quintana appeared a year earlier, in the same edition that reported about Tahoe and Cache; see *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 10, 1884, 1:5.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, September 29, 1885.

¹⁰⁷⁹ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 27, 1873.

baptized as “Justiniano Roxas.”¹⁰⁸⁰ Adam claimed that this was the same, failing to discover the burial record of this early entry, and supported claims that Roxas was over 120 years old. Local photographer Edward Payson Butler, proprietor of the Pioneer Gallery in downtown Santa Cruz, was commissioned to take a photo of Roxas (see figure 6.3). A copy of this photo was reportedly sent to the Vatican. Shortly after, a second photograph was commissioned by John Elijah Davis Baldwin, owner of the downtown Star Gallery. A portrait painted by Father Adam from the Butler photo was eventually sent to the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair. This portrait now hangs in the Mission Santa Cruz replica museum. The story of Roxas’s longevity, attributed to the California climate, spread farther after his death on March 13, 1875, reaching even Australia. *Harper’s Weekly* even ran a story on Roxas (see figure 6.4).¹⁰⁸¹ While the journalists, priests, and settlers embraced the idea that Roxas represented the last of his race, the real story of Roxas is one of great loss.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Father Joaquin Adam arrived in Santa Cruz in 1868 and stayed until he was relieved by Father Hugh McNamee in 1884. Adam first appears as administrator of baptism on December 24, 1868 (SCZB#3815). In a 1916 account reported by Frances R. Smith, Adam described the Santa Cruz Indigenous community as follows: “the Indians at the mission were not all of the same tribe, but perfect harmony prevailed, and when the season of work was over, many paid visits to their countrymen and seldom returned alone, for the good friars had the art of making labor attractive. As it was the custom of the Indians to live in bands, or groups, and various groups used different languages, it was quite a matter of necessity that the success of the Indians or the friars depended upon the organization of these men. The groups were divided with respect to the various languages, and according to Father Adam they did their labor in ‘respective bands,’ avoiding conflicting tribal relations.” See California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, California, Owen C. Coy Collection, 1860—1940, Box 1306, Mission Santa Cruz, Folder 21 Manuscripts—“Mision de Exaltacion de la Santa Cruz,” by Frances R. Smith, written in Palo Alto, March 4, 1916, by Frances R. Smith, under the guidance of Father Adam, p 30. While Adam appears to have romanticized the labor opportunities, his account does speak to the ongoing tribal, linguistic, and kinship lines within this diverse community.

¹⁰⁸¹ Justiniano Roxas has been the subject of multiple articles and studies. The first was by Robert H. Jackson, “The Justiniano Roxas Hoax: The Story of the Oldest Man on Earth,” *The Californians* 4:6 (1986), 44—54. Jackson proved that the man Adam had identified was not the surviving Roxas. Geoffrey Dunn further analyzed the story, retracing the photographs and development of the myth around Roxas, as Roxas became a public figure in Santa Cruz well into the twentieth century. Dunn, “Deconstructing Roxas,” in *Santa Cruz Is in the Heart, Volume II*, 27—35. Currently, Boyd Cothran is

To understand the reality of his life in contrast with the fantasy, I will explain some of his history. The real Roxas was baptized at Mission Santa Cruz in January of 1796, as an eight-year-old named Yrachis from the Chipuctac village site northeast of modern Gilroy.¹⁰⁸² By the early 1820s, Yrachis was the last of his family remaining at Mission Santa Cruz. He married three times, but all three of his wives died shortly after their marriages.¹⁰⁸³ He had a son, Benbenuto, with his second wife, but he died within two months of his birth.¹⁰⁸⁴ Yet, despite the staggering losses that he witnessed, Yrachis continued to rely on kinship relations to survive. He lived on the west side, not far from the family of Geronimo, with the

focusing on Roxas in relation to the widespread phenomenon of romanticized narratives about “ancient” Indians in California remembered as the last of their race. Cothran’s important work focuses on how these narratives were embraced by incoming settlers to support settler colonialism, land acquisition, and the absence of treaties or rights for Indigenous Californians.

¹⁰⁸² SCZB#629, on January 15, 1796. I believe that the real Roxas was baptized as “Ostiano Yrachis”—the latter being his Indigenous name, prebaptism. I came to this conclusion for a couple of reasons. Ostiano’s aunt, Masihúmu (Sabina, SCZB#1425), lists her nephew as Justiniano in her baptism record in March 15, 1809. It is not uncommon for names to change over time within the mission community, and his aunt’s record shows that Ostiano also went by the name Justiniano. Furthermore, the 1834–35 padron lists “Hostiano Tapia,” a forty-six-year-old Chipuctac. The 1845 census lists an “Ustiano” living on the west side, which fits with the reports contained in the Land Case regarding these lands. See Documents Pertaining to the Adjudication of Private Land Claims in California, Land Case 285 SD, 660 pages, Transcript 591: “Tres Ojos de Agua,” Nicholas Doderer, Claimant, circa 1852–92, BANC MSS Land Case Files 1852–92; BANC MSS C-A 300 FILM, BL, University of California, Berkeley. These records indicate that Justiniano moved onto the west side sometime in the late 1830s. This “Ustiano” is listed as being a sixty-year-old from the Tulares (Yokuts), but I believe this is a mistake made by the enumerator. The other possible identity for Roxas would be the Tomoi man baptized as Justo (SCZB#1279a, March 17, 1806, eight years old at baptism). But I believe this is the man known as Justo Gonsales (1834 census) and Jose de Justo (1845 census). This man died at age seventy (SCZD#2447a). “Justo” was buried on June 20, 1864. The story of his people, the Chipuctac, and their neighbors, the Ausaima, is discussed in detail in chapter 2. They bordered the Mutsun and were one of the large groups that resisted Spanish encroachment even after the settling of Mission San Juan Bautista.

¹⁰⁸³ He first married the Tomoi woman, Quichuate (Pacifica, SCZB#1124) on November 23, 1804. His brother Seynte served as one of the marriage witnesses. Quichuate died in 1807 (SCZD#848, on April 1, 1807). His second wife, Cosorum (Genobiba, SCZB#1005, listed as being from the “San Juan” people of eastern slope of the Santa Cruz Mountains, similar to Yrachis). Cosorum died just over a year after her marriage—SCZM#475, on October 23, 1809. Her death was recorded in SCZD#1019, on December 1, 1810. His third wife was the Auxentaca woman Saipan (Alexandra, SCZB#1204), SCZM#531, on July 21, 1811. She died five months after their marriage, in SCZD#1097, on December 16, 1811.

¹⁰⁸⁴ SCZB#1553, on July 29, 1810. His death is recorded in SCZD#1002, on September 20, 1810.

family of the Achistaca Samectoi (Seferino Arce) and his wife, Gepeson (Maria de la Piedad Tapia), a fellow Ausaima member.¹⁰⁸⁵ The couple died by the late 1830s, after which Yrachis appears to have moved in with another Ausaima family.¹⁰⁸⁶ By 1845, Yrachis was living with a fellow widower, the forty-year-old Huocom man Labarsec (Gabriel), and an Ausaima couple, the sixty-year-old Sipon (Alvino) and his twenty-six-year-old wife, Sergia.¹⁰⁸⁷ In addition to the shared tribal connections between the Ausaima, Yrachis shared kinship directly with Sergia.¹⁰⁸⁸ No burial records are to be found for Sipon and Sergia, but at some point it appears that Yrachis ended up living on his own, the condition in which Father Adam and the local journalists found him in the early 1870s. Yrachis died on March 10, 1875, not too long after gaining some recognition by the American journalists and photographers.¹⁰⁸⁹ His image and name became remembered in American Santa Cruz, but the details of his life, survival, and the many losses he witnessed remained buried under the fantasies of extinction.

¹⁰⁸⁵ His connections to Gepeson (Maria de la Piedad, SCZB#902) appear to be familial as well, given that they both appear with the surname “Tapia” in the 1834–35 census. The Achistaca Samectoi’s (Seferino Arce, SCZB#320) Native name is alternatively spelled Samecloi or Samedoi in his children’s baptismal records. The repetition and alteration of his Native name in documents through the 1830s is further evidence of the retention of Indigenous names throughout the postmission years. Geronimo and his family’s connection with the west side rancheria is explored in chapter 5.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Gepeson was buried on May 24, 1837, SCZD#902. She is noted for dying of a respiratory illness (“murio de pecho”). Samectoi was buried the following year, on August 8, 1838, SCZD#2029. Though he died in the midst of the smallpox outbreak that killed a large number of the local Indigenous community (see chapter 5), he does not appear to have succumbed to the virus.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Labarsec (Gavriel, SCZB#1874). Sipon (Alvino, SCZB#538) and his wife, Sergia (SCZB#2069). Sergia’s father was Utana (Eutropia, San Juan Bautista baptism #610), an Ausaima baptized at Mission San Juan Bautista. Utana moved to the Santa Cruz region and married Sergia’s mother, Benvenuta (SCZB#868), daughter of two local Uypi parents baptized in the earliest days at Mission Santa Cruz—Yucuquis (Antonio Pantoja, SCZB#44) and Sipan (Andrea Pico, SCZB#49).

¹⁰⁸⁸ Sergia’s baptismal madrina was the Ausaima (Chipuctac) Constantina (SCZB#787), who was married to Chalema (Raymundo, SCLB#3803). Chalema was born at Mission Santa Clara in 1799 to parents who lived at Mission Santa Cruz, another example of families dividing and moving along kinship lines between mission communities. Chalema’s mother was Yrachis’s second wife, Cosorum (Genobiba, SCZB#1005).

¹⁰⁸⁹ SCZD#2699, burial on March 12, 1875.

As local news writers embellished the ‘Vanishing Indian’ narrative through the celebrations of ‘ancient’ people like Yrachis, a handful of ethnographers and interviewers were able to locate local Indians. In some ways both the ethnographers and the news writers bought into the same premise—that local Indians were few and dying out. While the ethnographers sought to preserve what they could, the news writers used the Native American story to justify land acquisition while lamenting the sad passing of a people. Neither worked to change the harsh conditions facing Native survivors. Ironically, while the ethnographers sought to preserve knowledge, language, and information regarding what they perceived as a vanishing people, the information they found confirms the persistence of Indigenous language and culture.

By the 1870s, a number of ethnographers and linguists passed through the region, seeking out local Indians to consult. A couple of Americans, including John Wesley Powell, Alexander Taylor, and Henry Wetherbee Henshaw, sought out and collected information about California Indians. Powell led the charge as the director of the Bureau of Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution. Taylor wrote a series of newspaper articles chronicling regional village site names and what information he could find, though it isn’t clear if he spent time locally. Henshaw did spend time in Santa Cruz collecting linguistic material from unnamed linguistic informants. He did note that two men, Lorenzo from Santa Cruz and Felipe Gonzales of Watsonville, could speak the “Santa Cruz dialect,” so it is likely that one of them was his informant.¹⁰⁹⁰

¹⁰⁹⁰ Lorenzo would have clearly been Lorenzo Asisara.



Figure 6.3: Image of Justiniano Roxas from Wallace W. Elliot’s 1879 *Illustrations of Santa Cruz County*. This image is drawn from the Baldwin photo of 1874.



Figure 6.4: Yrachis, known in Santa Cruz as Justiniano Roxas, image used in *Harper’s Weekly*, August 7, 1875. This is from the original Edward Payson Butler photograph from 1873. This original was discovered by Carolyn Swift in the 1970s.

The other prominent ethnographer to pass through was the Frenchman Alphonse Pinart. Pinart traveled through California between June 24 and October 26, 1876. Along the way he sought out survivors of the missions, transcribing words and linguistic notes. His notes include the most extensive list of Awaswas language that has been recorded, as well as testimony to the continued use of the language. He stopped in Santa Cruz and interviewed local Indians, including an interview with a woman Eulalia on August 23.¹⁰⁹¹ Later that day, he appeared to review the words with Rustico from Aptos.¹⁰⁹²



Figure 6.5: Headstone for Justiniano Roxas, which still sits at Holy Cross Cemetery

At the same time that these ethnographers sought to preserve what they could of local language, American historian Hubert Bancroft sent his bilingual assistant, Thomas Savage, throughout California to interview Californios. During his stop in Watsonville to visit Amador, Savage famously interviewed Lorenzo Asisara. Asisara provided two interviews to Savage, relating stories about his father’s involvement with the Quintana assassination,

¹⁰⁹¹ It is possible, if not probable, that Eulalia is really Paylat (Eulogia, SCZB#1680), the woman from the Jasnii Rancheria, in Atsnii territory (Yokuts). As such, it casts some doubt upon the veracity of Pinart’s vocabulary list. Confusion on the ethnographer’s side about geography and tribal and linguistic heritage likely led to mixing of the various linguistic informants.

¹⁰⁹² This is the same Rustico (SCZB#1561) discussed in chapter 5. Rustico was the son of the Uypi man Quihueimen (baptized as Quiricio, SCZB#65). Quihueimen was one of the two surviving convicts of the Quintana assassination. Rustico survived until September of 1879 (SCZD#2895).

along with other stories of survival and struggle within Mission Santa Cruz. Even in these latter years, Asisara recalled fondly the heroes who had helped to protect the Indigenous community from the hands of Quintana.

In some cases, even while Anglo newspapers like the *Santa Cruz Sentinel* reported the names of certain individual Indians, their larger stories and histories remained erased from official view. For example, in September of 1857, the *Sentinel* reported about a “Remarkable Case of Longevity.” The article went on, “an Indian by the name of Pedro died in this place on last Monday, who, it is supposed, had attained the remarkable age of one hundred and thirty years.”¹⁰⁹³ Despite the ongoing fascination with the ages of local Indians, this article obscures what was likely a much more fascinating story.

The simply named ‘Pedro the Indian’ of this obituary was actually the Indigenous chief of the Huocom named Suulu. The Huocom were a Northern Valley Yokuts tribe that entered Mission Santa Cruz in large numbers around 1820. Suulu and his wife Atamay arrived in November of 1820, along with large numbers of their fellow Huocom.¹⁰⁹⁴ Their

¹⁰⁹³ The obituary ran September 12, 1857, 2:1. The burial is recorded in SCZD#2248, on September 7 of the same. The burial record notes his age as “de edad de 100 o mas años, viudo” (a widow of 100 years or more).

¹⁰⁹⁴ The Huocom entered along with large numbers of Hupnis, Teje, and Sipieyesí—all Yokuts-speaking tribes. Suulu (baptized as Pedro), SCZB#1862, and his wife Atamay (baptized as Petra), SCZB#1877. Both received baptism on November 15, 1820, the first man and woman listed among a group of thirty from the abovementioned tribes. A note on Suulu’s baptism identifies him as the “capitan de la Ranchera de Huocom.” The baptisms appear to have been followed by marriage ceremonies, as fifteen marriages are recorded on the same day, all involving the thirty new arrivals. On Suulu and Atamay’s marriage record, SCZM#628, the names are alternatively listed as ‘Suuler’ and ‘Alamay.’

two sons, Najaruy and Choótg, arrived with the first wave of Huocom some seven months before their parents.¹⁰⁹⁵

Like so many others in the mission world, Suulu saw many of his family die before emancipation. Suulu’s wife, Atamay, died a few years after their arrival, while his sons were both dead by 1832.¹⁰⁹⁶ Suulu doesn’t appear to have remarried after his wife’s death. The census records indicate that he continued to live among his fellow Huocom and Yokuts. By the time of his death in 1857, the incoming Americans did not see him as the traditional chief that he was. The American newspapers did not always run obituaries for local Indians, so why was it that Suulu (or Pedro, as they called him) was one of the few to receive this, albeit limited, treatment? It is likely that his inclusion and recognition resulted from his continued prominence among the local Indigenous community. Yet, Suulu was not alone; other members of his Huocom tribe, such as Meregildo, lived among the survivors and no doubt were aware of his political and social standing within their community.

Meregildo and Maria Agueda: Struggle, Survival, and the Search for Healing

In April of 1874, the renowned local gardener Meregildo was reportedly found with his throat cut in an attempted suicide. At first, after receiving stitches to repair his damaged windpipe by the local doctor, Meregildo claimed that he had been attacked by a masked man. Jose Santiago, an Indigenous man originally from Santa Clara who was working at

¹⁰⁹⁵ Najaruy (baptized as Miguel), SCZB#1796, and Choótg (baptized as Anastasio), SCZB#1800, both received baptism on April 2, 1820, along with six other adolescents from the Teje, Huocom, and Apil Yokuts tribes.

¹⁰⁹⁶ His sons’ burials are recorded in SCZD#s 1690 and 1873, in 1827 and 1832, respectively. Atamay’s burial is recorded in SCZD#1588.

Kron’s Tannery at the time, was arrested and detained at the local jail in suspicion.¹⁰⁹⁷ After blood was found in the local sweat lodge, Father Adam urged Meregildo to come clean about what had happened. Meregildo confessed to trying to take his own life “in a fit of despondency,” and Santiago was subsequently released. The article concluded that Meregildo was “out of danger,” after receiving medical attention.¹⁰⁹⁸

Meregildo, born in 1830, was orphaned when his Huocom parents died by the late 1830s.¹⁰⁹⁹ He appears to have been raised in a household along with the daughter of his baptismal madrina, Serafina.¹¹⁰⁰ The fifteen-year-old “Merigeldo” [sic] is listed in a household headed by Maria Juana Castro, as part of the three households that made up the Rancho de Refugio lands belonging to the three Castro sisters on the west side of Santa Cruz.¹¹⁰¹ This small household of five sat between the larger lands of Jose Bolcoff, married to Maria Candida Castro, and Joseph Majors, married to Maria de los Angeles Castro.¹¹⁰²

¹⁰⁹⁷ This is the Taysen (Ohlone) man Jose Santiago (SCLB#8415). The Taysen or Taysenn tribe may be either neighbors or from the same group as the Sumus. Milliken suggests that Taysen is the tribal name recorded by the priests at Mission Santa Clara for the same group known at Mission Santa Cruz as the Sumus. In either case, they appear to have kinship ties with the Sumus, which may explain Santiago’s movement to the area. This is the same Jose Santiago who is father of Jose “Cache” Lend, one of the two men arrested for arson.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 18, 1874. The article details the events leading up to Meregildo’s confession.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Meregildo, SCZB#2172, was born in 1830 to Houcom parents. His mother, Silsueail (Clementina, SCZB#1981), who died in 1833, and his father, Carachúl (Roque, SCZB#1980), both arrived with a large group of Yokuts-speaking Huocom in 1821.

¹¹⁰⁰ Serafina, SCZB#381, was an important woman in the local Indigenous community, where she frequently served as madrina in baptisms. She was discussed in chapter 3. Meregildo is listed in the Villa de Branciforte community in the 1845 padron (census) as household 41.

¹¹⁰¹ These lands sat near those of Geronimo and others who held Westside lands near the old mission site, discussed at length in chapter 5.

¹¹⁰² As discussed in chapter 5 and within this chapter, the Majors household became home for quite a few local Indians through this period.

In 1852, Meregildo married Maria Agueda, the daughter of the Cajastaca Mattias Jotoime and the Yokuts-speaking Chaneche Maria Bibiana Nenoat.¹¹⁰³ The couple had nine children all together, but three had died by the end of 1873. A fourth child, twelve-year-old daughter Ana Ambrosia, had died just two months before his suicide attempt.¹¹⁰⁴ Although Meregildo and Agueda still had five surviving children, it is possible that it was the loss of Ana Ambrosia that had left Meregildo despondent. Agueda herself died about a year after Meregildo’s incident.¹¹⁰⁵ While the burial records do not indicate the cause of death, it is possible that Agueda was ill, adding to Meregildo’s despondency.

Despite these heavy losses, Meregildo persevered. He worked as a farm laborer, although it appears that he gained renown for his gardening, and was hired by American community members to tend to their gardens.¹¹⁰⁶ Labor options at the time consisted of farm labor, domestic service, or working with cattle. Gardening provided one other such opportunity for folks like Meregildo. Members of the local Indigenous community became known amongst the incoming American community for their knowledge of local plants and environment.

¹¹⁰³ Maria Agueda, SCZB#2194a. Her Cajastaca father, Jotoime (Matias, SCZB#934), died in 1838 (SCZD#2019), while her mother, Nenoat (Maria Bibiana, SCZB#1725), died in 1839 (SCZD#2049). Jotoime was mentioned in chapter 5 as the recipient of a parcel of land on what is currently the lower campus of the University of California, Santa Cruz.

¹¹⁰⁴ Ana Ambrosia, baptized as Ambrosiana, SCZB#3341, died on February 4, 1874 (SCZD#2665).

¹¹⁰⁵ SCZD#2707, on May 31, 1875.

¹¹⁰⁶ In the 1860 US census, Meregildo appears listed as a farm laborer. The aforementioned article about his suicide attempt remarked that he was “one of the best gardeners in town, and was recently employed by W. Brown.” Interestingly, Meregildo’s household included the two-year-old Domingo (SCZB#3166), who is listed as the son of Agueda and a father other than Meregildo, Higinio. This suggests a more fluid relationship to monogamy, possibly revealing cultural values regarding relationships closer to those reported by precontact Ohlone. See chapter 1 for more analysis of these cultural distinctions.

American authorities called upon locals like Meregildo to locate fresh water sources and to work as gardeners or in the fields, or lauded their skills in finding local birds, eggs, or plants.¹¹⁰⁷ The incoming American settlers’ frequent association between the Indigenous community and the environment reflect both the importation of American stereotypes about Native Americans, as well as the reality of cultural and historical differences. Long-established American stereotypes of the “noble savage” and the “ecological Indian” help explain why this was one of the few areas that American newspapers reported Indigenous skill or aptitude. Still, reading past these layers of projection, these reports reflect confirmation of the local community’s drawing upon generations of knowledge handed down about the local ecological landscape.

Parents	Relation	Baptism number	Baptism date	Burial #	Burial date	Age at death
Hermenegildo	Husband	2172				
Maria Agueda	Wife	2194a		2707	May 31, 1875	30
Jose Miguel Antonio	Son	2971	May 22, 1853			
Maria Jesus	Daughter	3033	December 27, 1854			
Tomas Acantuviense	Son	3251	February 5, 1860	2810	June 4, 1877	18
Ambrosiana	Daughter	3341	February 16, 1862	2665	February 4, 1874	12
Maria Rosa	Daughter	3442	January 17, 1864			
Maria Delfina	Daughter	3619	late 1866	2514	October 31, 1867	
Mariana	Daughter	3815	December 24, 1868	2554	November 8, 1869	11 months
Maria Rafaela	Daughter	3948	July 31, 1870			
Jose Alfredo	Son	4100	June 30, 1872	2647	July 15, 1873	1

Figure 6.6: Family of Meregildo and Maria Agueda

¹¹⁰⁷ Two unidentified Indigenous men were called upon to help locate water wells on an Eastside development, see *Santa Cruz Daily Surf*, February 14, 1889. Similarly, the stories of Tahoe and Cache remark about the two men’s knowledge about local plants and animals, along with their egg-finding skills. The perception of local Indians’ knowledge of local berries is related in the previously cited recollections of Sarah Hinton Gourley, “My Early Childhood Memories.”

In 1866 Meregildo and Jesus Maria, another Indigenous community member, unsuccessfully tried to claim lands on the potrero. The records indicate that they were denied their claims, and that instead Mariano received rights to these lands, ostensibly for “all Indians.”¹¹⁰⁸ This further supports the idea that Meregildo and others lived among kin with tribal connections, as Mariano, an elder from the Huocom tribe, appears in the 1860 Census as part of the Meregildo family.¹¹⁰⁹

The newspaper reference to Meregildo’s sweat lodge, which they situated in the potrero lands behind the mission, demonstrates the continuation of traditional practices and rituals. Meregildo initially claimed that he had entered the sweat lodge to “call a sick man lying there to come to his assistance.”¹¹¹⁰ It is clear from his remarks that Meregildo and other members of the community used these lodges to help with illness, likely including depression and despondency resulting from the years of colonial hardships. These potrero lands were more than just lands for homes, they included ceremonial lands set aside for health and healing like the lodges.

Along with the persistence of spiritual and healing practices like the sweat lodge, evidence suggests that families continued to practice sacred song and dance. Ethnographic interviews conducted in the early twentieth century suggest that dances such as the Kuksu dance continued to be practiced by families years after the end of the missions. In October 1916, Santa Cruz mission-born Josefa Velasquez shared some of her linguistic knowledge

¹¹⁰⁸ University of California, Santa Cruz, Pre-Statehood Collections, Rowland Files, Box C, Card 305, Property Distribution in 1866.

¹¹⁰⁹ US census 1860, page 623, visit 992.

¹¹¹⁰ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 18, 1874.

and stories with John Alden Mason, a linguistic anthropologist.¹¹¹¹ During the course of her interviews with Mason, Velasquez recalled that she had witnessed Kuksu spiritual ceremony in her youth.¹¹¹² The Kuksu dance was a ceremony of social cohesion, helping to build and reinforce connections across tribal lines. The continuation of this ceremony in these later years is further evidence of the importance of these ceremonies to the health of the community.

By 1880, Meregildo appears to have continued his work as a gardener in homes on the west side, as he is listed as the forty-eight-year-old gardener for the household of Moses Meder.¹¹¹³ His twenty-eight-year-old son, Miguel, and ten-year-old daughter, Maria Rafaela, also appear as servants in neighboring households.¹¹¹⁴ While the census lists the family as split up, living within neighboring households, it actually appears that the enumerators

¹¹¹¹ Josefa Velasquez is the ancestor of Amah Mutsun tribal chair Valentin Lopez. During her brief interview with Mason, Velasquez reported that she was born at the said mission. She also mentioned that her mother had died when she was young. Because of this, I believe that Velasquez is most likely SCZB#2257, born June 8, 1836, to Achistaca/Chipuctac father Chaplica (Agaton, SCZB#1432) and Huocom mother Turiralt (Agustina, SCZB#1808). Chaplica’s father was the Achisatata man Tomisiqua (Miguel, SCZB#10), while his mother, Gepeson (Maria de la Piedad, SCZB#902), came from the Chipuctac village, in Mutsun territory. Mason worked under Alfred Kroeber and received his doctorate from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1911. His dissertation was an ethnographic study of the Salinan group, who lived just south of Ohlone territory. Notes by Mason of his interviews with Josefa Velasquez as well as Mutsun speaker Ascencion Solorsano de Cervantes are found in reports on trips made by J.A. Mason, October 1916, to San Juan Bautista and Watsonville to see Costanoan informants, Reel 23, Ethnological Documents of the Department and Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, Banc Film 2216, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Solorsano de Cervantes also worked closely with John Peabody Harrington through the 1930s. Her recordings, linguistic knowledge, and stories have been instrumental in helping contemporary Amah Mutsun to preserve knowledge.

¹¹¹² Notes about the Kuksu dance as remembered by Velasquez are found in the reports cited above.

¹¹¹³ 1880 US census, page 3, visit 20. He is listed here as “Meryildo Rayuna.”

¹¹¹⁴ Jose Miguel Antonio (SCZB#2971) and Maria Rafaela Vasquez (SCZB# 3948) are listed in the 1880 census, page 3, visit 21 of M.V. Bennett, and visit 23, of D.D. Dodge, respectively. They are listed as “Miguel Rayund,” and “Rafaela Rayuna.”

made a mistake, and that the family continued to live together, as laborers for the Majors family.¹¹¹⁵ This suggests that the family worked among multiple households.

Meregildo’s burial is not recorded in the Holy Cross records. It is unclear whether he moved from the area sometime near the end of the century, or if he persevered into the twentieth century. His family’s ties to local families and farms suggest that they continued to pursue labor opportunities on local lands. Other families tried similarly to stay local, but ongoing exposure to disease sometimes decimated families, leaving survivors struggling to recover. The story of one of the young men involved in the 1884 arsons, Cache, illustrates these difficulties and sheds light on his responses to the authorities after his and Tahoe’s arrest.

Cache and His Family

The story of Maria Ysabel demonstrates how even despite survival into this era, Indigenous families were particularly victimized by disease and poor medical options. Maria Ysabel was the daughter of a Teje and Huocom couple (both Yokuts), Isidro Sauset and Maria Buena.¹¹¹⁶ Ysabel married an Indigenous man, Jose Santiago, who had been born at

¹¹¹⁵ 1880 US census, page 39, visit 364, as “Rayone Hildo[sic],” “Emma,” and “Mike,” all listed as laborers for the head of house, Mary A. Majors.

¹¹¹⁶ Sauset (baptized as Isidro, sometimes noted as Jose Ysidro, SCZB#1627, on April 13, 1816). He became known as Isidro Sauset, with his Indigenous name retained as his last name, a practice common within the surviving Indigenous community in Santa Cruz. The Teje are a large Yokuts group from the San Joaquin Valley, discussed in more detail in chapter 4. Of the nine Teje and Chaneche people baptized the same day as Sauset, four of them died while fugitives (SCZB#s 1625, 1629, 1631, and 1633), and another remains unaccounted for (SCZB#1626)—likely a fugitive that the missionaries never learned the fate of. Overall about one hundred Teje were baptized at Mission Santa Cruz, the majority of them in 1810 (see chapters 3 and 4). Sauset and his small group were among the second wave of Teje to arrive. The twelve-year-old Huocom girl Jorsotsmin was baptized as Maria Buena, SCZB#1941, on September 27, 1821. Her Native name was variously spelled Josotmin and Jocsotsinin. She was listed as the daughter of the unbaptized (gentile) Tatijim and Liliguinati. Following secularization, the family lived in the Potrero del Carmen Rancheria, in the adobe homes in front of the mission.

Mission Santa Clara.¹¹¹⁷ Santiago had kinship connections to Mission Santa Cruz, as his parents were a part of the Sumus tribe, which was split between Missions Santa Clara and Santa Cruz.¹¹¹⁸ Isabel and Santiago had nine children between 1857 and 1877, yet only four of them survived past 1886. One of her sons, Jose Primitivo, was known in town as Jose “Cache” Lend, the catcher on the local baseball team and one of the two young men arrested for the burning of the barns near the potrero.¹¹¹⁹

Cache’s family experienced what must have been a devastating illness of some unreported kind. In the spring of 1878, the nine-month-old Augustina died.¹¹²⁰ Nearly three weeks later, five-year-old Maria Vicenta died as well.¹¹²¹ Cache’s mother, Maria Ysabel, herself was not immune to this illness, as she died less than a month after Maria Vicenta.¹¹²² She was followed by her twenty-year-old daughter, Maria Guadalupe, one week later.¹¹²³ In less than two months, four members of this family were lost to an undisclosed illness. The

¹¹¹⁷ SCLB#8415. Santiago is referred to as being from Mission Santa Clara in their marriage record, SCZM#949, on July 21, 1856. He is also referenced as “Jose Santiago from Santa Clara” by the French linguist Alphonse Pinart, discussed earlier.

¹¹¹⁸ Santiago’s parents, Uresses (SCLB# 6001, , baptized as Santiago on May 12, 1812) and Pascasia (SCLB#6208). Her mother, Pascasia, was the daughter of two Sumus, Aluns (SCLB#4760, baptized as Neofito) and Hichuela (SCLB#5487, baptized as Policarpa). Santiago’s father and maternal grandparents are all listed as being from the Taysen or Taysenn tribe along the Orestimba River. This was the name given to the Sumus at Mission Santa Clara.

¹¹¹⁹ I will return to the story of these two young men shortly. I believe Jose Primitivo (SCZB#3359, on July 6, 1862) to be the young man known as Cache, or Jose Lend. Dunn believed that Cache was really Jose Fernandez (SCZB#3529) because of his birthday on June 18, 1965. While this would make sense given the year of his birth, this Jose Fernandez has a burial record, SCZD#2537, which claims he died on May 25, 1869, as a four-year-old. The only two Joses who are close enough in age and still alive at the time are the aforementioned Jose Primitivo or Jose Gregorio Calles (SCZB#3518, born on April 16, 1865). While it could be either of the two, the convicted Jose Lend testified that he “had nothing and nobody to live for,” see *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, December 9, 1884. Jose Gregorio was the son of Santos and Teodora, who survived into old age past 1900, see US Federal Census 1900, Soquel Township, page 34, visit 527.

¹¹²⁰ SCZD#2856 on April 6, 1878.

¹¹²¹ SCZD#2857 on April 26, 1878.

¹¹²² SCZD#2859 on May 21, 1878.

¹¹²³ SCZD#2861 on May 28, 1878.

family hardships continued, as five years later, the twelve-year-old Gregoria Elena died at the age of twelve.¹¹²⁴ This last death came about a year and a half before the barn burnings. The newspaper report with Cache’s testimony reports that he said that he “did not care what became of him, as he had nobody to care for him.”¹¹²⁵ Cache’s despondency could certainly have been a reaction to the overwhelming sense of loss that his family had experienced over the previous five years.

Newspaper reports at the time claimed that Cache worked for the local doctor and his family, who lived on the west side. Dr. P.B. Fagen, his wife Mary E., and her sons appear to have employed Cache as their gardener and carriage driver for over a year before the arsons. The wealthy Fagen family also employed two live-in servants, Katie Mitchell, a white seamstress, and Sam Lee, a Chinese domestic servant.¹¹²⁶ Cache seems to have formed a close relationship with the family dog, a spaniel, who reportedly tracked Cache to the jailhouse, after which the dog “lied by the fence in front of the jail all day, and only returns to Dr. Fagen’s residence at meal times, and returns to his post again as soon as he has been fed. No coaxing can get him away.”¹¹²⁷ In the article about the arrests, Mrs. Fagen described

¹¹²⁴ SCZD#3011 on April 23, 1883.

¹¹²⁵ *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, December 9, 1884.

¹¹²⁶ 1880 Federal US Census, page 32, visit 287. Chinese servants, launderers, fishermen, and agricultural workers had begun to move into the Monterey Bay area in the early 1850s. In Santa Cruz, many members of the Chinese community worked in households, although a number of Chinese laundromats, garden markets, and businesses existed throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. See Lydon, *Chinese Gold*.

¹¹²⁷ The story of the dog’s affection for Cache is included as a note under the principal report in the *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, December 9, 1884, 3:2. Representations of city-dwelling Indigenous Californians by American newspapers focus condescendingly on their assumed childishness or romanticize their connections to local lands and animals. See previous notes in this chapter about the stories regarding Native American knowledge of local waterways, wildlife, plants, or eggs. As previously noted, part of the ease in connecting local Indians with animals was a result of pre-existing American stereotypes that saw “Indians” as less than human, but it is possible that Cache formed a strong bond with the dog. The history of local Indigenous spiritual connections with canines is seen in the inclusion of canine bones in burial sites such as CA-SCL-732, in Coyote Creek, Santa Clara County,

Cache as “faithful and industrious ... his simple tastes were like a child’s [She] was very much surprised to hear that Cache was implicated, and attributed his being led into it through strong drink. The lady trusted him with sums of money and had invariably found him honest, and, from his nature, concluded that he is unable to realize the enormity of the offense, or that he had committed any transgression at all.”¹¹²⁸ The newly arrived family may have valued Cache’s work, but they failed to grasp the importance of these lands to his community, or at least his dissatisfaction at the ongoing land grabs.



Figure 6.7: Jose “Cache” Lend

Lorenzo and Filomena: New Kinship Formations

During these years, members of Indigenous families formerly from neighboring missions continued to form and explore Indigenous networks throughout the larger region. American newspapers observed groups of Native families travelling into Monterey from

California. See also Les W. Field and Alan Leventhal, “‘What Must It Have Been Like!’: Critical Considerations of Precontact Ohlone Cosmology as Interpreted through Central California Ethnohistory,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 18, no. 2 (2003), which explores the significance and implications of this site.

¹¹²⁸ *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, December 10, 1884, 3:4.

Sacramento, or other groups returning to the coast from inland San Joaquin Valley.¹¹²⁹ Other Santa Cruz locals recalled annual trips by inland Native American families to resource-rich Año Nuevo, the territorial homelands of the once powerful Quiroste.¹¹³⁰ Baptismal registries show that these newcomers to the area often connected with Indigenous locals. This is demonstrated by the continued use of Indigenous godparents (*padrinos/madrinas*). Two of the people who show up frequently as godparents for incoming folks were Lorenzo Asisara and Maria Filomena.

Jose Roque and Maria Crescencia are one couple that moved into Santa Cruz as late as 1859, when they married in Santa Cruz.¹¹³¹ They had been emancipated from different missions, Jose Roque from Mission San Gabriel, and Maria Crescencia from Mission San Luis Rey.¹¹³² It isn’t clear if the couple moved to the area together or met in the area, but by the

¹¹²⁹ Reports by Alexander Taylor of visits by Yokuts to the Monterey area were explored by Arnold R. Pilling, “The Archeological Implications of an Annual Coastal Visit for Certain Yokuts Groups,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vol. 52, no. 3 (July–September 1950), 438–40. Here Pilling noted a report by Alexander in May of 1859, which cited a group of fifty Yokuts from the inland Merced area who came to Monterey to collect mussels and abalones. The group arrived armed with rifles and seated horseback, speaking a mix of Spanish and Indigenous Yokuts. Clearly these were descendants of local missions, given that the majority of Merced-area Yokuts people were captured and transported to Missions Santa Cruz and San Juan Bautista during the mission era.

¹¹³⁰ Elizabeth Spedding Calciano, “Frank L. Blaisdell: Santa Cruz in the Early 1900s” (Santa Cruz: Regional History Project, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1967). This is reported in an oral history transcript made in 1967. Blaisdell recalled that “they’d trek here every summer along about the last of May. They would come from way over as far as Tulare, and Bakersfield and come with their travois ... they’d go from way over by Tulare and Bakersfield and that neck of the woods and come clear up by New Year’s Island [Año Nuevo Point]. They lived there on the abalones and the mussels and clams. They’d stay there all summer, and then in the fall when the rains were starting to come, why they’d go trekking back,” 123.

¹¹³¹ SCZM#972, on June 4, 1859. The marriage notes say that Jose Roque was a widow, having been married before to an Indigenous woman named Joaquina.

¹¹³² Ibid. The marriage record notes that Jose Roque, born in San Gabriel, was the son of Indigenous parents, Roca and Nicolrata. It says that Maria Crescencia, from San Luis Rey, was the daughter of Jose Antonio Veronea and Josefa Antonia.

time of their marriage, they lived in Aptos.¹¹³³ The two witnesses for their marriage were Maria Filomena and her sister Guadalupe. Their first daughter was born in 1860, with Lorenzo Asisara and Maria Filomena serving as the godparents.¹¹³⁴ The couple had seven children altogether, with Lorenzo Asisara serving as godparent for four of them, Maria Filomena for three.¹¹³⁵

Did the couple form these new connections with Lorenzo and Filomena, two of the most prominent and visible members of the local community, after moving into the area? It is impossible to know for sure, but another possibility exists. Asisara himself moved around the Bay Area, living for some time in San Francisco, San José, and Monterey. He discussed spending some time in the 1840s in San Francisco as an Indigenous soldier under Vallejo.¹¹³⁶ It is possible that Asisara met Roque during his time in service or while moving around the region. In any case, families such as that of Jose Roque and Maria Crescencia show the importance of locating Indigenous networks into the latter half of the nineteenth century. During this time of incredible violence and displacement, mobile Indigenous families would surely have looked for people that they could relate to. Shared experiences of disruption and loss as well as a shared spiritual foundation would have helped to transcend tribal differences in building these new networks. Lorenzo Asisara and Maria Filomena helped to build these connections for incoming families.

¹¹³³ Also noted in their marriage record. Missions San Gabriel and San Luis Rey are two of the least recorded missions. The original baptismal registries for both missions are lost, leaving a lack of clarity on the exact identities of the couple.

¹¹³⁴ SCZB#3266, on April 13, 1860.

¹¹³⁵ Lorenzo served as godparent in SCZB#s 3266, 3375, 3568, and 3692, while Maria Filomena was godparent for SCZB#s 3266, 3375, and 3568.

¹¹³⁶ Asisara’s experience as a soldier at the San Francisco Presidio is mentioned in an interview he gave in 1890. See E.L. Williams, “Narrative of a Mission Indian, etc.,” in *History of Santa Cruz County*, ed. Edward S. Harrison (San Francisco: Pacific Press Publishing Co., 1892), 46.

Tahoe and Cache: Displacement, Loss and the Absence of Justice

The burning of the barns on the west side reflects frustrations over the continued loss of lands of historical significance to the local Indigenous community, as well as a greater frustration over the loss of these lands. Some resisted white encroachment on lands that had become Indigenous territories, including the potrero behind the mission. Following emancipation in the 1830s, these lands had become homelands to a diversity of Indigenous survivors.¹¹³⁷ For some of the younger generation of Indigenous residents, these lands represented the last territorial remnants of a time long ago. They had doubtless heard stories from elders describing a time before the desperate conditions of survival surrounding them at this time. For some of these youth, like Tahoe and Cache, the steady American encroachment on the collective lands of the potrero may have felt like salt in deep ancestral colonial wounds.

The last local Native American to hold lands left over from former missions lands was the Sumus man Xuclan, who became known as Ricardo Carrion.¹¹³⁸ Xuclan was born in 1805, and baptized as a one-year-old shortly after his Sumus parents arrived at Mission Santa Cruz with their three children.¹¹³⁹ At least some members of his family appear to have

¹¹³⁷ The details of land movement following secularization and emancipation in 1834 are provided in the preceding chapter.

¹¹³⁸ SCZB#1377, on March 11, 1808.

¹¹³⁹ Xuclan’s parents, Chaparis (baptized as Bruno, SCZB#1292) and Legem (baptized as Bruna, SCZB#1295), received baptism at Mission Santa Cruz on June 12, 1806, as part of a large group of Sumus. This group was led in part by Yaquenonsat (Fausta), who played a pivotal role in guiding the assassination of Padre Quintana (see chapter 3). Curiously, Xuclan’s baptism took place when he was one year old, in March of 1808. Xuclan’s mother, Legem, remarried in September of 1808 (SCZM#449). Chaparis was reported dead at the end of 1810 (see note below), so Legem’s remarriage suggests that Chaparis was gone from the mission sometime in 1808. Why was Xuclan baptized almost two years after his parents? He must have been born at the mission, as is noted in his baptismal record. Perhaps his parents resisted his baptism? Was he taken from the mission when his family fled? Or does this suggest the limitation of missionary control over the growing Indigenous

preferred life on traditional lands, as both Xuclan’s father and sister were reported dead while fugitives by 1810.¹¹⁴⁰ Xuclan grew up as an important member of the mission community, serving as padrino, marriage witness, page, and as the lead singer of the choir.¹¹⁴¹

After his fellow singer Rafael de Jesus died in January of 1836, Xuclan married Rafael’s widow, Chutupat.¹¹⁴² The Yokuts-speaking Huocom woman Chutupat had two young daughters from her previous marriage.¹¹⁴³ As was common in a community that witnessed excessive losses and death leaving many orphaned, Xuclan helped to raise Chutupat’s daughters.¹¹⁴⁴ The family lived together in their home near the mission, although they may have spent some time in San José and in Pescadero, the ranching and fishing community just north of Santa Cruz.¹¹⁴⁵ In early 1851 Rafaela, Ricardo’s wife, died.¹¹⁴⁶

population? Five young children received baptism the same day as Xuclan (SCZB#s 1375–79), suggesting that this was a group of overlooked or missing youth.

¹¹⁴⁰ His father was reported at the end of 1809, SCZD#974, and his sister Ulgem (baptized as Eulalia, SCZB#1303) was reported dead at the end of 1810, SCZD#1030.

¹¹⁴¹ Xuclan (under “Ricardo”) is listed as page and marriage witness in SCZM#s 665–77, on November 27, 1821, a month later on December 21 (SCZM#689) and again December 26, 1821 (SCZM#690).

¹¹⁴² The mission-born Rafael de Jesus (SCZB#1413), whose father was Pitac and mother Ausaima (Chipuctac), died on January 5, 1836 (SCZD#1954). His burial record explains that he “died of sores after having them all his life” (murio de llagas despues de haver paresido toda su vida), suggesting that he suffered from the frequently endemic syphilis. Xuclan and the Yokuts-speaking Huocom Chutupat (baptized as Margarita, SCZB#1745) married on May 12, 1836 (SCZM#815), four months after Rafael’s death.

¹¹⁴³ The older daughter, Filomena, SCZB#2191, was born on July 5, 1832, and Maria de Jesus, SCZB#2232, was born on December 24, 1834.

¹¹⁴⁴ The family is listed in the census (*padron*) of 1839, in Mission Santa Cruz *Libro de Padrones*, on file at the Monterey Archdiocese. The family is listed as twenty-five-year-old Ricardo Carion [sic], his twenty-year-old wife, Margarita, the two daughters—nin-e-yearold Maria Filomena and seven-year-old Maria Jesus—as well as two-year-old Maria Catarina (SCZB#2280), daughter of the couple. Quihueimen (baptized as Quiricio, SCZB#65), the surviving convict of the Quintana assassination, served as the godparent to Maria Catarina, who unfortunately died of a fever in December of 1842 (SCZD#2079).

¹¹⁴⁵ Xuclan’s connection to Pescadero is related in the chapter 5 story of Luisa Bolcoff. Additionally, in 1834, Xuclan (as Jose Ricardo) and Chuyucu (as Jose Victoriano), husband of Lino’s daughter, Maria Petra Nicanor, were called to appear before the justice of the peace in San José to answer charges

The older of the two daughters, Maria Filomena, became the mother of one of the youth arrested for arson. Raised by Xuclan and her mother, Filomena would have been acutely aware of Xuclan’s struggle to retain his lands, despite the likelihood that Filomena had moved out and was living with her own family at the time. Xuclan held onto his small plot of land until 1866, when he was forced to defend his ownership and occupation of the lands in American courts.¹¹⁴⁷ Retired district judge Henry Rice alleged that he had purchased Xuclan’s lands back in 1834, basically back to the year of secularization. Xuclan (listed as Ricardo), with his good friend Lorenzo Asisara and another person named José listed as fellow defendants, successfully defended his title to the lands.

In doing so, Xuclan used the language associated with homesteading by arguing that he had been in possession of said lands, including cultivating and enclosing these lands. Anglo newspaper reports at the time focused on teaching American immigrants to occupy open lands for homesteading and preemptions, characterizing existing rancho lands as “sparsely settled; and in many portions ... an unbroken wilderness.”¹¹⁴⁸ In invoking the Homestead Law, articles advocated to “furnish a permanent home for bona fide

brought against them. This is identified by Kimbro, *Como La Sombra Huye La Hora*, p 138. Document in San José Pre-Statehood Documents, Alcalde of San José, June 28, 1834. Maria Petra Nicanor’s husband, Chuyucu, appears to have spent considerable time in the San José or Santa Clara area, as his death is recorded in Santa Clara (SCLD#8267, July 19, 1849). Maria Petra Nicanor died shortly after in Santa Cruz (SCZD#2179, January 17, 1851).

¹¹⁴⁶ SCZD#2183, on February 22, 1851.

¹¹⁴⁷ Transcription of court records found in the collections of Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History, Santa Cruz County Clerk’s Office, Rice v. Ricardo, Case 577, M.R. 3.11. The court proceedings took place on July 23, 1866. Little has been written about landholding Indians during the Mexican and American eras. One such study explores land held in nearby San José, see Laurence H. Shoup and Randall Milliken, *Inigo of Rancho Posolmi: The Life and Times of a Mission Indian* (Novato, CA: Ballena Press, 1999).

¹¹⁴⁸ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, February 9, 1867.

settlers,”¹¹⁴⁹ and advised, “Within six months the homestead must be actually occupied or cultivated as the home of the claimant.”¹¹⁵⁰ Land claims and homesteads emphasized the enclosure, improvement, and cultivation of lands by asserting the fallow nature of prior occupancy.

When Rice couldn’t produce the deeds to prove his ownership, the court decided in favor of ‘Ricardo.’ Yet, the deeds records show that despite his winning the legal right to keep his home, he sold his lands to Rice for fifty dollars in the months following the trial.¹¹⁵¹ As with Macedonio Lorenzana discussed earlier in this chapter, it isn’t clear as to how and why Xuclan sold his lands. He clearly wanted to keep them, considering the time he spent defending his rights. Did Rice or his friends resort to violence or intimidation in securing the sale? Again, the American justice system, even when deciding in their favor, failed to offer real protection for Indigenous people.¹¹⁵²

Xuclan’s stepdaughter, Maria Filomena, became an important member of the local Indigenous community, serving frequently as madrina for Indigenous baptisms alongside Lorenzo Asisara. By 1854, she had married another Indigenous man, known as Andres Castro.¹¹⁵³ In 1863, they had their fourth child, a son they named Rafael Castro.¹¹⁵⁴ This is the boy who came to be known as Tahoe. He was described as being “one of the very best

¹¹⁴⁹ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, August 4, 1866.

¹¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵¹ The sale of these lands to Rice is recorded in the transcripts of the case, see Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History, Santa Cruz County Clerk’s Office, *Rice v. Ricardo*, case 577, M.R. 3.11

¹¹⁵² It is not clear as to why ‘Ricardo’ was able to fight for his lands in court, especially considering the Lorenzana story.

¹¹⁵³ While the baptismal registry for Andres Castro is not known to me at this point, he appears in the local documents sometime in the 1850s. It is possible that he was born in Santa Clara, San Juan Bautista, or another nearby Indigenous community. In any case, the birth of their first child, daughter Hipolita Carrana (SCZB#3013) in August 1854, places the couple in the area.

¹¹⁵⁴ Rafael (SCZB#3428), born on November 13, 1863.

shortstops in the city and [he] moved like lightning when running the bases.” News reports suggest that the boys were sons of “Maria” and her sister, referring to Maria Filomena and her sister Maria Guadalupe, who also appeared frequently as a godparent in Indigenous baptisms.¹¹⁵⁵ The two women were alternatively noted as living on Potrero Street or Evergreen, both in the potrero lands. It was noted that they “always were seen together in their plain skirts and with black shawls over their heads and wrapped around their shoulders. They took in washing and had many customers.”¹¹⁵⁶

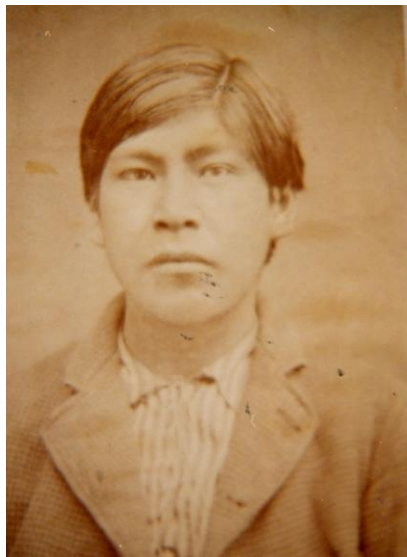


Figure 6.8: Rafael “Tahoe” Castro

While the young Tahoe would have been too young to witness his grandfather, Xuclan, struggle to retain his lands, the story of his displacement would certainly have been familiar to him. His involvement with Cache in the local barn burnings may have been

¹¹⁵⁵ Maria Guadalupe (SCZB#2647), daughter of Xuclan and Chutupat, Filomena’s mother. Alternatively, the sister could be Maria de Jesus (SCZB#2232), born on December 24, 1834. She married an Indigenous man named Manuel (baptism currently unknown, although he is recorded as an “Indio” in their child’s baptismal record). They had a child, Clodomiro (SCZB#3764) in June of 1868.

¹¹⁵⁶ The various notes in this paragraph about Tahoe and Cache, his mother, and aunt were reported by local historian Ernest Otto, who was alive at the time of the arsons. These notes were recorded in numerous undated historical columns in the 1940s and 1950s, and collected and reprinted by Dunn, *Santa Cruz Is in the Heart, Volume II*.

motivated by the frustration of watching his community struggle for work and to remain on lands of deep ancestral significance.

After the arrest of the two young men, Tahoe continued to maintain his innocence. Cache claimed that they had been involved with many of the frequent arsons.¹¹⁵⁷ Tahoe contended that he had been asleep at the time, but had known about the arson.¹¹⁵⁸ While the reporters focused on the two men’s apparent indifference, even writing that “without compunction they can set buildings on fire. What do they care? They do not own property; they want some fun.”¹¹⁵⁹ The writer emphasized the rights of the new landholding Americans, yet conveniently ignored the historical displacement of the young men and their community. If they were indeed guilty, the arsons may have been influenced by Tahoe and Cache’s sense of loss and displacement. The Anglo journalists noted that “the two dusky ‘braves’ ... received their sentences with a sardonic grin, and with as much nonchalance as if they were going to a place where they would be permitted to set fire to a barn before each meal. Cache and Tahoe calmly smoked cigarettes on the way to jail and seemed to be contented and happy.”¹¹⁶⁰ The indifference that they thought they saw on their faces was much more likely the result of a short life of hardship and struggle, as each of the boys

¹¹⁵⁷ His testimony is transcribed in *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 9, 1884. The conditions of his confession are unclear, as the article notes that they refused legal representation. It is not entirely clear if they refused or were not allowed any.

¹¹⁵⁸ Given the prevalence of violence and discrimination against local Californios and Indians at the time, it is entirely possible that Tahoe was not involved in this arson. However, as I argue here, it is not difficult to understand that the continual encroachment of American families could have motivated both him and Cache.

¹¹⁵⁹ *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, December 10, 1884.

¹¹⁶⁰ *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel*, December 23, 1884. It is interesting that the journalist mentioned their smoking. Many Indigenous Californians, including the Yokuts, smoked local tobacco for ceremonial and other purposes.

witnessed overwhelming losses, including their community getting squeezed out of lands that held meaning and connected them with their ancestors.

Survival—Hidden in Plain Sight

Survival for the local Indigenous community frequently meant being hidden from the eyes of the dominant American society. In 1891, the city of Santa Cruz planned and orchestrated a public celebration of the centennial of the founding of Mission Santa Cruz. City officials asked Lorenzo Asisara to attend, enabling the public to see one of the survivors who traced back to the mission. Asisara’s participation was a quiet one, as he was not given the opportunity to speak to the crowds. Ironically, despite his silence in the official celebration, it is the precious words of Asisara, transcribed in the decades before the celebration, that provide one of the most nuanced reports of the life of Indigenous Californians. Asisara’s participation in the centennial was his last recorded public appearance. To date, no burial records have been found for him. It appears that Lorenzo did what many of his community did—disappeared from official view of American society.

Yet, the disappearance from official American records is a superficial one. The real story is the perseverance of the Indigenous community. Individuals, families, and groups found ways to survive, frequently by turning to traditional songs, dances, stories, language, values, and practices like the sweat lodge. The inclusion of Asisara as the only Native participant in the city’s celebration seemed to suggest to the community that he was a lone survivor, all that remained of a once vibrant community. Yet, this was clearly not the case. While many of this community had moved out of the immediate vicinity, others remained in town. The 1900 census shows that the family of Santos and Teodora even owned some land

in Soquel Township.¹¹⁶¹ The same census shows that Maria Filomena continued to work in the Majors household, for eighty-three-year-old Maria de los Angeles on Mill Street.¹¹⁶²

Other surviving families sought out other survivors throughout California, careful to keep their Indigenous identities and histories quietly within their families, for the sake of survival.

¹¹⁶¹ 1900 US Federal Census, page 34, visit 527.

¹¹⁶² 1900 US Federal Census, page 9, visit 158. Filomena is listed as Maria Filomena “Castor.”

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Indigenous people continued to be an active presence in the Santa Cruz community into the 1900s. The 1900 census reported sixty-eight Indians living in twenty households throughout the greater county.¹¹⁶³ And these records only represent those that were outwardly identified as Indians, potentially missing any who passed as Mexican.¹¹⁶⁴ Most of those enumerated worked on local farms, some worked as wood choppers, others as day laborers or servants in wealthier households. The youth attended local schools as Indigenous families persevered. In the early 1900s Santa Cruz expanded, industrialized, and became a prime Bay Area tourist destination known for its beaches and boardwalk entertainment. Maria Filomena, the Chipuctac Huocom woman known in the community as 'Maria the Indian,' continued to live on the Westside, near Geronimo's former rancheria. There, the seventy-year-old Filomena worked as a servant for Maria de los Angeles Castro Majors.¹¹⁶⁵ Simon Gonsaga, a thirty-year-old man of Chipuctac and Yokuts (Atsnil and Copcha) ancestry, owned a house in Soquel. There he lived with his mission-born parents, Teodora and Santos.¹¹⁶⁶ The region continued to be an Indigenous space, becoming home to descendants and more and more members of the Native American diaspora.

¹¹⁶³ This includes the US Federal Manuscript Census 1900 for the following townships: Soquel, Santa Cruz, and Branciforte. In this census, most of the Indians are listed separately on the Indian Census. Unfortunately, the enumerators did not list addresses for Indians on this supplemental page, preventing us from knowing exactly where they lived.

¹¹⁶⁴ Further research will undoubtedly result in more identifications of Indians not identified as such.

¹¹⁶⁵ Maria Filomena is one of the few Indians whose place of residence was known, because she was listed as a servant within a non-Indian household (page 9, household 155, visit 158).

¹¹⁶⁶ This is reported on the 1900 US Federal Manuscript Census, Soquel Township, page 34, household 527. Unfortunately, the address is not reported, as it is in the Indian Census supplemental form. Santos is almost certainly one of two people. The first possibility is that he is the grandson of the aforementioned Sayanta man Geronimo Chugiut, nee Jose Chrisantos Francisco (SCZB#2679). The other possibility is that he is Guadalupe del Espiritu Santo (SCZB#2661), the son of the Chipuctac

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In July of 1906, three years after the much-publicized Santa Cruz visit by US president Teddy Roosevelt, the Mount Hermon Christian Conference Center played host to the Zayante Indian Conference of Friends of the Indians. The interdenominational Mount Hermon Center, in the mountain town of Zayante, had been christened less than a week before the conference. The Zayante township was named for the local Sayanta tribe, along Zayante Creek.¹¹⁶⁷ In the 1840s, Rancho Zayante belonged to the American Isaac Graham, and the center was built not far from the site of Graham's old lumber mill and liquor distillery. The conference was the first of its kind for the Northern California Indian Association (NCIA). The two-day meeting was the first of at least eleven annual gatherings.¹¹⁶⁸

C.E. Kelsey had formed the San Jose-based NCIA in 1894. The NCIA was one of the West Coast branches of the Philadelphia-based Women's National Indian Association, formed in 1879.¹¹⁶⁹ These organizations were created to advocate for Indian policy of the

father Hilario (SCZB#860) and Atsnil (Yokuts) mother Eulogia (SCZB#-1680). Teodora's identity is less certain, but she is most likely from Mission San Juan Bautista, SJBB#3800, the daughter of a Copcha (Yokuts) couple from the Firebaugh region. Her mother, Chahualat (baptized as Columba, SJBB#2538), died at Mission San Juan Bautista in October of 1838 (SJBD#3306).

¹¹⁶⁷ It is likely that some Sayanta descendants still lived in the region at this time. In addition to Santos, mentioned earlier, who may be a grandson of Sayanta Geronimo Chugiut, there are three other grandchildren who may have still been alive: SCZB#s 2344, 2740, and 2773, Maria de la Resurreccion [sic], Maria Ynocencia, and Maria Luisa, respectively. In addition, the whereabouts of Geronimo's nephews, SCZB#s 2076, 2096, 2128, 2134, 2192, and 2227 is unknown. Today, the local Ohlone Rodriguez family trace their heritage to Geronimo.

¹¹⁶⁸ The Mount Hermon center was dedicated on July 24, 1906, and the first of the annual conferences took place a week later, on July 30 and 31. The story of the Mount Hermon retreat center is related by Ross Eric Gibson, *San Jose Mercury News*, October 4, 1994, 1B. The notes from the first meeting are found in *Zayante Indian Conference of Friends of the Indians 1906* [proceedings] (Mount Hermon, Santa Cruz County, CA: July 30–31, 1906).

¹¹⁶⁹ C.E. Kelsey was an officer of the Northern California Indian Association (NCIA) and a special agent for the Office of Indian Affairs, advocating for California Indians in the early 1900s. Larisa K. Miller, "Primary Sources on C.E. Kelsey and the Northern California Indian Association," *Journal of Western Archives* 4, no. 1, article 8 (2013).

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assimilation era: reforms in education, Christianization, and sobriety. Assimilation policies, including the boarding schools and the Dawes General Act, were the American progressive alternative to Indian removal and warfare.

Two hundred people attended the 1906 conference, but very few of them were Indigenous Californians. Despite the meeting's Santa Cruz location, none of the local Indigenous community attended. The Zayante Indian Conference official report articulated their understanding of local Indigenous history, proclaiming that "When set free by the fall of the missions, these latter Indians, as a rule went home where they came from. Those of the Mission strip proper proved unable to maintain for themselves; there was nothing for them to do, or very little, and they disappeared rapidly."¹¹⁷⁰ As such, they did not expect to see Indians in towns, as they assumed that they had rejoined what was left of their tribes or simply "disappeared."

The goals of the conference included bringing public awareness to the difficult conditions facing California Indians, along with a host of assimilation-era policies and programs designed to "uplift" and "civilize" Indigenous Californians. These goals set the conference against the extermination policies that had been backed by American military and governmental organizations since the beginning of the American era. A major part of the conference participants' goals included missionization, as the report declared, "Perhaps the most important thing needed is the *Christianizing of the Indians*. I think you will probably all agree with me that the Indian cannot attain his full stature as a man unless he is

¹¹⁷⁰ *Zayante Indian Conference*, 10.

a Christian man.”¹¹⁷¹ Thus, the aims of even the most well-intentioned American organizations were similar to those of the Franciscans from a century earlier.

In this first meeting of 1906, one Indigenous man, Mr. William Benson from Ukiah, addressed the conference, asking to provide better educational advantages for Indian children (industrial training), and that liquor might be taken from them (“You brought it to us, and you ought to take it away!”). He spoke at length on the need for land for settled homes (“You have taken it from us, and you might give us a little bit!”).¹¹⁷² This initial conference recorded the presence of only this one Indigenous man, Mr. William Benson. The NCIA must have realized the significance of the absence of Indian faces and voices, as subsequent conferences included Indian men, whom they were careful to photograph, an image they included in their annual reports (see Figure 7.1).

The following year at the second annual Zayante Indian Conference, twenty Indian men joined the group. The minutes reported that these men joined with some hesitation, claiming that one said “for forty years white men make promises, and no keep promises. Hope gone. Just come to hear.”¹¹⁷³ The “Indian delegates” to the conference put together a list of five demands: land for homes, protection from liquor traffic, education, field physicians, and legal protection. The men are all listed as coming from California regions to the north (Santa Rosa, Hopland, Fort Bragg, Guidiville, Potter Valley, Chico, Laytonville) or

¹¹⁷¹ Ibid., 20.

¹¹⁷² Ibid., 15.

¹¹⁷³ Zayante Indian Conference, *Second annual Zayante Indian Conference: July 17–20, 1907, under the auspices of the Northern California Indian Association and the Mount Hermon Association, Mount Hermon, California, prospectus* (1907).

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inland (Porterville, Visalia, Morongo), regions just outside the acknowledged reach of the missions.



Figure 7.1: The image above includes a photo of the Native American participants in the 2nd annual Zayante Indian Conference, in 1907. These twenty men all came from places far from Santa Cruz.

Yet, even with the presence of twenty Native Californians, none of the participants included members of the Indigenous community still living in the greater Santa Cruz region. It is unknown if the conference organizers made attempts to contact locals, but their absence points to the larger idea of Indian disappearance that the conference members held.¹¹⁷⁴

¹¹⁷⁴ Interestingly, the photo for the fourth annual conference, in 1909, includes an image of a woman that looks similar to Ascencion Solorsano, the Mutsun Ohlone speaker who gave linguistic interviews in the 1920s. The fuzzy image does not have names of participants, but it is possible that some locals,

Much like the centennial celebration of Mission Santa Cruz in 1891, the larger presence of an Indigenous minority in the region was ignored in favor of promoting the narrative of the vanishing Indian. This pattern of invisibility in the eyes of the dominant culture was the product of a combination of factors. On one hand, white American Californians, even those who genuinely sought to protect and help Native Californians, relied on ideas of Indian-ness formed by White-Indian relations in the East. They failed to recognize Indigenous people who spoke Spanish, worked in towns, owned houses, or otherwise did not conform to stereotypes and expectations of “Indian” behavior or practices. Thus, local Indigenous people managed to pass under the radar.

On the other hand, for members of the surviving local Indigenous community, this invisibility was a welcome relief from persecution, lynching, and violence. Indigenous politics of the early twentieth century focused on survival, frequently through hiding their identities as “Indians.” The early American era had made it clear that the racial category of “Indian” came with second-class citizen status. Their absence from these conferences, “celebrations,” or other public displays may have been a welcome respite.

We began this study looking at the fourteen hundred Indigenous people living in the seven independent polities that lived in the region in the 1770s. In the ensuing hundred and thirty years, the Santa Cruz region became home to Indigenous people from over thirty-five tribes from throughout the larger Bay Area, as well as Indigenous individuals and families brought together through colonial displacement involving Spain, Russia, England, Mexico, and the United States. Throughout this time, Indigenous people adapted and expressed

like Ascencion, eventually attended some of these meetings. The image in question is found in Cornelia Taber, *California and Her Indian Children* (Northern California Indian Association, 1911), 28.

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themselves politically and culturally. Moreover, nineteenth century Bay Area was a space of incredible violence and persecution for Indigenous people, in distinct ways through colonial encounters involving Spain, Mexico, and the US.

The nineteenth century was a time of rapid change, violent disruption, and a struggle for survival. In the early 1800s, the Indigenous population at Mission Santa Cruz continually expanded as a diversity of tribes entered the mission under conditions of increasing violence by first Spanish, then Mexican soldiers. Yet, colonial subjugation was frequently challenged; in direct attacks, flights of fugitives, and most visibly in the assassination of the sadistic Padre Quintana in 1812. Indigenous politics between diverse tribes both within and outside of mission lands continually shaped intermarriages, alliances, and rivalries, as kinship networks expanded and shaped the social and political interactions between Indigenous individuals and families.

In the Mexican era, many local Indigenous families received new rights, but they continued to hold tentative positions in the larger social world. Most lost their small plots of lands in just a few years, in an environment of violence, hostility, and second class status. By the American era, when genocidal policies openly targeted Native Americans, Indigenous politics became a politics of survival. Native families used strategies to hide their identities, drawing on Spanish language, familiarity with Mexican culture, and American racial myopia to pass as Mexican, in order to facilitate survival. Nevertheless, despite staggering losses, Indigenous people in Santa Cruz survived through the American era of the second half of the nineteenth century.

By the turn of the twentieth century surviving Indigenous families did their best to retain remnants of their culture and history in the preservation of language, cultural values, and through seeking out community with other Indigenous families.¹¹⁷⁵ While this may seem to be a story of total loss, the survival of Indigenous families stands as a testament to the strength and perseverance of these survivors. Survival itself was an act of defiance and resistance. The violence and disruption of these years has left many families with a fractured historical memory. The dominant narratives of California history have overlooked or ignored the histories of Native Californians, while families have struggled to hold onto the stories of their elder generations. Yet, as I have attempted to show in this dissertation, the histories and stories of this past still remain for historians to locate in the archival sources.

In the first four decades of the twentieth century ethnographers and anthropologists sought out local Native families to interview surviving elders who still spoke Indigenous languages. They located and recognized prominent families interconnected throughout the region. These scholars included Jeremiah Curtin, Alfred Kroeber, E.W. Gifford, James Alden Mason, C. Hart Merriam, and Harrington. These academics sought signs of “traditional” practices and language. While many of these scholars considered their work as saving dying languages, known as “salvage anthropology,” in actuality these interviews attest to the persistence of Native languages and cultural practices. Their recordings and interviews continue to help contemporary tribal members reconnect to language, history, and culture.

¹¹⁷⁵ Renya K. Ramirez, *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); and Nicolas G. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2012). Ramirez and Rosenthal’s important studies illuminate how Indigenous communities formed and navigated the urban landscapes of twentieth century San Jose and Los Angeles, respectively.

Around the greater Bay Area, many Indigenous families relocated to ranchos or places where they could find other mixed Ohlone, Yokuts, and Miwok surviving communities. In the late 20th century, members of these surviving communities and families organized themselves to form several reconstituted tribal nations. Of these, at least four nations, each representing hundreds of members of Bay Area Ohlone, have active petitions for federal recognition: the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area, Ohlone Costanoan Esselen Nation (OCEN), the Costanoan-Rumsen Carmel Tribe (CRCT), and the Amah Mutsun Tribal Nation. Each of these have filed multiple times for federal recognition.¹¹⁷⁶ While some have gained state recognition, none are currently federally recognized, a byproduct of an inflexible recognition process that fails to take into account the specific histories and historical processes that have shaped colonization.

The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area includes a combination of Ohlone peoples from the East Bay and Santa Clara region. The Muwekma formed out of at least six rancherias—one in San Leandro (1830s–1860s), Alisal Rancheria near Pleasanton (1850s–1916), Sunol (1880s–1917), Del Mocho in Livermore (1830s–1940s), El Molino in Niles (1830s–1910), and a later settlement in Newark (ca. 1914–present day).¹¹⁷⁷ They

¹¹⁷⁶ For an overview of the complications surrounding federal recognition for Bay Area tribal nations, see Les Field, "CA Forum on Anthropology in Public: Complicities and Collaborations: Anthropologists and the 'Unacknowledged Tribes' of California [and Comments]," *Current Anthropology* 40, no. 2 (April 1999): 193–209. An overview of all Ohlone groups to petition for Federal recognition is provided in "Appendix E: Ohlone/Costanoan Groups and Federal Recognition Process (by Beverly R. Ortiz)," of Randall Milliken, Laurence H. Shoup, and Beverly R. Ortiz, *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and Their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today* (San Francisco: National Park Service, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, 2009), 305–7.

¹¹⁷⁷ In the early 1900s, Special Indian Agent Charles E. Kelsey identified this group as the Verona Band of Alameda County residing near Pleasanton, Sunol, and Niles. As a result of Kelsey and through the Appropriation Acts of Congress of 1906, the Verona Band was federally recognized between 1906 and 1927. This ended in 1927 when Sacramento superintendent Colonel Lafayette A. Dorrington, who had a notorious drinking habit and frequently fabricated reports, was asked to provide a list of California

brought together Chocheño- and Tamien-speaking Ohlone, many who are also descended from Yokuts or Coast Miwok ancestors. During World War I, before Native Americans officially received citizenship, many Muwekma members enlisted in the US Army and fought in World War I.¹¹⁷⁸ Today, under the leadership of Tribal Chairwoman Rosemary Cambra, the Muwekma continue to fight for federal recognition and involve themselves in Indigenous issues throughout the Bay Area.¹¹⁷⁹

The Ohlone Costanoan Esselen Nation formed out of the survivors of the Monterey region.¹¹⁸⁰ They include members of the two bordering cultures of Monterey—Ohlone and Esselen—and descendants of speakers of Rumsen Ohlone and Esselen. Like the Muwekma and Amah Mutsun, the OCEN had many members who enlisted in the US military. In the 1930s, Isabel Meadows worked as a frequent linguistic informant for John Peabody Harrington.¹¹⁸¹ The OCEN today, under the leadership of Tribal Chairwoman Louise J.

tribes who had yet to receive lands. Dorrington responded by dismissing the needs of approximately 135 tribal bands, effectively terminating their status. These 135 tribal bands included the Muwekma, the OCEN, and the Amah Mutsun. All three lost their status at this time.

¹¹⁷⁸ More served in World War II and later wars. Details about Muwekma Ohlone veterans can be found on their website: <http://www.muwekma.org/>.

¹¹⁷⁹ For a more complete overview of the Muwekma and their efforts to gain federal recognition, see Les Field, Alan Leventhal, Dolores Sanchez, and Rosemary Cambra, "Ohlone Tribal Revitalization Movement: A Perspective from the Muwekma Costanoan/Ohlone Indians of the San Francisco Bay Area," *California History* 71, no. 3, (Fall 1992), 412–31.

¹¹⁸⁰ In the early 1900s, Special Indian Agent Charles E. Kelsey and Reno superintendent James Jenkins identified them as the Monterey Band of Monterey County. Previously, in 1883 Special Indian Agent Helen Hunt Jackson identified the tribe as the "San Carlos Indians, living near the old San Carlos Mission at Monterey." Further details about their history can be found on the nation's website, <http://www.ohlonecostanoanesselenation.org/>.

¹¹⁸¹ "Profile: Isabel Meadows," in *A Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast* (Santa Cruz, CA: Santa Cruz Historical Trust, 2002), 14.

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Miranda, represent over six hundred enrolled members tracing back to at least nineteen distinct villages.¹¹⁸²

The Costanoan Rumsen Carmel Tribe (CRCT) was formed by Rumsen Ohlone families who left the Monterey area in the 19th century, fleeing American-era violence and persecution. Many of these families relocated to Southern California, finding work on ranchos and remaining to the present day. The CRCT's tribal offices are currently located Pomona, and the tribe hosts an annual pow-wow in Tony Cerda Park, a park operated by the City of Pomona and named in honor of the tribe's Chairman.¹¹⁸³ Chairman Tony Cerda's family spent a brief period at Mission Santa Cruz.¹¹⁸⁴ The CRCT continue to preserve and celebrate Ohlone culture, through language classes, tule boat launches, traditional dances, and gatherings, including an annual Bear Ceremony and well-attended annual Big Time gathering held at the Presidio Park in San Francisco. The CRCT's efforts to obtain land in the Monterey Bay area have so far proved unsuccessful— a 2013 fundraiser to purchase land at Moss Landing failed to raise the required capital.¹¹⁸⁵

The large organized group that includes descendants of Mission Santa Cruz is the Amah Mutsun Tribal Nation.¹¹⁸⁶ Members are descended from Missions Santa Cruz and San Juan Bautista, and from speakers of Awaswas and Mutsun Ohlone languages. In the first two

¹¹⁸² Tribal Chairwoman Miranda's sister is Deborah A. Miranda, author of *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2013).

¹¹⁸³ Members of the Costanoan Rumsen Carmel Tribe, including the family of Chairman Tony Cerda, relocated to Pomona in Southern California from Monterey. <http://www.costanoanrumsen.org/>.

¹¹⁸⁴ Cerda's ancestors passed through Mission Santa Cruz in 1835, where they baptized the young Maria Josefa de la Rosa (SCZB#2245), one of his direct ancestors.

¹¹⁸⁵ <https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/purchase-sacred-indigenous-land-and-build-the-first-ohlone-contemporary-village#/>

¹¹⁸⁶ <http://amahmutsun.org/>. In the early 1900s, Kelsey recognized the Amah Mutsun as the "San Juan Band."

decades of the new century, tribal member Ascencion Solorsano de Cervantes and her granddaughter, Martha Herrera, worked closely with Harrington, sharing linguistic and cultural knowledge.¹¹⁸⁷ Like the others, the Amah Mutsun worked in the fields and served in the military. Today, under guidance of Tribal Chairman Valentin Lopez, the Amah Mutsun are involved in conservation and land trust programs to protect traditional tribal territories, native plant restoration and relearning programs, and a variety of other local movements. The land trusts strategy points to innovative approaches to land recovery that offer alternatives to struggles for federal recognition.¹¹⁸⁸ Many Amah Mutsun members are relearning the Mutsun language based on Solorsano's interviews.

As this dissertation has shown, Indigenous people used a variety of strategies to navigate the nineteenth century. In addition to the four larger reconstituted tribal nations, some Indigenous families found ways to persevere on their own or in smaller family groups. Some, like the Tachi-Yokut Tribe, returned to their inland homelands and joined with others in reconstituting their own tribal entities.¹¹⁸⁹ Many have chosen to remain independent of these larger groups. Descendants of mission fugitives, like Ann Marie Sayers, found local refuge in places like Indian Canyon in the Gabilan Mountains near Hollister, the only recognized and protected Native land base in the Bay Area.¹¹⁹⁰ Many, like Gregg Castro and

¹¹⁸⁷ In 2003, a newly built middle school in the Gilroy Unified School District was named Ascencion Solorsano Middle School in her honor.

¹¹⁸⁸ For example, see information regarding the Amah Mutsun Land Trust, <http://amahmutsun.org/land-trust>. Another example of land trust is being developed by Corrina Gould: the Sogorea Te' Land Trust. <http://sogoreate-landtrust.com/>.

¹¹⁸⁹ <https://www.tachi-yokut-nsn.gov/>.

¹¹⁹⁰ "Costanoan-Ohlone Indian Canyon Resource," by Russell Imrie for Anne Marie Sayers, in *Gathering of Voices*, 208–09. Sayers has made her Indian Canyon lands into a center for Native peoples from all over. Many events and gatherings have taken place on these lands.

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his family, hid out of sight from the dominant society.¹¹⁹¹ Some individuals, such as Rumsen Ohlone descendant Linda Yamane, have worked tirelessly to revitalize practices like basketry and storytelling, despite not identifying with the larger organized nations.¹¹⁹² Other Indigenous people from Mexico, California, and throughout North America moved into the region, forming communities with existing Indigenous families.¹¹⁹³

In recent years, it has been struggles to protect burials and sacred sites that has frequently brought Indigenous families and individuals together. In 1975, in the midst of the Red Power movement, there was nearly a violent showdown over construction at a Native burial site on Lee Road, near Watsonville.¹¹⁹⁴ Patrick Orozco, a local Indigenous man from Watsonville, and his family had watched over the graveyard. Orozco's grandmother had told him about how his grandfather would pray at the cemetery and tell his family, "Your people are there. Respect them and protect them."¹¹⁹⁵ In mid-1975 developers began to bulldoze

¹¹⁹¹ "T'epot'aha'l – the Salinan Nation: Always, Now, Forever," by Gregg Castro, *ibid.*, 218–20.

¹¹⁹² Linda Yamane (Rumsen Ohlone) has been instrumental in reviving traditional Ohlone basketry: Linda Yamane and Dugan Aguilar, *Weaving a California Tradition: A Native American Basketmaker* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 1996). She has also worked to preserve and publish stories recorded by ethnographers like Harrington, Yamane, *When the World Ended; How Hummingbird Got Fire; How People Were Made: Rumsen Ohlone Stories* (Berkeley, CA: Oyate, 1995); Yamane, *The Snake That Lived in the Santa Cruz Mountains & Other Ohlone Stories* (Berkeley, CA: Oyate, 1998); and Alex O. Ramirez and Linda Yamane, *Tjatjakiymatchan (Coyote): A Legend from Carmel Valley* (Berkeley, Calif.: Oyate, 1995).

¹¹⁹³ "The Pajaro Valley Ohlone Indian Council," by Lois Robin and Patrick Orozco, *ibid.*, 216–17.

¹¹⁹⁴ For more on the formation of the American Indian Movement, see Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: New Press, 1996). In the San Francisco Bay Area, the nineteen-month occupation of Alcatraz Island, which began in late 1969, helped inspire the large local Indigenous population. This population had grown following the Indian Relocation Act of 1956, which relocated Native American families from reservations to urban centers including San Francisco and Oakland.

¹¹⁹⁵ Patrick Orozco and Lois Robin, "I'm an Indian, But Who am I?" *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 17, no. 1 (July 1995): 18–27.

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the cemetery to build a warehouse. When construction began, Orozco reached out to the local Indigenous community in the hopes of protecting the site.¹¹⁹⁶

Armed with rifles and bows and arrows, Orozco and others from the local community entered the graveyard one night and occupied the site.¹¹⁹⁷ Other local Native Americans joined, including Cherokee, Lakota, Cheyenne, Yaqui, and even a group of Hopi who performed ceremony at the occupation site.¹¹⁹⁸ Members of the Santa Cruz chapter of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) supported the occupation.¹¹⁹⁹ Dr. Rob Edwards, Cabrillo College Professor of Archaeology, intervened on behalf of Orozco, supporting the Natives' claims.

Political leaders intervened and worked out a compromise, avoiding violent conflict. The settlement allowed the developers to build the warehouse on the already bulldozed half of the graveyard and sold the other half of the cemetery to the Pajaro chapter of the Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association for \$17,500.¹²⁰⁰ The action invigorated and inspired the local Indigenous community. Families that had hidden their Indigenous roots from public view now found that they could chose to gather publicly. In response, Orozco and others involved helped form the Pajaro Valley Ohlone Indian Council to organize and advocate for future site protections.

¹¹⁹⁶ "Indians ask halt to digging at their site," *Register-Pajaronian*, Monday, March 17, 1975.

¹¹⁹⁷ "Indians digging in as talks break down," *Register-Pajaronian*, Thursday, March 20, 1975.

¹¹⁹⁸ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, Sunday, March 16, 1975.

¹¹⁹⁹ "Ohlone Burial Ground: Armed Indians Appear at Indian Burial Site," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, Thursday, March 20, 1975. Jo Kenny, member of the VVAW/WSO said, "We discussed it, and the vets didn't want to touch any guns, so we decided to bring in food and tents and blankets and staff the front gate."

¹²⁰⁰ *Register-Pajaronian*, Monday, March 24, 1975.

Conclusion

In 2011 a similar situation occurred when developers KB Homes ran across the remains of a child buried near a six-thousand-year-old village site.¹²⁰¹ The most likely descendant(MLD), Anne Marie Sayers, was notified. This time local Indigenous leaders and non-Indigenous allies organized, forming the Save the Knoll Coalition and raising public awareness through marches and threats of occupation. After a series of protests and meetings, the Santa Cruz City Council halted construction while they met with representatives from the developers and Ohlone representatives. The MLD, Sayers, helped to organize a council of Ohlone elders, who met with the City Council and representatives from KB Homes.¹²⁰² This council was comprised of a diverse group of Ohlone people from throughout the greater region.¹²⁰³ Ultimately, after ongoing meetings, marches, and organizing, KB Homes elected to cancel building plans on the portion of the site containing known human burials, agreeing to establish an easement protecting the burial area in perpetuity with provisions to allow Ohlone tribal members to access the grounds for ceremony.¹²⁰⁴ Successful organizing around the protection of the Knoll inspired further collaborative movements to protect other sites throughout the region, such as the fight to protect the Ulistac village site in Santa Clara in 2013.¹²⁰⁵

¹²⁰¹ "Native American remains unearthed at Santa Cruz housing development site; protesters rally for halt to construction," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, August 14, 2011.

¹²⁰² <https://web.archive.org/web/20111126164645/http://savetheknoll.org/>

¹²⁰³ This group included elders from established groups like the Amah Mutsun, as well Ohlone individuals involved in protecting Bay Area sacred sites, such as Corrina Gould (Chocheño and Karkin Ohlone) and Charlene Sul (Rumsen Ohlone). Gould is involved with the Indian People Organizing for Change, which have been leading the Shellmound Peace Walks since 2005, <http://ipocshellmoundwalk.homestead.com/about.html>. Sul is the Chair of the Advisory Council for The Confederation of Ohlone Peoples, <http://www.ohlonenation.org/>.

¹²⁰⁴ "Housing builder agrees to preserve knoll: KB Home reaches agreement with city, Native American elders over burial ground," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, September 20, 2011.

¹²⁰⁵ "Ohlone Indians join rally to save Santa Clara nature preserve," *The Mercury News*, October 21, 2013.

The protests and meetings stirred a little controversy. Questions arose regarding who had the right to make decisions on local Indigenous issues. Questions about authentic representation and of intertribal agreement arose. Outsiders wondered why there wasn't one lone Ohlone representative to speak for the region. But, in my opinion, these questions themselves—like the issues raised by the Zayante Conference organizers of the early 1900s—rely on faulty assumptions about local Indigenous politics, history, and organization. The complexity of Indigenous history and circumstance has shaped an Indigenous landscape that narrow stereotypes fail to describe. The outsiders' fascination with expecting a single unified Ohlone political body fails to recognize that local Indigenous people have always had differences of purpose and goals, despite having much in common. Commonalities in spiritual practice, world views, and epistemologies may unite Bay Area Ohlone, Yokuts, and Miwok in some ways, but historic differences in experiences, tactics, and politics have always resulted in a degree of disagreement and difference.

As I've argued throughout this dissertation, the Indigenous landscape is a complex one of difference and diversity. Indigenous leaders had different goals and tactics for navigating these trying times. Indian auxiliaries worked closely with missionaries to chase down fugitives, while others worked in direct opposition with the colonizers. In the late 1800s local leaders like Lorenzo Asisara and Maria Filomena built new kinship connections through godparentage with Indigenous newcomers. Indigenous survival in the region has always involved the creation of new alliances and connections, a constant resettling of social and political relations. This continues today, as more and more descendants use a variety of strategies and approaches to persevere and protect their families, culture, and lands.

Contemporary Ohlone and Yokuts still contend with a development-centered regulatory environment that affords few formal protections for their burial sites and sacred places. The denial of access to Indian Health Services, designed by treaty concessions for all federally recognized tribes, fails to address the needs of generations of families impacted by more than two centuries of psychological and physical violence. Without adequate land bases, many have moved far from their traditional homelands in search of affordable living. Some groups, such as the Amah Mutsun, continue to fight for federal recognition. Ironically, contemporary struggles continue to seek many of the same rights that those twenty Indigenous men at the second annual Zayante Indian Conference asked for over one hundred years ago. The legacies and consequences of the failed attempts to address issues of land and health concerns in the early American years continue to impact generations of Indigenous Californians today.

The twenty-first century looks to be one of revitalized Native presence, in Santa Cruz, the greater San Francisco Bay Area, and throughout California. The recent canonization of Junipero Serra, while overtly signaling the celebration of the California mission era, has also helped to invigorate an already growing sense of Native pride and identity. In the fall of 2015, the San Fernando–based Tataviam woman Caroline Ward Holland and her son, Kagen, embarked on a “780-mile pilgrimage to each of the twenty-one California Missions, to honor the Indigenous ancestors who suffered and perished in the Mission system and assert California Indian rejection of sainthood for Junipero Serra.”¹²⁰⁶

¹²⁰⁶ walkfortheancestors.org. Yet even with Serra’s legacy, not all Bay Area Ohlone are in agreement with the Walkers’ mission. While many united in opposition to Serra’s canonization, some did not. The diversity of Ohlone experiences and histories have shaped and continue to shape differing perspectives. For example, Chocheño Ohlone distant cousins Andrew Galvan and Vincent Medina

Conclusion

Along the way they met with Indigenous Californian leaders, elders, and community members from each region, many who enthusiastically supported the groups message. At each mission they held ceremonies, fostered by the offerings of diverse members of the Indigenous diaspora who joined the walkers. The gatherings stood in testament to the fact that Native Californians endured, persevered, and are still here today. The addition of Indigenous academics, as well as the newer approaches to the archives that embrace Indigenous epistemologies and categories, has helped usher in scholarship that can help bring this history to light, and importantly, support the efforts of contemporary Native Californians.¹²⁰⁷ It is my sincere hope that my dissertation adds to this growing body of critical Indigenous Californian scholarship.

have debated the Serra legacy: Julia Prodis Sulek "Junipero Serra: Saint or sinner? Canonization has foes in California," *Los Angeles Daily News*, February 2, 2015.

¹²⁰⁷ Lee Panich argues that "archaeologists and other scholars of colonial California can support the efforts of Native Californians by providing intimate details about how indigenous people negotiated the challenges of missionary colonialism," and with this, I heartily concur. "After Saint Serra: Unearthing Indigenous Histories at the California Missions," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 16, no. 2 (2016), 244.

Appendix A: Indigenous Names

Throughout the dissertation I have prioritized the use of Indigenous names. Spanish colonization included the practice of renaming everything, including people, tribes, villages, rivers, mountains, and other elements of the landscape. In the early chapters I have chosen to prioritize Indigenous names whenever available. In the first three chapters, I have placed the Spanish name, typically assigned at baptism, in parenthesis. Starting in the fourth chapter, I switched to using both the Spanish first name and Indigenous surname, reflecting the usage as frequently found in the records. The continued usage of Indigenous names as surnames suggests that Indigenous people often retained their names and used them well beyond the mission years.

It is worth noting that Indigenous names often appear in later records, despite their potential absences from the baptismal records. Missionaries recorded Indigenous names in baptismal records of converted native people, but did not do so for those born to parents already baptized and living at the mission. These children born within the mission, typically received only Spanish names. Yet, the absence of Indigenous name in the record did not necessarily mean that parents didn't give them their own name. In some cases, later records show that these Indigenous names persisted. One example is seen with the child born to Achistaca father, Tomisigua (Miguel, SCZB#10), and Chipuctac (Ausaima) mother Gepeson (Marie Piedad, SCZB#902). Tomisigua arrived at Mission Santa Cruz as a three year old in October, 1791. Gepeson arrived at Mission Santa Cruz as a seven year old in 1800. Their child was born and given the Spanish name Agaton (SCZB#1432) during his baptism. Agaton served as marriage witness in twenty marriages, and in many of these records he is identified as Agaton Chaplica. The first of these marriage records was in May, 1824, for the marriage of Xuclan (Ricardo), the mission songleader, and his first wife Xalagati (Catharina, SCAB#3149). Clearly the Indigenous name Chaplica persisted, despite its omission in the baptismal registry.

Here I provide a table that includes Indigenous individuals mentioned throughout the dissertation. I have included both Indigenous and Spanish names, when available, as well as baptismal number, tribal affiliation, and which chapter they appear in. For some, multiple tribal identities are listed, these indicate parents affiliation in this format: Father / Mother.

Key:

SCA = Mission San Carlos

SCL = Mission Santa Clara

SF = Mission Dolores

SJB = Mission San Juan Bautista

SOL = Mission Sol

Appendix A: Indigenous Names

Indigenous name	Baptism #	Tribe	Chapter	Spanish name
	1	Achistaca / Sayanta	1, 3	Micaela
Soquel, Soquex, Soquer, Soguel	2	Uypi	1, 3	Hermenegildo
Rosuem, Yrdem Rassuen	3	Uypi	1, 3	Josefa
	4	Uypi	1	Luis
Tomisiqua	10	Achistaca	6	Miguel
Aror	29	Uypi	2	Juan Francisco
Chujes	41	Uypi	4	Crisantos
Molegnis	42	Aptos	1	Balthasar Dieguez
Yucuquis	44	Uypi	4, 6	Antonio Pantoja
Orcheriu	46	Olpen	1	Gaspar Pablo
Solue	47	Aptos	1	Ana de la Relde
Sipan	49	Uypi	6	Andrea Pico
Sachat	57	Sayanta	4	Agustin
Samórim	62	Achistaca	4	Fabiana Arraez
Cholegnis, Chalogn	64	Uypi	3, 5	Vicencio Salvador
Quihueimen or Ququen	65	Uypi	3	Quirico
Acogüen	67	Aptos	2	Urbano
Uychilli	73	Uypi	2	Columba
Chaitin	77	Uypi	2	Agueda
Zuem	83	Aptos	3	Agapito de Albiz
Llaggen	87	Olpen	1	Angela
Upejen	90	Achistaca	1	Serafina Josefa
Tumuzc	96	Uypi	1	Policarpo Dieguez
Ules	97	Chaloctaca	1, 2, 3	Andrés Cañizares
Tucumen	99	Uypi	4	Rufino
Caujan	101	Aptos	1	Rufina Peña
Conejo	102	Uypi	1	Telesforo Fidalgo
Ojoc	106	Uypi	1	Feliciana Ormachea
Lluillin	107	Chaloctaca	1, 3	Maria de la Purificacion de Landa
Sirinte	111	Chaloctaca	3	Fulgencio Cañizares
Gelelis	113	Chaloctaca	1	Gabriel Cañizares
Tejos	115	Chaloctaca	1, 6	Mariano Hablitas
Chitemis	135	Achistaca	1	Rafaela Gazetas
Tuicam	136	Achistaca	1	Margarita de Cortona
Roesic	137	Achistaca	1	Pascual Antonio Arenaza
Ojoc	140	Uypi	2	Feliciana Savedra

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Lacah	141	Chaloctaca	1, 3	Julian Apodeca
Tipan	147	Chaloctaca	1	Maria del Carmen Hablitas
Gelelis	148	Chaloctaca	3	Gabriel Cañizares
Lassac	151	Chaloctaca	1	Onesimo Saturnino Hablitas
Ypasin	153	Chaloctaca	1, 3	Juana Eudovigis Pinedo
Nisipen	154	Sayanta	1	Maria Guadalupe Cruz
Guichiguís	179	Uypi	4	Valerio
Chugiut	184	Sayanta	2, 3, 4, 5	Geronimo Pacheco Real Chugiut
Uetex	186	Quiroste	1	Secundino Maldonado
Uayas	187	Quiroste	1	Bartolome Lopez
Tuiguimemis	189	Quiroste	1	Manuela Yrien
Miscamis	190	Quiroste	1	Bonifacia Ubartondo
Maguen	203	Uypi	2	Thomas
Uiles or Vuiles	204	Uypi	2	Thomasa
	205	Sayanta	1, 3	Florentina
Llencó	215	Cotoni	1, 3	Venancio
Tugilua or Tujilo	217	Cotoni	2	Jose Antonio
Masilon	218	Cotoni	2	Maria Trinidad
Saquexi	220	Aptos	4	Pedro Antonio
	226	Chaloctaca	1, 2, 3	Lino
Chuchigite	230	Quiroste	1	Maria Francisca
Euxexi	232	Somontoc	1, 2, 3	Ambrosio
Samexci	233	Cotoni	1, 3, 4	Damáso
Juanchita	234	Quiroste	1	Maria Expectacion
	235	Aptos	3	Humiliana
Susiur	239	Cotoni	1	Vicente Reyes
Ocot	253	Chaloctaca	1, 3	Nicolasa
Yachacxi or Yachasi	262	Achistaca	3, 4	Donato
Lleguix	273	Achistaca	3	Angel
Sauten	287	Aptos	3	Antonia
Paxit	290	Cotoni	1	Maria Severa
Chaguex[i]	299	Achistaca	1	Primo
Oregit	302	Aptos	2	Marcelina
Chachoix	304	Cotoni	2, 3, 4	Silvestre
Sucul	310	Cotoni	2	Marcelo
	311	Cotoni	1	Anastasio
Quisuam	315	Quiroste	1	Gregoria
Mañem	316	Quiroste	1	Eufemia

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Criños or Ynox	319	Achistaca	5	Eleutherio
Samectoi or Samedoi	320	Achistaca	6	Seferino Arce
Llumetu	330	Achistaca / Sayanta	1	Jose Maria
Tuquion	336	Somontoc	3	Maria Rafaela
Chomor	345	Cotoni	2	Daniel
Yuñan	381	Aptos	2, 3, 4, 5	Serafina, Sarafina
Geturux	389	Aptos	4	Canuto
Guallac	413	Sayanta	4	David
Monguis	417	Uypi	3	Liberata
Tanca	420	Chaloctaca	1	Pantaleon
Cholmos	443	Chaloctaca	1	Acisclo
Ullegen	449	Chaloctaca	1	Aciscla
Gemos	456	Partacsi	2, 4	Sebastian Aparicio
Sipi	461	Sayanta	1	Remigio
Yñoc	492	Achistaca	1, 3	Pancrancio
Quitirún	505	Achistaca	1	Pancracia
Sipon	538	Chipuctac	6	Alvino
	605	Uypi	3	Justiniano
Seynte	626	Chipuctac	2, 4, 5	Projecto
Tallap	627	Chipuctac	2	Prisco
Yrachis	629	Chipuctac	2, 4, 5, 6	Ostiano, Justiniano Roxas
Sichirimas	640	Chipuctac	2	Novato
Megeroa	643	Chipuctac	2	Vicencia
Ceyuén	655	Chipuctac	2	Rita
Toyup, Toyop, Toiop, or Taupo	660	Chipuctac	2	Niceforo
Sajuero	666	Pitac	3	Nila
Aschi	667	Chipuctac	2	Nicefora
Chumanit	676	Aptos	4	Dato
Shomam	689	Aptos	3	Tata or Maria Tata
	726	Uypi	2	Joaquin
	738	Cotoni	2	Carlos
Cunumaspo	754	Chitactac	4	Erasmus
Ètop	755	Cajastaca	3	Alberto, Alberto Antonio
	787	Chipuctac	6	Constantina
Causúte	797	Chipuctac	4	Gregorio
Najam	808	Chipuctac	3	Victoriana
Tuliám	823	Pitac	3	Prudencio

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Checello	860	Chipuctac	4	Hilario
	868	Uypi	6	Benvenuta
	894	Cajastaca / Pitac	3	Sostenes
Gepeson	902	Chipuctac	6	Maria de la Piedad
Jotoime	934	Cajastaca	5	Matias
Aspan	937	Cajastaca	5	Pacifico
Toquilme/Tuquinmen	941	Cajastaca	4	Mauricio
	951	Aptos / Cajastaca	3	Vicente
	976	Cajastaca	5	Barbara
Sagián	980	Auxentaca	4	Francisco Xavier, "El Chivero"
Rojuisi	991	Cajastaca	5	Juan Antonio
Cosorum	1005	San Juan (Mutsun speaking)	6	Genobiba
	1014	Chipuctac / Achistaca	4	Lazaro Domingo
	1016	Aptos / Achistaca	3	Miguel Antonio
Ojeti	1029	Cajastaca	2	Justina
	1052	Cajastaca / Pitac	3	Fidel
Picothe	1059	Auxentaca	4	Victorino
Marichimas	1077	Tomoi	3	Wenceslao
Najasa	1109	Sumus	2	Odorica
Quichuate	1124	Tomoi	6	Pacifica
	1129	Chipuctac / Achistaca	4	Francisco Solano
Elelis	1143	Chipuctac	2	Tomas
	1165	Chipuctac / Achistaca	4	Francisco
Saipan	1204	Auxentaca	6	Alexandra
Uc Ahigi	1212	Locobo	3	Santiago Maior
Sieboo	1262	Tomoi	5	Canuto
Coayat	1287	Sumus	2	Justa
Chaparis	1292	Sumus	2, 3, 5	Bruno
Legem	1295	Sumus	3, 5	Bruna
Ulgem	1303	Sumus	6	Eulalia
Gilsic	1311	Chaneche	4	Carlos
Chitecsme	1314	Sumus	3	Mateo
Yachename	1315	Sumus	3	Matea
Yaquenonsat	1318	Sumus	2, 3	Fausta
Putiltec, Chogiore	1320	Tomoi	2, 3	Macario Chogiore
	1364	Chipuctac / Achistaca	4	Antonia
Xuclan	1377	Sumus	2, 3, 4, 5, 6	José Ricardo, Ricardo, Ricardo Carrion

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Autocrus	1403	Locobo	4	Juan Joseph
Ayaclo	1410	Locobo	4	Egidio
	1412	Aptos / Achistaca	3	Cecilia
	1413	Pitac / Ausaima	6	Rafael de Jesus
Masihúmu	1425	Chipuctac	6	Sabina
	1429	Chipuctac / Achistaca	4	Tomas
	1431	Aptos / Achistaca	3	Señorina
Chaplica	1432	Achistaca / Chipuctac	6	Agaton
Malin, Malimin	1478	Tejey	2, 3, 4, 5	Coletto, Coletto Malin, Coletto Malimin
Yguichegel	1479	Tejey	4	Coleta
Moctó	1480	Tejey	2, 4	Agustin Moctó
Cachimtan	1481	Tejey	4	Agustina
Guajsili	1482	Tejey	4	Esteban
Larirjachi	1483	Tejey	2	Placido
Pipicachi	1484	Tejey	2	Plasida
Atauque	1492	Tejey	4	Paterno
Chuiucuu, Chuyucu, Yeulile, Chugucu	1515	Tejei	3, 4, 5, 6	Victoriano or Bictoriano
	1553	Chitactac / San Juan (Mutsun speaker)	6	Benbenuto
	1561	Uypi / Chipuctac	3, 4, 5	Rustico
	1573	Sumus	2	Serafin
	1578	Chipuctac / Achistaca	4	Hana Maria de la Expectation
	1587	Tejey	6	Luisa Daniela
	1589	Chalactaca / Aptos	3, 4, 5, 6	Petra Maria Nicanor
Tancha	1594	Cooht	4	Vicente
	1612	Chipuctac / Achistaca	4	Vicenta Rafaela
Sauset	1627	Tejey	2, 4, 6	Ysidro
Huich	1639	Tejey	4	Vicente Francisco
Chulnoquis	1647	Mallim	4, 6	Pasqual
Punis	1648	Tejey	4	Bernardino
Sayanit	1665	Achila	4	Septima
Huasiuta	1667	Tejey	4	Coleta
Yenulate	1668	Mallim	4	Agustina
Hueiete	1669	Janalame	4	Pasquala
Segejate	1672	Mallim	4	Gervasia
Paylat	1680	Jasnil	6	Eulogia
Yayama	1687	Sagim	5	Fidel
Socoües	1689	Chaneche	4	Patricio

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Nenoat	1725	Chaneche	6	Viviana Maria or Maria Bibiana
Chiemiit	1734	Chaneche	4	Egidia
Tupat, Chutupat	1745	Huocom	3, 5	Maria Margarita
	1752	Natualls	6	Felipa de Jesus
	1758	Chipuctac / Achistaca	4	Alvaro
	1783	Sayanta / Cajastaca	5	Barvara
Najaruy	1796	Huocom	6	Miguel
Guiyamach or Quimayach	1799	Huocom	6	Mariano
Choótg	1800	Huocom	6	Anastasio
Luasatme or Lihutsatme	1803	Chalahua	3, 5	Manuela
Turiralt	1808	Huocom	6	Agustina
Mororoli	1811	Chaneche	5	Pantaleona
Yocoguehs	1828	Huocom	5	Domingo
	1829	Sayanta / Cajastaca	5	Norverta
	1832	Cotoni/Yokuts	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	Lorenzo Asisara
Husalsme	1853	Huocom	6	Bernardina
Suulu	1862	Huocom	6	Pedro
Chaujana	1866	Hupnis	5	Simon
Labarsec	1874	Huocom	6	Gavriel
Atamay	1877	Huocom	6	Petra
Yujuhilil	1881	Hupnis	5	Simona
	1894	Hupnis	6	Andrea
Nonorochoi	1900	Huocom	3	Maria Alvina
Jorsotmin, Jorsotmin, or Jocsotsinin	1941	Huocom	2, 5, 6	Maria Buena
	1951	Sayanta / Cajastaca	5	Cecilia
Huayiche	1976	Quitcas	4, 5, 6	Fidel
Carachúl	1980	Huocom	6	Roque
Silsueail	1981	Huocom	6	Clementina
	1998	Partacsi / Cajastaca	5	Jubenal de la Cruz
	2007	Sagim	5, 6	Carlos
	2045	Sayanta / Cajastaca	5	Rudesindo
	2069	Chiputac / Uypi	6	Sergia
	2073	Aptos - Achistaca / Tomoi	3	Nicanor
	2094	Sayanta / Cajastaca	5	Acursio
Ulalixmi	2112	Piluri	3, 5	Coleta
	2136	Sayanta / Cajastaca	5	Dolores
	2162	Sayanta / Cajastaca	5	Fortunato

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	2172	Huocom	3, 4, 5, 6	Merejildo, Ermenegildo
	2172	Huocom	6	Hermenegildo
	2177	Achistaca / Chaneche	5	Juliana
Chavan	2182	Hupnis	5	Buenaventura
	2186	Sayanta / Cajastaca	5	Maria Candelaria
	2189	Taratac, Chitactac, and Cajastaca	5	Maria del Carmen
	2191	Chiputac / Atsnil	6	Maria Filomena
	2194	Uypi / Piliuatse	3, 5	Rosa Maria
	2205	Sayanta / Cajastaca	5	Maria del Carmen
	2206	Huocon / Locobo - Chaneche	6	Salvador
	2232	Pitac - Chipuctac / Huocom	6	Maria de Jesus
	2238	Sayanta / Cajastaca	5	Luis de los Reyes
	2257	Achistaca - Chipuctac / Huocom	6	Maria Josefa
	2280	Sumus / Huocom	3, 5, 6	Maria Catarina
	2314	Tular	6	Rosa
	2647	Sumus / Cuccunu	6	Maria Guadalupe
	2647	Sumus / Cuccunu	6	Maria Guadalupe
	2898	Tular	6	Juan de Dios
	2899	Tular	6	Tomas de Jesus
	2971	Huocon / Cajastaca - Chaneche	6	Jose Miguel Antonio
	3001	Quithrathre / Tular	6	Agustin
	3013	Unknown / Chiputac - Atsnil	6	Hipolita Carrana
	3033	Huocon / Cajastaca - Chaneche	6	Maria Jesus
	3102	Quithrathre / Tular	6	Juan Jose Rafael
	3166	Unknown	6	Domingo
	3234	Quithrathre / Tular	6	Juan Bautista
	3251	Huocon / Cajastaca - Chaneche	6	Tomas Acantuviense
	3341	Huocon / Cajastaca - Chaneche	6	Ambrosiana
	3359	Sumus / Tejey - Huocom	6	Jose "Cache" Lend
	3428	Unknown / Chiputac - Atsnil	6	Rafael "Tahoe" Castro
	3442	Huocon / Cajastaca - Chaneche	6	Maria Rosa
	3476	Quithrathre / Tular	6	Jose Martial Carlos
	3619	Huocon / Cajastaca - Chaneche	6	Maria Delfina
	3764	Unknown	6	Clodomiro
	3815	Huocon / Cajastaca - Chaneche	6	Mariana
	3948	Huocon / Cajastaca - Chaneche	6	Maria Rafaela Vasquez
	4100	Huocon / Cajastaca - Chaneche	6	Jose Alfredo

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Moquem	1232a	Locobo	2	Matilde
	1279a	Tomoi	6	Justo Gonsales
	2194a	Cajastaca / Chaneche	5, 6	Maria Agueda
Usiam	none	Unknown	1	
	SCL#55	Unknown	1	Manuel
	SCL#69	San Francisco Solano	1	Francisco Maria
Guachismic	SCL#76	San Francisco Solano	1	Rudesindo
	SCL#80	San Francisco Solano	1	Pablo
Toppi	SCL#122	San Francisco Solano	1	Lucia Maria
	SCA#173	Rumsen	1	Viridiana Maria
	SCA#521	Esselen	2	Gonzalo Jose
Jansi	SCA#870	Mutsun	2	Alonso
Pischo	SCA#1163	Calendaruc	2	Mauricia Maria
Queruquesome	SCA#1212	Calendaruc	2	Maria Micaela
Yannieh	SCA#1378	Mutsun	2	Arsenio Maria
Lammi	SCA#1568	Mutsun	2	Melecio Antonio
Catpash	SCA#1775	Mutsun	2	Eutropio Maria
	SCA#2088	Nuu-chah-nulth	1	Maria Jesus, India de Nutka
Unijunis	SCA#2675	Calendaruc	3	Catarina
Huilgen	SCA#2920	Unknown Tulares (Yokuts)	2	Juan Bautista
	SCA#3460	Cajastaca / Calendaruc	3	Maria de la Concepcion
	SCL# 1015	San Carlos	3	Leto Antonio
	SCL# 1016	San Carlos	3	Secundino Antonio
Llleg	SCL# 1566	San Carlos	3	Fulgencio
Chacualis	SCL# 1896	San Carlos	3	Toquato
	SCL# 1897	Uypi	1, 3	Clara de la Cruz
	SCL# 1903	Chaloctaca	3	Cucufate
	SCL#1904	Uypi	1	Maria Lorenza
	SCL#1969	Chaloctaca	1	Panuncio
	SCL# 1971	Somontoc	3	Clementina
Yamnisi	SCL#2198	Unknown	2	Ambrosio
	SCL#2301	Quiroste	1	Cucufate
	SCL#2457	Quiroste	1	Gregoria
	SCL#2463	Quiroste	1	Aniceto
	SCL#2464	Quiroste	1	Rodrigo
Cipres	SCL#2540	Quiroste	1	Prima
Ochole	SCL#2718	Quiroste	1	Formerio
Qesues	SCL#3115	Unknown	1	Barulo

Appendix A: Indigenous Names

Carchas	SCL#3699	Chipuctac	2	Doroteo
Chesente	SCL# 3705	Chipuctac	3	Maria Concepcion
Chalema	SCL#3803	Unknown	6	Raymundo
Aluns	SCL#4760	Sumus	6	Neofito
Jesecori or Isscora	SCL#5236	Sumus	2	Hortulano
Hichuela	SCL#5487	Sumus	6	Policarpo
Uresses	SCL#6001	Taysen	6	Santiago
Pascasia	SCL#6208	Sumus	6	
	SCL#8415	Taysen	6	Jose Santiago
Sujute	SF#679	Quiroste	1	Gregoria
Uègcèm	SF#711	Quiroste	1	Maria Bona
Cuc chítí	SF#991	Quiroste	1	Ninfa
Puchute	SF#993	Quiroste	1	Marina
Charquin	SF#1002	Quiroste	1	Mateo
Lachi	SF#1003	Olpen	1	Pacifico
Yaccham	SF#1011	Quiroste	1	Emerenciana
Momioste	SF#1165	Quiroste	1	Maria de las Reves
Lupugeyun or Supugeyun	SF#2546	Coast Miwok	2, 4	Pomponio
Tetimure	SJB#212	Ausaima	2	Bernabe
Taniti	SJB#330	Ausaima	2, 3, 4	Oton
Uthaña , Utana	SJB#610	Ausaima, Chipuctac	2, 6	Jose Domingo, Eutropia
	SJB#673	Mutsun/Pagsin	5	Carlos
Llomoí	SJB#1215	Ausaima	2	Jose Maria Estudillo
	SJB#1595	Ausaima	2	Antonina
	SJB#1865	Ausaima	2	Maria Cruz
Uthriat	SJB#2301	Nopchenche	2	Ubalda
Oyocat	SJB#3005	Chaneche	4	N.
	SJB#3739	Hualquemne	5	Maria Blandina
	SJB#3784	Cutucho	5	Ynocente
Cucunuchi	SJB#4471	Laquisamne	4	Estanislao
Chicaylao	SOL#1594	Cutucho	5	Faustina
	Unknown	Bodega Bay (Coast Miwok)	5	Gabriel

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