
Transcending the Spiritual Conquest: From Tenochtitlan to the Mission San Francisco Solano

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Introduction

The role of the Catholic Church and the “Spiritual Conquest” in the Iberian (Spanish) conquest of the Americas significantly altered the socio-cultural hierarchy as well as the landscape of the New World. The “Spiritual Conquest” provided the avenues for conversion and colonization to be accomplished nearly simultaneously with the blessing of the Crown. Herbert E. Bolton, Robert H. Jackson, and a host of others have noted that the missions functioned as frontier institutions in the “civilizing” of those thought to be “savages.”¹ This “civilizing” of the indigenous peoples received its greatest support from governing powers when frontier lands were threatened by foreign expansion or required “purification” and “spiritual education” before the desired labor and goods could be harvested. The natives suffered the brunt of the abuse.

The system, although not created in the Americas during colonization, continued even after Mexico gained its independence from Spain and can clearly be seen through an examination of

Mission San Francisco Solano, better known today as the Sonoma Mission (Valley of the Moon). San Francisco Solano was unique. It was the only Alta California mission founded (1823) after Mexico became independent but before the entire mission system was secularized in the 1830s. It was the final mission built in a series of twenty-one Franciscan establishments that formed the California mission chain and the only mission founded in that period without the formal permission of the Church. Solano's unique founding raises questions about its purpose, the final disposition of its land, its role as a "civilizing" tool as Bolton suggested, the policies and structure of the mission, and the abuses that existed within it.

Europeans nearly caused the annihilation of the indigenous populations in the Americas by bringing foreign pathogens into what historians refer to as the "virgin soils" (uncompromised) of the New World. The Franciscan desire (and that of other orders) to "civilize the savages," put additional pressures on the indigenous, and the Sonoma Mission did indeed serve as a frontier institution that allowed for the advancement of colonization under the guise of the need for spiritual conversion. The mission continued to serve these ends after secularization. The abuse at San Francisco Solano and those who condoned it sought to "civilize" the indigenous and enforce colonial will. A fresh look at the results, however, reveals both the limits of the effort and the ways in which the indigenous transcended it. In the end, San Francisco Solano acts as a case study exploring how the indigenous reacted and transcended the abuses of the mission system, as well as their struggle to survive secularization under military and civil control.

Sources and Mission Studies

Although extensive research has explored specific categories regarding the “Spiritual Conquest” of the Americas, few studies have researched the problem in relation to Alta California and San Francisco Solano. Specifically, how indigenous socio-cultural perspectives changed is still poorly understood.

Other significant problems stem from the destruction of indigenous records in Mexico and the lack of records from the Alta California period. Reconstruction of missing histories often led to their Europeanization. In Alta California, descriptive accounts of indigenous culture came from Spanish friars, officials, travelers, or settlers, most of whom were prominent men. In the later nineteenth century, oral testimonies from aged indigenous survivors contained filters of time, as well as personal agendas and biases.² Even less reliable are the hagiographies, yet those reverent accounts lend insight into the era and help us identify particular mindsets. Perhaps more useful are the records, requests, and letters from the missionaries who, as Jackson has pointed out, were often “self-centered and self-serving,” yet tended to provide a useful glimpse into indigenous life.³ Nevertheless, these records, too, raise questions because birth and death records of converts as well as mission inventories, including cattle, and agricultural production, were often miscounted.⁴ Existing records for the Sonoma Mission are in repositories such as the Bancroft Library at the University of California Berkley, and were not easily accessible for the present study. Thanks, however, to Lynn Bremer at the Santa Barbara Mission Archives-Library (SBMAL), new information (previously ignored archival documents) documents the abuses at Mission Solano.

Some twentieth-century literature about the missions of Alta

California tends to lack sufficient historical data and presents a limited view. Adult readers frequently find romanticized views of the missions, and juvenile readers learn that the Indians of the time were poor creatures who not only needed to be converted to Christianity, but also saved from starvation.⁵ William Henry Hudson uncritically wrote that a "serious conflict" was avoided because "one of the fathers drew forth...a canvas bearing the picture of the Virgin...[and the] savages threw their weapons to the ground" to besiege "the marvelous images" thus narrowly averting danger.⁶ As the sun set on the twentieth century, writers Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo rocked previous notions regarding the California missions by presenting the horrors of mission life in their book *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*. Their highly polemical book challenged the comfort level of conventional wisdom about missions, but, like Hudson, still represented an extreme that failed to consider the whole picture.

"Civilizing" Missions and "Double Mistaken Identity"

Among those who sought to offer a more complete picture was Herbert Eugene Bolton (and others) who argued that the "Spiritual Conquest" was part of an "economic" process that they dubbed the "civilizing function." The "civilizing function" began with the conversion of the indigenous to the Catholic faith. Further, natives were required to adopt the customs and behaviors of Europeans and to accept the exploitation of local resources (labor, land, etc.) by the power doing the "civilizing." According to Bolton, the effort of the Catholic clergy to implement the "civilizing function" was necessary to create a bulwark that would allow for the successful colonization of the region as well as the formation of a peasantry,

of sorts.⁷ The missionaries, Bolton wrote, “Were a veritable corps of Indian agents, serving both Church and State.”⁸

Contemporary historians have challenged Bolton’s views. According to Jackson and a host of other historians, the indigenous people mediated their adoption and adaptation of Christianity. Prior to this study, little evidence had been uncovered to support the existence of this process at Mission San Francisco Solano.⁹ Further, Louise Burkhart has stressed that, “modern Indian religion is seen as a mixture of pre-Hispanic and European elements, a middle ground between the two cultures,” and noted “the often surprising extent to which ancient beliefs survive.”¹⁰ A similar process likely occurred at Sonoma.

Several reasons help explain why information on Sonoma is limited. Primarily, by 1823, the year of the founding of the Sonoma Mission, the “newness” of cultural encounters had for the most part worn off. In addition, unlike the peoples of central Mesoamerica, the indigenous people from the Sonoma region did not craft written versions of their languages. Increased encroachment by outsiders left the natives in what Randall Milliken aptly referred to as “a time of little choice.”¹¹ In both regions and eras, the appearance of accepting Christianity often allowed the natives greater liberties. In many cases, they continued to practice their own religion while appearing to have adopted the favored lifestyle.

James Lockhart, an ethnohistorian, has referred to that process as “double mistaken identity.” According to Lockhart, neither the foreigner nor the indigenous fully understood one another. Lockhart argued that “the root of cultural interaction between Nahuas and Spaniards was a process...whereby each side takes it that a given form or concept is essentially one already known to” the other.

Therefore, each group, and by extension, each person “could view Indian town government, the monastery complexes, mural painting, land tenure, and many other phenomena,” differently in accordance with a personal or group “frame of reference.”¹² Langer and Jackson illuminated this concept in California when they wrote that “The Indians viewed the Franciscans as witches with powerful magic” and “probably made efforts to use the priests as intermediaries with the spirit world,” unconsciously invoking Lockhart’s idea of “double mistaken identity.”¹³

Langer and Jackson also have argued that “the destruction of the Indian populations” at the missions “precluded any meaningful conversion to Catholicism or any large-scale effort at syncretism.”¹⁴ It is doubtful that the Pala from the twenty-second *asistencia* (smaller mission) near San Diego would agree, because today, they have a thriving society that appears to have had a meaningful conversion to Catholicism and incorporated many traditional beliefs.¹⁵ Maynard Geiger’s book, *As the Padres Saw Them*, contains responses to questionnaires that were sent out from the Department of Overseas Colonies in Cadiz, Spain. Those responses allow the astute reader to observe syncretism and cases of “double mistaken identity.” A case in point occurred at Mission San Francisco, where the padres reported that the indigenous did not practice idolatry, but that “the Indians have some foolish practices when they go hunting and fishing which if they fail to practice [the rite] they forgo the hunt and fishing. For instance, they plant a stick with feathers and seeds or they abstain from meat.”¹⁶ In other words, if Indians failed to perform the proper rituals they would not risk their safety. The questionnaire pre-dated the founding of the final missions giving the illusion that syncretism or double mistaken identity may

not occur at Sonoma until Randall Milliken's research. According to Milliken:

the core group of adult Christians at Mission Santa Clara...was composed of people from the Alson village of San Francisco Solano, rather than the nearer tiny Tamien villages. Julian Julau...a thirty-year-old man from San Francisco Solano village, became the first Indian *alcalde*...at Mission Santa Clara.¹⁷

Milliken's research lends evidence to the idea that the responses involved natives from Sonoma and Napa.

Iberian Culture

The Iberians (Spanish and Portuguese), at the time of their invasions of the Americas, boasted a society stratified into three basic divisions (estates): nobility, clergy, and commoners, with each estate stratified within itself.¹⁸ The social hierarchy was based on kinship; that is, familial origins, ties, and marriage, all of which could increase or decrease a person's status. De jure social status dictated the colors and styles of clothing people wore, the foods they consumed, the jobs they held, the tools or weapons they could own, and the punishments they received for committing crimes. Wealthy families commonly sent their daughters to a convent where they would remain until they became either a bride of a man or a "Bride of Christ." Males, on the other hand, remained to receive a formal education that included developing their intellectual and physical prowess. Children from lower classes worked simply to survive. Marriage, for the most part, was an economic contract that provided for social and economic advancement.

A Tale of Two Cultures: Mesoamerica and Alta California

In contrast to Iberian cultures, the cultures in the Americas were highly diverse. According to Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, before the Iberian incursions, Latin America had "over 350 major tribal groups, 15 distinct cultural centers, and more than 160 linguistic stocks."¹⁹ Throughout the Americas, were countless numbers of sedentary, semi-sedentary, and non-sedentary groups, each with its own social hierarchy and ritual beliefs.²⁰

The roles of men and women within indigenous society differed in important ways from those found among the Spanish, and notable variations existed among native groups, too. The Aztec pattern tended to be patrilineal, others were matrilineal, and yet another group might be both patrilineal and matrilineal.²¹ Throughout the Americas, men tended to hunt or have a specialized skill that they practiced while women generally performed domestic duties and played a major role in the agricultural process, craft production, and marketing.²² Duties were not exclusive to gender,²³ and Europeans commented that native women were outside the realm of proper women.²⁴

Children of sedentary indigenous groups had experiences similar to those of Spanish children, and experiences that were vastly different. Aztec children, for instance, were educated according to their standing in society as well as by the date and sign of their births.²⁵ Boys of commoners became warriors while those from noble origins were primarily trained in priestly or administrative duties, and as warriors.²⁶ Girls unlike their Spanish counterparts had possibilities other than marriage or becoming nuns.²⁷

In central Mexico, the societies were highly stratified with

complex political, economic, and social hierarchies living in magnificent cities and enormous wealth.²⁸ Probably the most renowned description was that of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who recalled the beauty of the Tenochtitlan:

The towers and cues [temples] were full of people as well as the canoes from all parts of the lake. Gazing on such wonderful sights...on one side...there were great cities...and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the Causeway were many bridges.²⁹

Yet despite those intricacies, Europeans failed to grasp the vast complexity of indigenous societies, generally contending they were barbaric or that the “Indian” had the mental capacity of a “perpetual child” who needed “civilizing.” Unfortunately, those ethnocentric views continued in the northern regions, including California.

California lacked the grand civilizations and wealth observed during the first *entradas* (expeditions) into Mexico. The geographic diversity within California mirrored the diversity among its peoples. In California, six stocks served as a base for at least sixty-four and possibly as many as eighty different languages, and myriad dialects.³⁰ Both Santos and Milliken concurred that the missionaries’ recruitment affected “ninety-six tribes and villages” in the San Francisco area alone.³¹

Despite the lack of written records, the magnitude of archeological finds provides evidence that great cultures existed. For instance, at Olompali State Historic Park on Mount Burdell, the Olompali (“southern village” or “southern people”) of the Coast Miwok “inhabited at least one site...from 6000 BCE [to] the 1850s.”³² The women of the Olompali gathered to grind “acorns and seeds,” socialize, and perhaps discuss the problems of their day. In doing

so, they left their mark on *kitchen rock* (a large boulder). Records in California lend strength to the existence of gender parallelism dating from pre-Hispanic origins. According to Isabel Kelly, on the Marin Peninsula:

there were two important female leaders. [One was the] woman chief (*hóypuh kuléyih*)...the second female leader (*máien*) was a genuinely key person: '*máien* bosses everyone, even *hóypuh*' [who] was head of the dance house. [M]*áien* dealt with and oversaw construction of a new dance house...sent out invitation sticks for dances, and, in some cases, selected the performers.³³

Chronicler	Village Size	Occupants
Anza; Cañizares	Largest	400
Crespí; Font	Large	200-250
Anza	"Good Size"	100
Palóu	"not large"	40

Further, according to Helen McCarthy, a secret society called the *huta* ranked "above the village, or *olkapma* affiliation and controlled the artisans."³⁴ The fact that the society had a term for their village and for a secret society above the level of the village lends evidence to the idea of a more sedentary society than researchers previously thought.³⁵ As with people in Mesoamerica, the inhabitants of Alta California had their own hierarchies, customs, and micro-patriotic groups. Native populations were thinly spread, creating a balance between the land and the people.³⁶ The data in the table above illustrates the demographics of the San Francisco Area, providing a sharp contrast between the Bay Area's "largest" at 400 and the

magnitude of Tenochtitlan.³⁷ Lifestyles were also different. The people in California lived in, “hemispherical huts with bulrush or grass-bundle thatching” unless they were near wooded areas.³⁸

The subsistence and material cultures in the San Francisco area often went unseen by the first explorers, missionaries, and settlers. According to Milliken, “the land was divided among scores of independent tribes [and] associations of families that [*sic*] worked together...within fixed territories” maintaining yearly ceremonial cycles.”³⁹ Further, Milliken has asserted that indigenous people in the Bay area sustained themselves by harvesting local resources, which they augmented with “resources received in trade,”⁴⁰ taking advantage of “indirect trading network[s]” when items were not available locally.⁴¹ Their diversity created a “complex mosaic of cultural variation.”⁴² According to Milliken:

in some areas of California, the families of a tribe shared a single central village location for much of the year; however, Bay Area tribe members lived most of the year in a more dispersed pattern. The Ssalsons...for example, lived contemporaneously at the three villages of Aleitac, Altagmu, and Uturpe. The Huimens of the southern Marin Peninsula also had three key villages, Anamas, Livangeluà, and Naique.⁴³

As a result “neighboring tribes were tied together by bonds of commerce and economic reciprocity as well as by bonds of intermarriage.”⁴⁴

Colliding Cultures and the “Spiritual Conquest”

Into that native world, the Spanish arrived with their notion of one “true” religion, Catholicism. Some clergy, including members of the Franciscan order, believed that they needed to prepare

the world for the second coming of Christ by converting all who were not Christians. In the indigenous world, great leaders and great events tended to have marvelous mythical beginnings with foundations based on a historical event or phenomena.⁴⁵ Indigenous people also had their own creation myths, migration folklore, and religious practices that, for the most part, highly offended Catholic priests and average Spaniards alike because of a propensity for daily human sacrifice.⁴⁶ The church destroyed everything thought to be idolatrous,⁴⁷ a process that continued in other areas including California.

While foreign pathogens caused a devastating 80-90% mortality rate,⁴⁸ the Catholic Church helped advance the colonization of the Americas in ways other than destroying practices presumed to be idolatrous. For example, the *Treaty of Tordesillas*, divided the New World, and allowed the spread of Christianity while also collecting tributes in labor, goods, and precious metals as revenue. That dual process advanced the cause of 'the crown and the cross.'⁴⁹ The first clerics who came with Cortés were secular rather than members of trained mendicant orders. Not until May 1524 did the first significant group of *regular* clergy arrived in New Spain, a contingent of twelve Franciscan Friars.⁵⁰ In 1542, new regulations regarding the treatment of Native Americans in places such as New Spain⁵¹ came in part from the urgings of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1566).⁵²

Early Teaching of the Faith was Tantamount to Confusion

Christianization proved to be a difficult and deadly experience for many of those involved. Clergy were often martyred for their beliefs and the indigenous often died from the diseases brought

by the strangers and sometimes the conversion methods. Beyond the earliest conversion methods, teaching the faith rather than baptism became paramount in the process, see *table 1*. The earliest conversions were brutal and required little more than the reading of the *requerimiento* (requirement), which the natives often found about as communicative as a brick wall, but which was often used as a license for a “just war.”⁵³ Had it not been for the horrific brutality that often followed the reading of the *requerimiento*, the event might have appeared more like a theatrical show by Firesign Theater in which a priest simply waved a cross and exclaimed, “domini, domini, domini, and you’re all Catholics now.”⁵⁴ Teaching the new faith was often tantamount to confusion rather than a clear and concise lesson.

In every period and area, the clergy had their own unique way of teaching the faith. Each group most likely believed that they were conveying or receiving the “true” Christianity but for the most part, they generally entered into what James Lockhart referred to as “double mistaken identity.” The cross as a religious symbol has often found itself at the center of great confusion, debate, and even death. The lessons in fray Bernardino de Sahagún’s *Exercicio Quotidiano* most likely rendered confusion but the extent of the confusion is speculative.⁵⁵ Consequently, the formation of cults and some forms of religious veneration may actually be the result of “double mistaken identity.”⁵⁶

Another potent example of the possibility of this kind of spiritual confusion is offered by Juan Diego’s vision of the Virgin of Guadalupe in 1531. While the apparition may have never happened, the legacy of the apparition has woven itself within the very fabric of the Americas and even parts of Europe. Did Juan

Diego see the Virgin of Guadalupe as a European Mary, or was she an apparition of Tonantzin, a pre-conquest goddess, or perhaps a fusion of the two, much like the Iberian and indigenous cultures? The Virgin had become a powerful figure both to the local Spaniards and to the Nahuas (and others).⁵⁷ According to Stephanie Wood, the incorporation of patron saints into daily life often served as a means of transcending the changes that occurred during the spiritual conquest.⁵⁸ Wood's research on Nahuatl testaments shows "twenty-four examples wherein family members shared the name of and had a special devotion to a saint venerated," including the gifting of land and structures to the saints.⁵⁹

The Mission and Its Program

According to Robert Jackson the "Spanish frontier policy sought, in part, to modify the social and economic structure of semi-sedentary and nomadic native groups to conform more closely to that of the sedentary, town-dwelling agricultural communities that the Spanish successfully dominated and exploited."⁶⁰ As time marched on so did the organization of regulations for conversion and punishment, at least on paper. The reality was that the further one was from authority, the more likely one was to find corruption and abuses.

To Jackson, as well as other historians, the "missions were a cost effective form of colonization" that served three basic purposes. Foremost, the aim was to secure territory for the crown. Evangelizing of the pagans was linked to the first goal, as was the third purpose, which was the continued expansion of economic growth for the crown, the Church, and other Spaniards. Jackson divided the clergy into two periods and three types of actions (here

expanded to three periods and five types of actions).

Table 1: Central Mexico to Northern Mexico and California			
Pre-1500s	Early-1600s	Late-1700s	General Actions Taken by Clergy ⁶¹ √ = common for era r = rare for era
√	√	√	1. Taught new faith.
√	√	√	2. Evangelized and “Civilized” Native Populations
√	√	r	3. Evangelized and “Civilized” Sedentary Populations
	r	√	4. Rounded-up and Settled into Villages to Evangelize and “Civilize”
		√	5. Exercised a greater control over daily life of natives

As shown in the table, during the pre-mission years (1500s), the first clerics began the conversions of the larger populations who also lived in the wealthier regions. As time progressed laws were put into place to protect the natives against abuses, but conversion practices remained relatively the same. What did seem to differ over time were the punishments inflicted on the prospective converts in an attempt to “civilize” them. When converts and workers were scarce, the *reducciones* served as a tool to continue evangelizing.

For the most part, historians agree that the *reducciones* and *congregaciones* were at the heart of the “mission program,”⁶² and were, according to Stephanie Wood, “an integral part of the consolidation of conquest” designed “to condense dispersed populations following epidemics for better religious instruction and taxation,” a process that today is recognized “as [a] disruptive”

force.⁶³ Critics saw the forced resettlement as a means of gaining and retaining control of assets including labor.⁶⁴

In California, the missions were similar to the *reducciones* that placed different groups who had lived in a dispersed manner, into a confined area with foreign pathogens; illness flourished and mortality rates remained high.⁶⁵ California had many clergy, beginning with the Jesuits who established and maintained missions in Lower California until their expulsion in 1767. Following the Jesuits, final control of Baja California went to the Dominicans, and the Franciscans received the charge of Alta California, considered a poor and difficult region. As the padres and priests spread out, so did the Spanish troops and *presidios* that supported the missions. In most cases, these troops were poorly trained, ill supplied, and dependent upon the missions for their food and well-being. In turn, the missions and the missionaries were dependent upon the troops and the *presidios* because of their remote locations that tended to infringe on occupied territories. Generally, natives outnumbered the troops and may even have enjoyed military superiority had it not been for their tendencies towards micro-patriotism.

Daily Life in a Mission

According to Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, all the missions had more or less the same daily routine. "At sunrise the bell called to church all the adults, that is to say, all over nine years of age. Holy Mass was celebrated by one of the Fathers, whilst the other recited aloud the prayers and the "Doctrina" with the Indians." After mass and roll call, each neophyte kissed the padre's hand, then the punishment of alleged miscreants began. Other missions followed that general patter. Sometimes descriptions focused on separate eating quarters for men and women. Other descriptions

focused on different patterns of work, with men and boys working “in the field, among the live-stock, or in the shops,” while “the girls and single women found occupation under the care of the matron.”⁶⁶ According to Engelhardt, after the adults left for work, the Fathers instructed the boys and girls who were five and older; “none” were allowed “to be absent.”⁶⁷ By noon, the bell rang again, calling the people to gruel, which could have any of the following ingredients: “meat, beans, peas, lentils, or garbanzos” depending on the “season and means of the mission.” They returned to work until five in the evening, when they would once again go to mass, have dinner, and spend the rest of the evening as they pleased often indulging “in the pastimes of their savage state” including gaming.

The Civilizing Function: Regulations, Obedience, Punishment, and sometimes Revolt

The French voyager Jean Francois Galaup de Lapérouse, in 1785, described the daily routine at San Carlos de Borromeo (Carmel) mission. He had a far worse opinion of what mission life was like than Engelhardt. Lapérouse recalled that the men and women were not left alone even for a moment, for the “friar conducts them” everywhere. Lapérouse had mixed feelings expressing high regard for some friars but not others. He wrote that life in the mission was in “resemblance” to a slave colony: “we have seen men and women loaded with irons, others in the *bloc*, and finally, the blows of the whip have reached our ears.”⁶⁸ What he saw was part of everyday life for many. Louis Choris wrote of the inhabitants of San Francisco, “I have never seen one smile, I have never even seen one look another in the eye,” it was a telling sign of the abuse they endured.⁶⁹

In many cases, the punishments issued by the friars and other Spaniards of Alta California (and elsewhere) overstepped the bounds given by the Law of the Indies. The indigenous were to be protected due to their value as labor and sources of tax revenues. The native peoples, according to the law, were to have been punished as "children" (*niños con barbas* or children with beards) but for the most part the punishment was much harsher.⁷⁰ Those who were under seventeen years of age were considered, under the *Las Siete Partidas*, minors with a right to legal representation and lighter punishments.⁷¹ Accordingly, children had some basic rights, as did the indigenous. A case in point was of a twenty-two year old indigenous man who confessed to "having robbed a store of various items of clothing." He was found not guilty due to his "double minority," age and "Indian condition."⁷² Laws written on paper depended on the willingness of local authorities to enforce them. The distance from California to Mexico was great and communication was extremely precarious because there was no system in place to facilitate regular communication, and there was no easy way for Mexico City officials to check on the northern frontier. Many opportunities existed for civil officials in California to corrupt the laws or rules.

Essentially, people faced two forms of punishment, light and harsh. Light punishment was corrective in manner and slightly physical. For example, those who missed daily mass were rounded up and pinched on the ears to get them to go to church. Sometimes, the light punishment was more abusive. A long stick (walking cane) was used to strike the "Indians about the ears and head" for falling asleep in church.⁷³ One could, however, incur worse punishments. Indian promiscuity, for example, was seen as idolatry and punished

by whipping (flogging), and each inflictor had his own methods and tools. Other typical punishments included flogging, shackles, and the stocks. Franciscan Francis Guest reminded his readers that whipping was a common punishment during the era, which it was. Guest suggests that the native people were used to the whip because some of them followed the Franciscan's example of self-flagellation.⁷⁴ I would suggest that whipping oneself however is wholly different from having the whip, the lash, or the cane inflicted by someone else.

Thomas Savage's interview of Eulalia Pérez, the wife of a soldier, in December 1877, clearly showed that many punishments were beyond the legal limits of the law.⁷⁵ According to Pérez, less serious crimes might be punished by placing the offender in stocks and/or confining them to a cell. But "when the crime was serious, they would take the delinquent to the guardhouse" and there such people were whipped. Pérez recalled that sometimes a person was tied to a post before being whipped, but lacking a post, the person would be tied to "a cannon" or put in what Pérez described as *Ley de bayona*. That punishment involved putting a shotgun behind the knees with the person's hands tied to the gun; "It was very painful."⁷⁶ It is hard to imagine anyone tying a child to a pillory post, a cannon, or putting a person into *Ley de Bayona*, and then whipping that person in front of the community. Yet it happened to the indigenous children and adults as outside forces attempted to "civilize" them. In reality it was torture for all who were subject to the abuse.

Sometimes the natives revolted, but other factors, such as fear and disunity limited their actions. Another factor might have been that all single women and married women whose husbands were

away were kept locked up at night like hostages in the *monjeríos*. Without strict controls, many padres feared rebellion, but too much strictness or abuse could result in uprisings. The latter occurred with the native reaction to Padre Andrés Quintana (Mission Santa Cruz). According to James Sandos, the decision to act came when Fray Quintana threatened to introduce a "new metal-tipped whip with which to cut the flesh of those being flogged." On the third try, the natives finally killed him (October of 1812). They smothered him and left him with one of his testicles shoved into his mouth, a common final insult.⁷⁷ Another effective example of revolt occurred when Fray Luís Jayme (Mission San Diego de Alcalá) was beaten to death by a mob of angry natives. In contrast, abuses inflicted by Fray José Altimira spawned only the partial burning of the mission and Altimira's need to flee.⁷⁸ Isolation, seclusion, and autonomy often increased whenever Mexico found itself in political or economic turmoil, which was the case much of the time during the post-independence period.

The Founding of Sonoma Mission

Seclusion and autonomy were factors in the founding of the Sonoma Mission, as were the personal aspirations of Fr. José Altimira.⁷⁹ Mission San Francisco de Solano was founded without the formal permission of the Church, without permission from Mexico, and, of course, without the permission of the indigenous people. Fr. Altimira did have the consent of California's Mexican Governor Luis Argüello. Thus, the founding of Sonoma Mission was in direct conflict with the Church and traditional founding methods.

Fray Altimira, in addition to breaking his Order's chain of

command, placed envy and greed into the equation, possibly losing sight of his vow of poverty, as he openly lusted for what he wanted. His behavior and attitudes were in opposition to that which was acceptable during the period, even visible in his correspondence with his superiors following the founding of the mission and in his letter to the governor asking for continued support.⁸⁰ Fray Altimira used the growing Russian presence to swell fears of further incursions. According to Kent Lightfoot, the “native peoples displaced by the construction of Mission San Rafael and Mission San Francisco Solano were encouraged” by Ivan Kuskov “to relocate along the southern boundary...providing a buffer” from “their Hispanic neighbors.”⁸¹ Altimira hoped to stimulate support from Argüello, for while a single “mission could hardly serve as a military bulwark... it could substantiate a claim to territory.”⁸²

It was not until after the founding of the new site that Fr. Altimira bothered to write to his superiors to inform them of his action and of his plans to usurp some of the residents in other Bay Area missions.⁸³ On the fourth day, according to the expedition diary, they marked the site for the new mission. Fr. Altimira recalled that it was a day for “a festival,” the altar was prepared that morning and a provisional cross was made that measured 7 *varas* in length and 3 *varas* wide at the arms.⁸⁴

We blessed the place and within the site at where the gentile Indians of *Sonoma* formerly lived in their *ranchería* [a native settlement], we planted the Holy Cross and at the moment of raising high this image. The troops discharged a volley and at the same time the padre with [his] 2 neophytes sang...in the adoration of the Holy Cross.⁸⁵

Based on what we know, those who participated in that event, whether by singing or firing the volley, most likely had a completely different understanding of it than the curious onlooker. The onlooker most likely understood that it was a sacred ritual, but the images may have served as a lesson on the interconnectedness or duality in the life force of the tree. Another viewer might have believed that the ritual was a prerequisite for a safe journey (they left that day), and other explanations are possible.

Reporting the Unlawful Act

The records of the Church, though usually one-sided, offer a look at what happened following the founding of the Mission. On July 10, Fr. José Altimira sent a letter to Fr. Presidente José Señan (unaware that he had died) claiming that the "Mission at Dolores was on its last legs and a change was necessary and that Mission San Rafael Arcangel could not subsist alone." Fr. Altimira hoped for approval but stated that, "if no changes were made, he would leave the missions here in California and return to Europe at the first opportunity." Scrambling to defend his actions, he charged that Missions San José and San Rafael were "forcibly seizing gentiles...and taking them against their will to their mission," which of course violated the "agreement."⁸⁶ Most likely, there was truth to his statement, but Altimira's record has problems of its own, leaving one to wonder about his credibility.⁸⁷ According to Engelhardt, "the new Father President, Fr. Sarriá" wrote to Fr. Altimira chastising his insolent actions.⁸⁸

The Father President ordered Fr. Altimira to stop work on the Mission. Altimira responded with "a blistering letter of complaint" to Governor Argüello, asserting "I came here to convert gentiles

and to establish new missions. If I cannot do it here, where as we all agree is the best spot...I will leave the country." Not only did Fr. José Altimira seem like a spoiled child, he challenged the Governor's pride by asking if the *diputaciones* were legal. Argüello retorted that "now the establishment at Sonoma was a fact, it would continue as a military post."⁸⁹ In other words, he understood that his distance from Mexico allowed him the latitude of attitude, and Governor Argüello no doubt felt that the fledgling nation would find the site useful for military support to maintain control against the growing Russian presence.⁹⁰

Back at the Mission

Father Altimira finally won the right to continue building the mission but even that had required help from the Governor. The Padre's success was short lived because of his fervor for building or perhaps his bad temper. During the early mission periods (pre-Alta California), the "temporalities" were theoretically used to provide for the mission and the neophytes. In California, troops and settlers used more than the surplus often leaving the native people to find their own food in an environment compromised and depleted by the foreign intrusion of man and beast (cattle, oxen, sheep, and pigs).⁹¹

The original inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay Area missions continued openly to display traditional customs, and in many cases, the padres failed to comprehend their actions. That was especially true when matters concerned death and an afterlife, which often continued under the watchful eyes of the padres. Those who lived by the sea often believed that following death of the body, "they [would] go out to sea and that there are many there," implying an

afterlife that was in keeping with pre-Hispanic beliefs.⁹² In other cases, women continued to bedaub themselves (beating on the chest with a stone usually to the point of “drawing of blood”).⁹³ The padres believed that burial methods were decided by the laziness of the individual or the number of relatives alive that could help with the process. Divorced from this clerical bias, the evidence suggests that indigenous people continued to practice their burial traditions without the padres’ knowledge. Moreover, many also continued to practice traditional forms of curatives.⁹⁴ The “cut [of] their hair” and their “disfigured [tattooed] faces” spoke loudly to the continuation of cultural lifestyles. The padres and Isidora commented that traditional marriage ceremonies continued.⁹⁵ Yet, for the most part, daily life became what the individual padre demanded.

Many Indians ran away from the missions and Sonoma Mission was no exception. According to Sherburne Cook, “Some Indians came to San Carlos saying that many were running away from San Francisco Solano because the Indians do not like Father Altimira.” Cook compiled a list of reasons the captured escapees gave for running away that speaks loudly of the hunger and abuse they endured.⁹⁶ Fr. Sarriá, in a letter to Argüello, reported that the “Indians were running away from Sonoma, because they disliked Fr. Altimira’s ways.”⁹⁷ Antonio María Osio wrote that Father Altimira had ordered, “Each Indian from San Francisco be given fifty lashes,” a clear violation of the law, and a telling sign of the abuse.⁹⁸

Father Altimira proved to be a good administrator but had difficulty relating to those entrusted to his care. His constant flogging and imprisonment of the Native Americans, in his efforts to “civilize” them soon caused a revolt. A large group of angry Native Americans attacked the mission in 1826. After looting

and burning buildings and supplies, they forced Father Altimira to flee to Mission San Rafael. Discouraged, Father Altimira sought transfer to another mission, but was unwelcome.⁹⁹

According to Robert Smilie, "complaints from the Indians had reached the Father Commissary Prefect and he had passed the information on to the governor."¹⁰⁰ Unwelcome by his fellow Franciscans, Altimira and Ripoll (from the Mission Santa Barbara) surreptitiously fled on December 29, 1827.¹⁰¹

Fr. Buenaventura Fortuni, who had been stationed at San José, replaced Fr. José Altimira. Robert Smilie's assemblage of the *informes* (reports) show that under Fr. Fortuni the mission had bountiful harvests, increased building, and increased baptisms, yet, the mission continued to have chronically high mortality rates. In 1832, Fr. Fortuni requested a transfer from the Sonoma Mission because of his advancing age, a lack of companionship, and because he had no personal confessor.¹⁰² In 1833, Fr. José Gutiérrez replaced the retiring Fortuni, but his stay at Sonoma was brief because of his questionable methods and ethics. Even General Mariano Vallejo, the Mexican military commander who also had questionable ethics, filed charges against Gutiérrez.¹⁰³

Secularization

In 1834, the Mexican government once again called for secularization of the missions and churches, but with that new effort secularization came to fruition. Secularization brought many changes, including the end of the *casta* system and the so-called emancipation of the indigenous people. Ending the *casta* system ended an indigenous person's right to an advocate and allowed

the indigenous to be taken advantage of by those who promised to protect them.

Secularization of the missions might have seemed an appealing change, but once again, greed and a self-serving approach often led to corruption. At age 27, Mariano Vallejo became the Military Commander and Director of Colonization of the Northern Frontier and was "to take charge of the mission, establish the parish church, free the Indian workers," which included the fair distribution of the mission lands. "Instead he claimed the mission property to be his own and added it to his already vast property holdings." He had already been granted 44,000 acres in the Petaluma Valley "to develop a private rancho," but that was not nearly enough land for his wishes.¹⁰⁴ For the most part, he simply gave and sold the mission lands to himself and others within his circle of *hombres de bien* (privileged white men).¹⁰⁵

The "Indians best fitted for release" were supposed to be given "small parcel[s] of land, seeds, implements, few cattle and horses, a year's food, and other items," but few families left until the process of graft went into full swing. Padres too were allotted certain rights under the laws of secularization, but as Fr. José Quijas soon found, what was supposed to happen often did not.¹⁰⁶ Early on some of the "Indians demanded land," but for the most part "they were given movable property and told to live where they pleased," leaving Vallejo in "charge of their stock" and the land.¹⁰⁷ Vallejo extended his role, trying to fill the padres' shoes. He increased his activities as the patriarchal leader, in addition to his military role and *jefe* (boss man) on his own ranchos. Vallejo called himself the "protector of the natives," yet many feared him. According to Osio, "The Indians...showed him a mixture of esteem, great respect, and

fear.”¹⁰⁸ In many cases, Vallejo gained land as part of fake gifts from Indians who he kept in place unpaid workers.

Although the Sonoma Mission was placed in the hands General Vallejo, he in turn gave it to his younger brother, Salvador Vallejo (age 20), and later *mayordomo* Antonio Ortega.¹⁰⁹ Besides the havoc of secularization, the mission was besieged with the settlers of the Híjar and Padrés party¹¹⁰ despite President Santa Anna’s order that those groups not be recognized. As a result, tempers flared.¹¹¹ The colonists at the Sonoma Mission became disgruntled and plotted to take action. “Lieutenant Vallejo discovered their plans” for an uprising and subsequently arrested the leaders, disarmed the settlers, and banished many of them.¹¹²

By the end of 1835, Father Quíjas moved to San Rafael Arcangel to free himself from the dark and vile acts that were taking place at Sonoma Mission.¹¹³ He alerted his superiors and Governor Figueroa to the problems, but after his letters and verbal complaints to other clergy, civil, and military authorities went unanswered¹¹⁴ Fr. Quíjas left the mission rather than continue to witness “the abominable deeds of Ortega.” According to Quíjas, Ortega’s vile deeds were conducted in “an unbridled and barefaced manner” that “has given free rein to the infamous vice of lust.” Ortega openly boasted of his conquests, to “Sergeant Pablo Pacheco, Ignacio Azevedo, Nicolas Higuera, [as well as] a number of carpenters and shoemakers”¹¹⁵ whose voices might have carried some weight in a court of law.

Beyond those whose voices would count, were those of the nearly muted neophytes. It was from those voices, the victims, that the most damning evidence came. More than 170 years have elapsed since Fr Quíjas officially exposed the crimes of Antonio Ortega. Today the charges against Ortega would have included not

only the brutal rape and abuse of women (young and old alike), but also his sexual abuse of men and perhaps boys.¹¹⁶ The latter was a subject the padres shied away from.

Fr. Quijas's written complaint was so nonspecific in detailing the facts it undoubtedly contributed to the lack of action. He was careful what he wrote because he feared that even writing about it was a sin, and he did not wish to promote such abominable acts acknowledging them. Beyond that, he had no wish for the victims or the offspring to suffer further. The reality is it just was not proper during the period to make public the fact that "Yoquila" the "wife of the gentile Talai" had been raped in a place that was so public "many heathens and Christians witnessed it" causing both to lose their honor. Nor was it an era when the voice of Yoquila or Tadeo would have been heard without speculation about their own moral characters. Carlos the *alcalde* reported that he had seen Ortega "in the *posolera* [sic] in the act of sinning with a new male convert named Tadeo." Samuela said that she did not resist Ortega because she feared him and the violence he had done to others. Others also complained about Ortega, including, "Prima, Fermina, Dolores, Escolastica, Garina, Samuela, Adjuta, Cecilia, Cesaria."¹¹⁷ Tadeo and unknown others did not speak, perhaps, because having sexual relations with a person of the same sex was considered an abomination. No witnesses were called against Ortega; it seems that Fr. Quijas was to have neither quick legal intervention nor divine intervention.

Instead of responding to the padre's complaints, Governor Figueroa wrote a letter saying nothing about Ortega but "reprimanding ...Castillo [who] arbitrarily ordered" the flogging of "some of the Indian boys."¹¹⁸ Two main reasons explain the lack

of action. First, Figueroa had died, and second, political turmoil followed his death. In the end, none of the victims received justice because the charges against Ortega were dismissed after a good deal of wrangling on the part of Mariano Vallejo. Following Ortega's brief trial, "Mariano Vallejo, resigned his position as *comisionado*... Ortega succeeded him as administrator," remaining there until 1837, when he was forced to resign for unacceptable behavior.¹¹⁹

For more than eleven years, the Native Americans at the Sonoma Mission were the legal subjects (wards) of the missionaries, subject to the whims and punishments of the padres and the military. Mariano Vallejo controlled many aspects of military and civil authoritative command in the region, and the native inhabitants had learned to obey orders or pay the consequences of disobeying (commonly flogging). It is reasonable that natives might give up everything in exchange for protection.

Isidora Filomena, the widow of Prince Solano, was ninety years old and living under the protection of the Vallejos when Henry Cerruti, one of Bancroft's writers, interviewed her in April 1874. She was also present at other interviews and offered a different opinion of her benefactors. The interview came with substantial effort and a set of conditions, which included that both Salvador Vallejo and Captain M. A. McLaughlin were to be in attendance during the interview.¹²⁰ Isidora was an important woman because she was the widow of one of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo's closest allies; in addition, her participation in the interview process clearly reveals the ominous power the Vallejos held.¹²¹ According to Cerruti, her living conditions resembled the feudalistic era, in that, her house was a "hut" and she feared speaking without permission. It was not until after Salvador Vallejo "inaccurately" told her,

"Cerruti was 'one of her people, and an innate enemy' of the North Americans" that Isidora began to listen, but a conversation was out of the question until they had given her enough brandy to reduce her inhibitions. By the end of the interview, she was so drunk that Cerruti, with the help of Salvador Vallejo, was able to pressure her to relinquish her cherished matrimonial outfit. In sum, Cerruti ended up with Isidora's heirloom wedding outfit because he took advantage of her problem with alcohol and her fear of not complying with the Vallejos.

Filomena's interview also adds depth to our view of everyday life among neophytes during the Mexican era. Prince Bill, Isidora's son, was ready to "censure his mother, who is a decided worshiper of Bacchus." Isidora asserted that Vallejo had "forced" Solano to quit "working independently" and instead go to work "with the Vallejo" sharing the profits. Previously Solano had contracted labor for Vallejo's properties and even "sold some Indian children to rancheros in the San Pablo area" keeping his profit.¹²² When Solano was granted land, he gave it to Vallejo, receiving the title of *mayordomo* in return. In time, even Solano's warriors took their commands from Vallejo. Later Solano was patented another 10,000 acres and that also went to Vallejo.

Transcending the Conquest

Over the centuries, from Tenochtitlan to the mission San Francisco Solano, transcending the spiritual conquest has often been associated with the veneration of religious items, a constant that became less visible as centuries passed. As Stephanie Wood has noted, the veneration of religious items often served as a means of transcending the changes that occurred during the spiritual

conquest. The veneration of religious items did not imply the whole-hearted acceptance of Catholicism, especially if one applies Lockhart's "double mistaken identity," which could imply the adoption or adaptation of religious symbols, imbuing them with different meanings (commonly called syncretism).

Previously, historians contended there was little evidence to support the existence of this in California among the mission neophytes, but the evidence reveals that syncretism and "double mistaken identity" did occur in the Alta California missions. For instance, the inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay Area missions were allowed, and at times encouraged, to perform customary dances and rituals. Dances featured traditional rituals, and served as tools to promote trade and entertainment for foreigners and locals alike. In fact, General Vallejo was relatively "addicted to this form of entertainment." Vallejo "used the neophytes at Solano" not only to fulfill his entertainment needs but his other needs as well.¹²³

Traditional burial patterns often continued under the noses of the watchful padres, and widows continued to beat themselves in the chest until blood appeared. Hunting and fishing rituals continued, as did many other rituals so that feathers were commonly added to the religious items. Those facts make it clear that syncretism and "double mistaken identity" occurred in California.¹²⁴

Summing it Up

In the earliest periods, the Church, in its attempt to impose a new and exclusive faith, helped to lay the foundation for the colonization and attempted Christianization of the Americas, just as Herbert Bolton suggested. Yet in their effort to eradicate idolatry, they inadvertently created a venue for syncretism and "double

mistaken identity" to flourish from the very beginning. As Kevin Terraciano reminds us, this process began much earlier. In the church's infancy in the Americas, it used the "tombs and images" that it confiscated and condemned as idolatrous to provide the "start-up for the Christian Temple enterprise; similarly, temples supplied [the] building materials for new churches."¹²⁵ Lockhart's theory allows us to speculate that the indigenous most likely inferred many different meanings from the new church; some saw the new church, others saw the temple, and still others saw a fusion creating a more sacrosanct area.

Conversion methods varied greatly from era to era as well as from region to region, as did the types of punishment. The frontier brought the padres opportunities to achieve their expressed hope of converting and civilizing the indigenous populations, and it provided the excuse and means for the church to function as a bulwark of the frontier, thus facilitating a new political, social, and economic system. Nevertheless, there were a good number of "native leaders and shamans in every mission" who most likely "sought to maintain their traditional beliefs and values" suggesting that some traditions did continue.¹²⁶

As the years passed and increasing numbers of settlers came to the vast open lands, missions tended to function as trading posts of sorts.¹²⁷ In the beginning, it had been just a hand-full of soldiers (and their families) but the presidios and garrisons grew adding an ever-greater burden on the missions. The "Christianization of the Indians" had been "the centerpiece" of "a pact between church and state" wherein the well-being of the original inhabitants was often forgotten, to say nothing of the fragile environment that was quickly stripped of resources.¹²⁸ The indigenous found themselves

facing irreconcilable odds, and for the most part, found themselves in what Randall Milliken called “a time of little choice.” The abuse was only a part of a broader pattern of cultural encounters, conflicts, adoptions, and adaptations that ushered in a myriad of other changes that shaped the experiences from Tenochtitlan to the Bay Area missions of Alta California.

When secularization actually did occur, for the most part the native people of the region did not benefit. In fact, in most cases, the indigenous people suffered greater abuse at the hands of civil and military authorities as well as the nearly constant flow of foreigners. Mariano Vallejo recalled in hindsight that, “the Indians did not receive at our hands the treatment they deserved, for their property was, to a certain extent, wasted and devoted to uses very different from those to which it should have been applied.”¹²⁹ There can be no doubt that without an advocate and without the protection of the law, abuse at the Sonoma mission increased exponentially. Moreover, the further one was from the central government, whether Spain or Mexico, the greater the possibility for abuse. That was clearly the case at Sonoma.

Considerable research has focused on the “Spiritual Conquest” that followed the Iberian invasions of Mexico yet there is much left to be explored and translated.¹³⁰ There can be no doubt that transcending the conquest was an extremely difficult task, yet, as Alfred Kroeber and Sherburne Cook clearly illustrated in their separate works, the native peoples and some of their cultural traditions did survive using myriad different avenues and venues.

Notes

¹ Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Oct., 1917), p 43. Bolton's view differs dramatically from contemporary historians. See also David Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission," in *The New Latin American Mission History: A Latin American Study Series*, ed. by Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson. (Lincoln and London: Nebraska Press, 1995), p 1.

² Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson, ed., *The New Latin American Mission History*. (1995) p. xiii.

³ Ibid, pp. xiii-xv.

⁴ Ibid. p. xiv.

⁵ Leo Politi, *The Mission Bell*. (New York: Scribner, 1953.); Winifred Esther Wise, *Fray Junípero Serra and the California Conquest* (New York: Scribner, 1967.)

⁶ *The Famous Missions of California*, (New York: Dodge Publishing Company, 1901) p. 33.

⁷ *The Mission as a Frontier Institution*, Vol. 23, No. 1. (Oct., 1917), p 43. Also see John Francis Bannon, ed., *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 67-85, 201, 255-299; and Herbert Eugene Bolton and Thomas Maitland Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783*. (New York: MacMillan, 1920), p. 13-19, 236-237.

⁸ Bolton and Marshall. *The Colonization of North America*, p. 236.

⁹ Jacques Soustelle, *Daily Life Of The Aztecs: On The Eve Of The Spanish Conquest*. [translated by Patrick O'Brian]. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, California, 1976), p. 95-119.

¹⁰ Louise Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahuua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), p. 7, 188.

¹¹ *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810*. (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1995.)

¹² Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of*

the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, California., 1992.) p. 445. Also, see Lockhart, *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 5.

¹⁴ Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992) p. 445. See also Lockhart, *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 5

¹³ "Colonial and Republican Missions Compared: The Cases of Alta California and Southeastern Bolivia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 30, No. 2. (Apr., 1988), p. 303, Shipek, *California Indian Reactions*, p. 482-483. Also see Nancy Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival.* (Princeton, 1984), p. 286-354. On Mexico, see Nancy Farriss *Crown and Clergy In Colonial Mexico, 1759-1821: The Crisis Of Ecclesiastical Privilege* (London: Athlone Press, 1968).

¹⁴ "Colonial and Republican Missions Compared," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 30, No. 2. (Apr. 1988), p. 303.

¹⁵ Robert Haskett. [Seminar The Missions]. (Eugene, University of Oregon, 2007). Also see PBS Video of the *California Missions*.

¹⁶ Maynard Geiger and Clement Meighan, eds., *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815*, (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Glendale, Calif., distributed by A. H. Clark Co., 1976), p. 51.

¹⁷ Milliken. *A Time Of Little Choice*, p. 78.

¹⁸ Iberians were the Spanish and Portuguese. For more information, see Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*. (5th ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) p. 182-196.

¹⁹ Burkholder & Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, p. 1.

²⁰ Lesser-known semi-sedentary and non-sedentary groups of peoples also existed within the Americas at the time of incursion, and in reality, they made-up the majority of the population. See Burkholder & Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, p.

1-4, 182-196.

²¹ Fray Diego Durán noted that succession between Aztec (Mexico) varied in that the Mexica did not require both parents to be royal for succession to occur. (ex. The ruler 'Itzcoatl was born of a slave woman from Azcapotzaloc') See Doris Heyden and Fernando Horcasitas, trans. and eds., *The Aztecs: The History of the Indies of New Spain* (New York: Orion Press, 1964), p 71.

²² See Louise Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth*; Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano, *Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett, *Indian Women of Early Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).

²³ Soustelle, *Daily Life Of The Aztecs*, p. 183; Schwartz, *The Victors Vanquished*, p. 198.

²⁴ See June E. Hahner, ed. *Women through Women's Eyes: Latin American Women in Nineteenth-Century Travel Accounts* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1998). Hahner looks at everyday life, in particular that of women, from the viewpoint of a woman.

²⁵ See Max Shein's *The PreColumbian Child*. [trans. Marina Castañeda] (Culver City; California: Labyrinthos, 1992) [Originally Published in México as El Niño Precolombino]; Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, eds., *The Essential Codex Mendoza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), Part 3.

²⁶ Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, p. 9.

²⁷ Burkhart, *Slippery Earth*, p. 138. For more on fraternal polyandry see J. K. Schneider, "A Glimpse of Tibet: History, Religion and Traditional Lifestyles," in John Stelzer *World Religion*, [CD-ROM] (2004).

²⁸ James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, p. 95.

²⁹ Bernal Diaz, *The Conquest Of New Spain* [Trans. J.M. Cohen] (New York: Penguin Books, 1978); Bernal Diaz del Castillo in Schwartz, *Victors and Vanquished*, p. 133-135.

³⁰ Helen McCarthy, William R Hildebrandt, and Laureen K. Swenson, "Ethnography and Prehistory of North Coast Range California" *Archaeological Research Report No. 8*. (University of California, Davis, 1985).

³¹ James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 14-15; Randall Milliken, *The Disintegration of Tribal culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810* (San Francisco: Ballena Press Publication, 1995), p 24-26, 231-261.

³² California State Parks, "Olompali SHP" Historic No. 172, <http://search.parks.ca.gov/> See also Joan Reuting, "Olompali Park Filled With History," *The Coastal Post* (September, 1997), <http://coastalpost.com/97/9/13.htm..>

³³Robert Heizer, ed., "Coast Miwok" in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 8. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1978), p. 419. See also Herbert Bolton, *Font's Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition, Anza's California Expeditions*, Vol. 4 in the *Works of Herbert E. Bolton*, page 354. Throughout my research, I noted that *hóypuh kuléyih* has been used to indicate a female, while *hóypuh* indicates a male chief or figure of authority. Most authors, however, simply shorten it to *hóypuh* once the sex has been determined. For more information on pre-Columbian North America see Jesse D. Jennings, ed., *Ancient North Americans* (New York: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1983) A. L. Kroeber, "Indian Myths of South Central California," *University of California Publications of American Archaeology And Ethnology* (Vol. 4 No. 6, 1907) ; and Kroeber, "The Religion of the Indians of California" *University of California Publications of American Archaeology And Ethnology* (Vol. 4 No. 4, 1907). For more general information on Mythology see Mike Dixon-Kennedy, *Native American Myth & Legend: An A-Z of People and Places*. (London: Brockhampton Press, 1996).

³⁴ McCarthy, Hildebrandt, and Swenson, "Ethnography and Prehistory of North Coast Range California" No. 8. (1985) p. 44.

³⁵ See R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, eds., *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 36, 45, 51, and 115.

³⁶ See Cynthia Murrieta Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

³⁷ See Francisco Palou, *La Vida de Junipero Serra*, p. 212.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 18. Also see Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 78, (1925) p. 276; George Vancouver, *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: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1778).

³⁹ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, p. 13.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 16.

⁴¹ Trade items included obsidian, shells, sinew-backed bows, tobacco, basketry materials, and ornamental pigments. Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, p. 17; Kroeber "Handbook of the Indians of California" (1925) p. 276; Sonoma County. *Sonoma County Inn Draft: EIR*. [5.9 Cultural Resources], p. 5.9-2, 5.9-5; R. Louis Gentilcore, "Missions and Mission Lands of Alta California," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* Vol. 51, No. 1. (Mar., 1961).

⁴² Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, p. 13.

⁴³ Ibid. p.21.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p.24.

⁴⁵ See Dixon-Kennedy, *Native American Myth & Legend*; Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: The Native Races*, Vol. 1-5 (1883).

⁴⁶ F.C. Vaillant, quoted in Francisco Gonzalez Davila, *Ancient Cultures of Mexico: The Aztec Calendar; Reconstruction of Colors and Text* (Mexico: Meseo Nacional de Antropologia), back leaf.

⁴⁷ Fernando Mires, *Discurso de la Indianidad: La cuestión indígena en América Latina* [Colección 500 años, No 53] (Quito-Ecuador: Abya-yala, 1992), p. 34.

⁴⁸ Burkholder and Johnson, p. 113. For other information on this subject, see Dainiel T. Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764*. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), p. 181-274; Robert H. Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects: Missions in the History of the American Southwest*. (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2000), p. 89-125; Robert H. Jackson, *Missions and The Frontiers of Spanish America: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Environmental, Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Variations on the Missions in the Rio De La Plata Regions and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*

(Scottsdale, Arizona: Pentacle Press, 2005), p.275-355.

⁴⁹ The terms “*the crown and the cross*” or “*the sword and the cross*” commonly used to express the concepts of gaining property or wealth in the name of the crown, usually through violence, as well as the role that spreading Christianity. “*The crown and the cross*” also refers to the royal patronage that developed between the Crown and the Church.

⁵⁰ See Peter Masten Dunne, *Black Robes in Lower California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952) and Harry Crosby, *Antigua California: Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697-1798* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

⁵¹ *The Laws of the Indies*.

⁵² For religious related abuses of the church and state, see Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003); R. Boyer & G. Spurling, eds., *Colonial Lives: Documents on Latin American History, 1550-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). On the teaching of Christianity, see Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth*.

⁵³ John Schwaller has compared the *requerimiento* to “a statement of Christian dogma and an explanation of Spanish royal authority” that was “a very legalistic way, to bring the natives into submission” and it well many have worked had it not been for the language barrier. See: *The church in Colonial Latin America* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc. Imprint), p. xv.

⁵⁴ The Firesign Theater “Temporarily Humboldt County” [scene 1], *Waiting For The Electrician (Or Someone Like Him)*. (New York: Columbia Records, 1968), track 1, scene 1.

⁵⁵ Fray Bernardino de Sahagún did not understand how his story about the “Tree of Death, Tree of Life a Lesson about the Cross” might be interpreted. The story charged the “listeners to venerate the cross as a tree of life, in opposition to the tree of Eden which led to the expulsion and spiritual ‘death’ of Adam and Eve.” (1993) p. 147.

⁵⁶ The lesson of Jesus’s death on the cross, bears a great resemblance to the concept of sacrifice (and punishment in some regions) and stressed the importance of “precious blood.” From: *Doctrina Cristian en lengua Mexicana of the Franciscan*

Fray Pedro De Gante (1553). [ed by Ernesto de la torre Villar] *Centro de Estudios Histórico Fray Bernardino de Sahagun*, (1981).

Mesoamerican Voices, pp. 196, 197-201.

⁵⁸ *Mesoamerican Voices*, p. 194,195. Also see Lisa Sousa, Stafford Poole, and James Lockhart, trans., "The Story of Guadalupe," in *The Nahuatl Studies Series*, Number 5 (1998).

⁵⁹ Stephanie Wood, *Indian women of Early Mexico*, p. 178. Also see "Adopted Saints: Christian Images in Nahuatl Testaments of Late Colonial Toluca," in *The Americas* 47:3 (January 1991) 259-93.

⁶⁰ *The New Latin American Mission History* (1995) p. vii. The "grid system" was used in the California missions despite the vast geographic and demographic differences.

⁶¹ Jackson, *The New Latin American Mission History*, p. viii.

⁶² The *reducciones* and *congregaciones* dealt with resettlement of the indigenous populations into "compact" villages.

⁶³ "The Cosmic Conquest: Late-Colonial Views of the Sword and Cross in Central Mexican Títulos" in *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 38:2 (Spring, 1991), p. 182.

⁶⁴ See: Jackson, *New Latin American Mission History*, p. viii.

⁶⁵ Dainiel T. Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), p. 181-274; Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects*, p. 89-125; Jackson, *Missions and The Frontiers of Spanish America: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Environmental, Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Variations on the Missions in the Rio De La Plata Regions and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Scottsdale, Arizona: Pentacle Press, 2005), p.275-355.

⁶⁶ *The Missions and Missionaries of California, Vol II, Upper California Part I. General History* (San Francisco, CA: the James H. Barry Company, 1912) p. 253-255.

⁶⁷ *The Missions and Missionaries of California :Vol II* p. 253-255.

⁶⁸ Charles N. Redkin, trans., *Early California Travels Series XLVI: The First*

French Expedition to California: Lapérouse in 1786 (Los Angeles, California: Glen Dawson, 1959), p. 64-65; footnote. A *bloc* "is a beam split lengthwise in which has been made a hole of the size of an ordinary let. An iron hinge unites the halves of this beam at one extremity; it opens at the other end to admit the prisoner's leg and is fastened with a padlock. This forces him to lie down in a very uncomfortable position."

⁶⁹ Louis Choris, *The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816*. (Stanford Press, [1816] 1932), p. 91-102.

⁷⁰ Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, "Model Children and Models for Children in Early Mexico" in Tobias Hecht's *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin American History and Society* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), pp. 58-64.

⁷¹ Lipsett-Rivera, "Model Children and Models for Children in Early Mexico," in Hecht, *Minor Omissions*, p. 60.

⁷² Bianca Premo, "Minor Offenses" in Hecht, *Minor Omissions* (2002) p.127. The case in question is from: Fáctica, Juzgado del Corregidor del Cercado o Sub-Delegado del Cercado, 18800, legajo, cuaderno 16, folio 29.

⁷³ James Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*. (2004) p. 49.

⁷⁴ Sandos, *Converting California*, p 36-37; M. Guest, *Cultural Perspectives on California Mission Life*, p. 6-22; Fr. Palou, *La Vida Life de Junipero Serra*, p. 44; and Geiger, *Life and Time of Junipero Serra*, 1, p.146-147.

⁷⁵ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848*. [2006: 96].

⁷⁶ Eulalia Pérez in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California*, p.109.

⁷⁷ Lorenzo Asisara, "The Assassination of Padre Andres Quintana by the Indians of Misión Santa Cruz in 1812" in Edward D. Castillo, ed., *The Narrative of Llorenzo Asisara*, "California History", 68: 3 (Fall 1989).

⁷⁸ Sandos, *Converting California*, p. 159.

⁷⁹ Most written works that refer to padres, friars (singular, fray), priests, in the following manner: fray José Altimira, becomes, fray José or Fr. José. For the purpose of this written work, however, (because there were too many friars named José) fray

José Altimira will become either fray Altimira or Fr. Altimira (name type of clergy + surname). *Sonoma* means “valley of the moon.”

⁸⁰ Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library [SBMAL] located in California. Document: *Altimira to Senan* [CMDOC 2450. San Francisco. 7/10/1823] [SBMAL]; *Diary of the expedition* by Altimira. [CMDOC 2453. 6/25-/22/1823] [SBMAL] ; *Altimira to Luis Arguello on his desire to build...without delay.* [CMDOC 2454. San Francisco Solano. 7/22/1823.] [SBMAL].

⁸¹ *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers.* (Berkeley: University of California Press), p. 135.

⁸² Charles E Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1936), p. 431.

⁸³ *Altimira to Senan* [CMDOC 2450. San Francisco. 7/10/1823] [SBMAL]

⁸⁴ Robert S. Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission: San Francisco Solano de Sonoma: The Founding, Ruin and Restoration of California's 21st Mission.* (Fresno; California: Valley Publishers, 1975), p. 12. According to Ken Mahn [Telephone Interview, 12 Apr. 2007], the term *vara* refers to a measurement that varied, but was finally standardized at approximately 33 1/3 inches. For more information on Spanish and Latin American (Hispanic American) measurements see Kenneth Pauley articles available through <www.ca-missions.org/> or in “California Mission Studies Assn. Articles” *Weights & Measurements in California's Mission Period: Part I—Linear Measurements; Weights & Measurements in California's Mission Period: Part 2—Area Measurements; Weights & Measurements in California's Mission Period: Part 3—Volume Measurements.*

⁸⁵ Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission*, p. 12, 3; Altimira, *Diary of the expedition* [CMDOC 2453. 6/25-/22/1823] [SBMAL].

⁸⁶ Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission*, p. 13; *Altimira to Senan* [CMDOC 2450. San Francisco. 1823] [SBMAL]

⁸⁷ Fr. Duran denied Altimira's charges against him in *Duran to Arguello.* [CMDOC2451. San Jose. 7/12/1823].

⁸⁸ Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission*. p. 17; Z. Engelhardt and Archive Doc: *Sarria to Altimira disapproving of is having established Mission San Francisco Solano.* [CMDOC 2472. San Juan Bautista. 08/23/1823] [SBMAL].

⁸⁹ Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission*. p. 17-18. Diputación (in this case) called for the closure of the two missions [San Francisco de Axis and San Rafael] which would allow for the transfer of their "goods" and indigenous populations to Sonoma Mission. Also see *Altimira to Luis Arguello on the need for suppressing Mission San Rafael and aggregating its inhabitants to Mission San Francisco Solano*. [CMDOC 2474. San Francisco Solano. 8/31/1823] [SBMAL].

⁹⁰ See Clarence John DuFour, *The Russian Withdrawal from California* reprinted in *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* Vol. XII No. 3 [September 1933]. For a look at the inter-workings and nepotism see John S. Hittell, *History of the City of San Francisco and Incidentally of the State of California*. (San Francisco, 1878) p. 89; Andrew F. Rolle, *An American in California, The Biography of William Heath Davis, 1822-1909* (San Mariano, California: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1956), p. 39.

⁹¹ By examining, the *informes* (reports) of the padres compilations of Solano's *informes*, as well as the works of other historians, anthropologists, ecologists, and immigration experts it quick becomes apparent that the northern frontier was comprised by what Radding referred to as small "ecological frontiers;" Jackson called them "microecologic" regions.

⁹² Geiger, *As the Padres saw Them*, p. 52, 146, 119-120.

⁹³ Geiger, *As the Padres saw Them*, p. 52, 146, 119-120.

⁹⁴ Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California*, p. 3-15, 328-329, for a reprint of Henry Cerruti's 1874 interview of Isidora Filomena who was the widow of Suisun chief Sem-Yeto, better known as Francisco Solano (baptismal name) or Prince Solano.

⁹⁵ Geiger, *As the Padres saw Them*, p. 70, 79-80.

⁹⁶ *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) p. 69-72.

⁹⁷ *The Missions and Missionaries of California Vol III Upper California Part II, General History*, p. 184. For a complete account, see CMDOC 2506. San Carlos, 10/18/1823 at SBMAL.

⁹⁸ Antonio Mariia Osio in Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, ed. and trans., *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), p. 123.

⁹⁹ Athanasius Schaefer Multimedia. "San Francisco Solano (Sonoma Mission)," <http://www.athanasius.com/camission/sonoma.htm>.

¹⁰⁰ Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission*, p. 23.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 29.

¹⁰² Ibid. p. 40.

¹⁰³ See Smilie for *informes* (reports) and demographics mentioned.

¹⁰⁴ Athanasius Schaefer Multimedia. "Mission San Francisco Solano (Sonoma)," <http://www.athanasius.com/camission/sonoma.htm>. Also see J. P. Munro-Fraser, *History of Sonoma County* (1973).

¹⁰⁵ J. P. Munro-Fraser, *History of Sonoma County: Including its Geology, Topography, Mountains, Valleys and Streams: Together with a Full and Particular Record of the Spanish Grants* (Petaluma, California: C. B. Veronda, 1973). The term *hombres de bien* refers to what might be best described as the Wealthy Good Old Boys network. The term *hombres de bien* literally translates to "the men of good" or "the good men" but in reality, the phrase implied the men who were of good standing in the hierarchy of socio-economic community.

¹⁰⁶ Smilie, *Sonoma Mission*, p. 47. Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California* (2006) p. 415; Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848: A Biographical Dictionary* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1969), p. 200-203.

¹⁰⁷ Mrs. Fremont Older, *California Missions and Their Romances*. (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1945) p. 293.

¹⁰⁸ Beebe and Senkewicz's translation of Antonio Maria Osio's *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), p. 105.

¹⁰⁹ Antonio Ortega had several names and there has also been confusion between two persons. See *Bancroft's Works Vol. XXI: History of California, 1840-1845*, (San Francisco, California: History Company Publishers, 1886), vol. iii, pp. 354, 711, 719-720, vol. i, p. 606, and vol. iv, p. 760.

¹¹⁰ Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) p. 35-36.

- ¹¹¹ Smilie, *Sonoma Mission*. p. 53-54.
- ¹¹² Ibid. p. 55-56.
- ¹¹³ *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. "History of California" (Vols 1-7).* (1890).
- ¹¹⁴ Gerald Joseph Geary, *The Secularization of the California Missions, 1810-1846* (Washington, D.C.: the Catholics University of America, 1934), p. 158.
- ¹¹⁵ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California. Vols III Part II.* p.584-585. CMDOC 3537. Santa Clara. 8/12/1835. *Garcia Diego y Moreno to Figueroa on the report of Quijas.. August 2, on conditions at San Francisco Solano*
- ¹¹⁶ Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California. Vols III Part II.* p.585 ; CMDOC 3537. Santa Clara. 8/12/1835. *Garcia Diego y Moreno to Figueroa on the report of Quijas.* Beebe and Senkewicz, *The History of Alta California* p. 346.
- ¹¹⁷ CMDOC 3537. Santa Clara. 8/12/1835. *Garcia Diego y Moreno to Figueroa on the report of Quijas.* Beebe and Senkewicz, *The History of Alta California* p. 346.
- ¹¹⁸ Pedro del Castillo was the "associate commissioner for secularization of Mission Dolores in 1835, says Hittell, iv, 743. Bancroft (iii, 377 ; 700) says this Castillo was receptor of government revenues at San Francisco in 183-1835." Previous from: Engelhardt's *The Missions and Missionaries of California. Vols III Part II.* p.591 footnote 2.
- ¹¹⁹ Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California. Vols III Part II.* p.591.
- ¹²⁰ Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California* (2006) p. 323.
- ¹²¹ Isidora Filomena in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California* (2006) p. 3-16.
- ¹²² Ibid. p. 7-8.
- ¹²³ Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict Between*, p. 153.
- ¹²⁴ The populations of California seem meager compared to those that the Iberian

first encountered in Tenochtitlan.

¹²⁵ *The people of Two Hearts and the One god from Castile: Ambivalent Responses to Christianity in Early Colonial Oaxaca in Religion in New Spain* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), p. 20.

¹²⁶ "California Indian Shamanism," *Anthropological Papers*, No. 39 (Menlo Park, California: Ballena Press, 1992), p. 166.

¹²⁷ S. F. Cook, "Conflict Between," p. 562-571 and "Migration and Urbanization of the Indians in California," p. 551-561, in Heizer and Whipple, eds., *The California Indians: A Source Book*.

¹²⁸ Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples*; Titian Ramsay Peale, *The Diary of Titian Ramsey Peale: Oregon to California, overland journey, September and October, 1841*. (Los Angeles, California: Glen Dawson, 1957), p. 73.

¹²⁹ 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), p. 374.

¹³⁰ There are documents at the Santa Barbara Mission Archives that have never been translated, and still others, can be found at the Bancroft Library in San Francisco, California. Memoirs and other documents such as those translated by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewica (Santa Clara Archives) provide new avenues of exploration in historical research. Other interesting explorations would be that of the Solano country Historical Society in Vallejo, California, as well as the California State Library (Sacramento), just to name a few. And lest we forget, the countless numbers of documents Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City.