

COLLIDING CULTURES: THE CHANGING LANDSCAPES  
OF MISSION SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO, 1823-1846

By

JEANNINE KATHRYN ELIZABETH SCHNEIDER

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of  
The requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts in History

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY  
Department of History

MAY 2010

To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the thesis of  
JEANNINE KATHRYN ELIZABETH SCHNEIDER find it satisfactory and  
recommend that it be accepted.

---

Jennifer Thigpen, Ph.D., Chair

---

Matthew A. Sutton, Ph.D.

---

Jacqueline Peterson, Ph.D.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis did not come to fruition in seclusion; however, I alone bear the responsibility for any errors in my work and in this piece. There are many individuals (and organizations) I would like to acknowledge for their contributions. My utmost gratitude goes to my thesis committee at Washington State University, Pullman, chaired by Jennifer Thigpen, Matthew Sutton, and Jacqueline Peterson for their time, knowledge, and experience. In particular, I would like to thank my adviser and chair, Jennifer Thigpen, for her countless hours of pouring over the manuscript, as well as her suggestions on content and organization, which were invaluable in the completion of this project. To Matthew Sutton, who never failed to inquire how I was holding up, and for his genuine support throughout this lengthy process. I also owe a great debt of gratitude to Jacqueline Peterson and her course on The Fur Trade, which led me to the journals of Kirill Khlebnikov and his documentation of the 1824 uprising/revolt at Mission San Francisco Solano (today's Sonoma Mission), previously unverified by scholars.

The idea for this project, however, first began at the University of Oregon while I was working on my undergraduate thesis, under the guidance of ethnohistorians Robert Haskett and Stephanie Wood. Robert Haskett and Stephanie Wood prodded me to investigate various repositories for mission documents where I found (with the help of Lynn Bremer, Director of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library) previously overlooked documents that were critical to this research. Robert Haskett also spent many long hours discussing a myriad of topics with me, and his courses have served as a bank of

knowledge throughout my research, as did Stephanie Wood's expertise on transcending the conquest. Financial support for these ventures primarily came from The Ford Family Foundation, The McNair Scholars Program, the History Department at the University of Oregon (Dull Award), as well as an array of private supporters.

I am also greatly indebted to the many social scientists that came before me, laying the groundwork for this research. My appreciation also goes to countless librarians and archivists who served as my guide through their institutions and repositories. My deepest gratitude goes to my husband (and other family members) who have spent countless hours discussing this project (including many bizarre topics at equally bizarre times of the day/night), and for his (their) never-ending support of my academic endeavors; in many cases, they have served as my driving force. A great debt is owed to those listed above as well as many others that have not been listed due time limitations.

COLLIDING CULTURES: THE CHANGING LANDSCAPES  
OF MISSION SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO, 1823-1846

Abstract

By Jeannine Kathryn Elizabeth Schneider, M.A.  
Washington State University  
May 2010

Chair: Jennifer Thigpen

Mission San Francisco Solano, today's Sonoma Mission in California, was the final mission in a chain of twenty-one Franciscan establishments. It was the only mission founded in California under the Mexican flag, and it was the only mission founded during that period without the permission of the Catholic Church but with the direct support of the governor. The Mission's late founding in 1823 and its distance from Mexico significantly influenced its development and provided the ideal environment for extreme forms of abuse both before and after secularization. The Sonoma Mission acts as a case study for exploring the political founding of the mission, as well as providing glimpses of how indigenous inhabitants reacted to the abuse, and their struggles to survive secularization under military and civil authoritative control, 1823-1846.

This thesis is a borderlands microhistory that includes global linkages and a brief historical background of pre-contact cultures, the region, the influence of gift giving, the formation of new alliances as well as the mission program itself. The narrative begins with the unethical founding of the Mission and continues through post-secularization, formally

ending with the Bear Flag Rebellion in 1846. This comprehensive examination includes the previously undocumented 1824 revolt, aspects of punishment, and the realities of everyday life at the Sonoma Mission. By investigating personal interactions and relationships between native and non-native actors, this work provides glimpses of how Native Americans coped with the changing political, economic, and sociocultural landscapes, as well as offering a window into the ecological devastation that arose as outsiders inundated the region.

The writings of non-native authors, official documents, and oral interviews of survivors illuminate scenes of traditional lifestyles. These include snapshots of religious blending and the continuance of indigenous customs, such as wife stealing, marriage practices, war attire, and tattooing. There can be little doubt that coping with the conquest was problematic at best, especially in the borderlands where missionaries, Indians, Russian traders, Spaniards/Mexicans, and an array of others were jockeying for power, place, and space. This is clearly apparent in the lives of a few of the actors in the 1850s following California's statehood.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>CHAPTER</b>	
<b>1. INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
Sources and Mission Studies.....	8
“Civilizing” Missions and “Double Mistaken Identity” .....	14
Chapter Organization .....	18
<b>2. A TALE OF COLLIDING CULTURES .....</b>	<b>21</b>
The Mission and Its Program .....	43
<b>3. THE OUTLAW MISSION, 1823-1833 .....</b>	<b>58</b>
Reporting the Unethical Act.....	69
Building a Mission and Life in a Mission.....	75
Disease, Fugitivism, and <i>Informes</i> : 1823-1826 .....	85
Dire Circumstances and the 1826 Rebellion.....	93
<b>4. SECULARIZATION AND THE YEARS THAT FOLLOWED, 1834-1846 .....</b>	<b>112</b>
Secularization.....	114
Changing Landscapes: Power, Place, and Space .....	119
Waning Mexican Dominance.....	152
<b>5. CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>157</b>

Afterward .....	161
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>APPENDIX A .....</b>	<b>185</b>
<b>APPENDIX B .....</b>	<b>195</b>
Father-Presidents of the Alta California Mission System.....	196
Governors in Alta/Upper California, 1822-1846 .....	197
Timeline: México .....	199



## LIST OF FIGURES

## Figures in Chapters:

1. California Indian Root Languages and Tribes .....	23
2. <i>Casta</i> Paintings .....	38
3. Borderlands .....	61
4. Ethnographic Distribution at Mission San Francisco Solano .....	73

## Figures in Appendix A:

A1. California Missions Map.....	186
A2. California Franciscan Establishments (1769–1823) .....	187
A3. California Topographical Relief and Landform Regions Map .....	188
A4. California Average Temperature Map for January/July .....	189
A5. Mission San Francisco Solano in 1834 .....	190
A6. Sonoma c.1846.....	191
A7. Single Servants' Quarters at Ranch Petaluma.....	192
A8. Musical Instruments in Single Servants' Quarters.....	192
A9. Partitioned Married Servants' Quarters at Rancho Petaluma.....	193
A10. <i>Mayordomo</i> Quarters (Manager's Quarters).....	193
A11. Vallejo Bedroom at Rancho Petaluma .....	194
A12. Mrs. Vallejo's Bedroom at Sonoma Home .....	194

### **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to the nearly muted voices of Mission San Francisco Solano:

Adjuta, Cecilia, Cesaria, Dolores, Escolastica, Fermina, Garina, Prima, Samuela and

Samuela, Tadeo, Talai, and Yoquila.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Between 1542 and 1848 Spain and, later, Mexico claimed California as their northernmost territory. Yet these lands were already occupied by a vast array of indigenous populations.<sup>1</sup> In general, California's geography exemplifies the diversity of the people that inhabited the various regions in the pre-contact period.<sup>2</sup> Geographic isolation and demographic dispersion in combination with carrying capacity of the land in the greater San Francisco Bay Area allowed for the development of small groups of indigenous people, dubbed *tribelets*, in Northern California. The various *tribelets* represent a multiplicity of cultures and languages that lived in relative isolation from other groups. This diversity and dispersion of groups frequently led to micropatriotic tendencies, which in turn hampered a coordinated resistance against foreign incursion.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The terminology one should employ when referring to *aboriginals*, *indigenous*, *native* people/groups/individuals, *Native American*, or *Indian* is highly controversial. I do not employ the term *aboriginal* because the group/individual may not originally be from that region. I employ the term *indigenous* to refer to individuals/groups living in the region at first contact. The terms *native* people/groups/individuals and *Native American* refer to people of indigenous heritage and are employed interchangeably. I utilize the term *Indian* when a document or observer from the period employs the term.

<sup>2</sup> Existing native cultures in the San Francisco Bay Area, which includes the Sonoma and Napa regions, consisted of at least ninety-six different *tribelets* that are generally placed within the larger Miwok and Pomo groups yet this is not inclusive due to the movement of other groups and individuals into the region. Entering cultures were primarily the Spanish and Mexican contingent who brought natives and sometimes slaves from different regions as well as other foreigners; for instance the English, French, Russian, Aleuts, Americans, just to name a few. For more information on native populations see, Randall Milliken, *A Time Of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena, 1995).

<sup>3</sup> The term *micropatriotic* refers to a person's extreme loyalty and fervor to protect one's own clan/band/group and their territory. Lori Diel employs the term micropatriotism to relate the concept of controlling and owning one's history, which in turn empowers the people within their own ranks. Lori Boornzian Diel, *The Tira de Tepechpan: Negotiating Place Under Aztec and Spanish Rule* (Austin: University of Texas, 2008), 1.

Each contingent of outsiders had their own reasons for coming to the region.<sup>4</sup> By the late 1700s, outsiders pressed into California from all directions. Explorers, fur traders and others began to find their way into California, including the Jesuits who had begun evangelizing lower Alta California. Following the Jesuit expulsion, in 1769, the Franciscans took over the proselytization efforts in Alta California. Under the leadership of Father Junípero Serra, the Franciscans formulated a plan to establish twenty-two missions.<sup>5</sup> Ultimately, twenty-one missions were established by 1823 (see Appendix A, Figures A1-A2); the twenty-second mission never came to fruition.

California's distance from central governing powers frequently hampered communication and proper oversight of the region making law enforcement precarious at best. This lack of oversight increased exponentially between 1810 and 1848. During this period, Mexico was frequently in a state of political and social turmoil; some examples include, between 1810 and 1821 Mexico fought for its independence, in 1829 Spain attempted to retake Mexico, in 1836 Texas fought for their independence, the 1838 Pastry War against France, and of course, the Mexican-American War from 1846 to 1848. As a result, Mexico was frequently embroiled in its own political pandemonium, which precluded proper oversight of California. This in turn provided the perfect setting for corruption and abuse to occur.

This was particular truly in regions like Napa, Petaluma, and Sonoma, which were

---

<sup>4</sup> Early "outsiders," in this particular region, were primarily of Spanish and Mexican heritage. This contingent brought Native Americans from Meso- and Latin America as well as slaves. Other, foreigners included: Russians, Aleuts, English, French, as well as other native people pushed from their lands by outsiders and Americans, just to name a few.

<sup>5</sup> Fray Junípero Serra died in 1784 following the establishment of the ninth mission.

geographically isolated from the other missions and trade routes. Within this milieu the twenty-first mission of the Alta California chain of missions was established in 1823. In relation to the other missions, regional authorities, and the borderlands Sonoma's remote location provided more autonomy to local actors compared to other regions. Sonoma itself is located 27 miles northeast of San Rafael, 44 miles northeast of the San Francisco Presidio, 14.5 miles due east of Petaluma, and 63 miles southeast of Fort Ross, according to current-day highway mileage. Sonoma's location in the borderlands allowed for less oversight not only because they were further from central and regional authorities but also because the Russians were on their northern borders rather than another Mexican territory.

Mission San Francisco Solano, today's Sonoma Mission, was the only mission founded in California during the Mexican period, but perhaps more significantly, it was also founded without the permission of the Church and with the direct support of the governor. The Mission's late founding, Fray José Altimira's method of founding the mission, and its distance from regional powers significantly influenced the mission's development and provided the ideal environment for extreme forms of abuse to occur.

The letter of the law and the actuality of its application (*de jure* versus *de facto*) were quite different in the far reaches of Mexico's Northern Frontier. For more than eleven years, Native Americans at the Sonoma Mission were the legal subjects of the missionaries; unlike other missions, Sonoma had only one resident padre. Neophytes, new converts, subsequently were subject to the whims and punishments of the padre and the military, which often exceeded the letter of the law with little or no hope of recourse. Thus, distance not only played an integral role in the mission's founding but also allowed

for corruption and abuse to continue unchecked, thereby increasing the abuse and exploitation native populations experienced both before and after secularization in 1834, with the latter being the more abusive period.

There can be little doubt that Northern California's Sonoma and Napa Valleys have changed considerably from the pre-contact period, yet our knowledge of the region, its indigenous inhabitants, and the historical process that fostered the development of the region until now have been poorly understood. My research explores the "changing landscapes" that affected native populations at the Sonoma Mission and the surrounding region. The Sonoma Mission was the final establishment in a chain of twenty-one Franciscan missions in California—a project that spanned the period between 1769 and 1823, when the final mission was established. I study these diverse native cultures and their interactions with foreigners to gain a more accurate understanding of the events of the period and what happened to them. The purpose of such an exploration is to render contact in a more understandable manner, to help fill in the gaps in historical record, as well as to demystify misconceptions and fallacies that tend to cloud our understanding of the period, the region, and by extension, indigenous people and existing processes.

My research indicates that the diversity of native people in the region made them particularly vulnerable to the effects of foreign incursion, which came from virtually every direction. I argue that the remoteness of the region gave increased autonomy to the local foreign authorities, which significantly increased the abuses many Native Americans endured. Specifically, I argue that personal ambitions and lack of oversight due to the mission's distance from central authority allowed a program aimed at assimilation and

Christianization of the native inhabitants to become an extraordinarily abusive process. These factors, combined with plans for colonization, created a situation in which native populations often found themselves in “a time of little choice,” that is, a time of increased incursion by outsiders, best exemplified by the indiscriminate destruction of natural resources that left many struggling simply to survive.<sup>6</sup>

My research reveals that the disparities and abuses suffered by native populations increased exponentially with the onset of secularization. I argue that despite these cruel, if not deadly, conditions, many native people were able to maintain elements of their traditional culture and practices. Thus, contrary to previous historical descriptions, my research reveals forms of religious borrowing, blending, the possibility of syncretistic behavior in individuals, as well as the persistence of traditional beliefs at the mission itself and in the surrounding regions.<sup>7</sup>

At the same time, Native Americans frequently found themselves confronted with increased foreign intrusion and the destruction that came with the encroachment. The influx of outsiders, for example entrepreneurs, colonists/settlers, and cattle dramatically altered the sociocultural fabric of the region and devastated the region’s environment. Specifically, I examine the shifting economic, political and sociocultural alliances within

---

<sup>6</sup> Milliken, *A Time Of Little Choice*.

<sup>7</sup> Syncretism (in this case) implies a fusion or blending of the religious belief systems, which can be an ever-changing process, thus not a static process. This fusion is generally not understood be a fusion (by the parties involved) but rather an adaptation of the religion that has been forced (by means of acculturation) upon the people, hence they change the concepts, images, and so on to fit their own the point of view while often appearing to have taken on the favored behavior. Other forms of syncretism can occur at the community level. whenin a completely new religion is form. Jacques Soustelle, *Daily Life Of The Aztecs: On The Eve Of The Spanish Conquest*, trans. by Patrick O’Brian (Stanford University, California, 1976), 95-119; Louise Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahuua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1989), 7, 188.

these ethnically diverse and often micropatriotic native communities to provide a sense of the changes that occurred in everyday life, including the changing ecological landscapes. I examine these dramatic transformations by exploring interactions between native people and foreigners at the mission itself and in the surrounding regions. My research focuses on the changing sociocultural landscapes of the region by examining personal exchanges between native and non-native people to illuminate the diversity that existed, including how native people chose to transcend and/or cope with these changes.

In particular, I explore the relationships that developed between existing cultures and entering cultures. Using the Sonoma Mission as a case study, my research investigates and provides snapshots of how native people reacted to and interacted with agents of the mission system and others with whom they had contact. I also consider how native people dealt with the abuses in their struggle to survive secularization under military and civil authorities during the Mexican period, from 1833 to 1846.<sup>8</sup> Understanding the region's actual history and its linkages is crucial to understanding how and why the region developed into what it is today. Sonoma was not simply the site of the twenty-first mission; rather, Sonoma was on the far reaches of Mexico's Northern Frontier in the borderlands. Thus, this piece is a narrative in which a myriad of players struggled for power, space, and place: where the Franciscans, local Indians, various entrepreneurs, as well as English, American, and Russian traders, and the Spanish and then Mexican

---

<sup>8</sup> Secularization was a transferring of power over the mission and its inhabitants. The power shifted from the religious (ecclesiastical) realm to the civil realm or in this case the military and civil arenas. Following secularization neophytes were no longer wards of the padres, thus no legal protector. Thus much like emancipated slaves, *de jure* the neophytes were free to leave and were to be given land and moveable goods but the actuality tended to be quite different.



governments all fought for power.

For nearly two centuries, scholars and tourists alike have ignored the Sonoma Mission. Perhaps it was because the Mission was the last establishment founded in the Alta California chain in 1823, or possibly such inattention was due to the lack of grand edifices and the deeper documentation at other California missions. Yet the unique founding of the Sonoma Mission and the period it was founded in, the national era, makes the Sonoma quite distinctive from the other California missions and worthy of study.<sup>9</sup>

The circumstances of its founding bring a plethora of questions to my mind. What was the true purpose of the Mission? Did it serve as a tool for the governing powers or as a spiritual tool for the church? Did its late founding and distance from Mexico influence its development? And if so, did it develop differently than other missions? Moreover, how did the indigenous peoples of the region interact and transcend the changing landscapes that came with the missions and the foreigners that besieged the area? My research focuses on these questions in an attempt to create a fuller and more complete history of the Sonoma Mission, the region, and the everyday lives of the indigenous inhabitants in the pre-U. S. period. Thus, my research offers a corrective study that adds to the general field of Mexican history, California history, and borderlands studies. It also adds to the fields of indigenous studies, gender studies, religious studies, and mission studies by shedding new light on the realities and intricacies of everyday life in both the

---

<sup>9</sup> Erick D Langer and Robert H. Jackson in their article “Colonial and Republican Missions Compared: The Cases of Alta California and Southeastern Bolivia” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 2 (April 1988): 286-287. Langer and Jackson suggested that to simply “assume that the role and the effects of the missions have remained the same since the colonial period is not plausible. Comparisons between the colonial and national missions can be extremely fruitful, for in this way we can begin to use our considerable knowledge of the colonial missions to understand the much less studied, but nevertheless extremely important, missions of the republican era” and beyond. *Ibid.*, 286-287

pre- and post-contact era, as well as dispelling stereotypes and misnomers regarding indigenous lifestyles, gender roles, and conversion, just to name a few.

### Sources and Mission Studies

Although there has been extensive research and writing regarding the “Spiritual Conquest” of the Americas and the colonial enterprises that encompassed these processes, few scholars have researched the problem in relation to the Alta California mission zone and no scholars have exclusively explored the Sonoma Mission, leaving a gap in the scholarly history of missions. Specifically, how indigenous sociocultural perspectives changed following the introduction of the Spiritual Conquest remains poorly understood, due in part to the lack of indigenous authored records and a dependence on non-native authors from the Alta California period; those by Spanish friars, officials, travelers or settlers, most of them prominent men of the period. However, oral testimonies taken from aged indigenous survivors and their descendants in the later nineteenth century provide insight into the era and the perspectives of native people. The interviews lend insight and windows into the continuance and/or changes in traditional customs, rituals, and gender roles as well as the changing environment and sociocultural stratum. In using these latter documents, I consider that memories may change over time as well as the possible biases of the historians who conducted the interviews and their potential influence on the testimonies.

There were numerous official documents written by Franciscan missionaries and civilian governmental functionaries, such as governors of Alta California; yet, many if not

most of these documents present similar issues due to the filters of the era.<sup>10</sup> Even less reliable were the hagiographies and idealized biographies of individual friars.<sup>11</sup> Yet these reverent accounts occasionally help us to identify particular mindsets. Perhaps more importantly, they provide glimpses of everyday life that occasionally revealed the continuance of traditional lifestyles, various religious behaviors and blendings, as well as methods of acculturation, punishment, and indigenous resistance.

Perhaps more useful are the records, requests, and letters from missionaries that, as Robert H. Jackson and other scholars have pointed out, were often “self-centered and self-serving.”<sup>12</sup> While these kinds of documents tend to provide a somewhat biased view, they nevertheless allow glimpses into indigenous lifestyles by describing the interactions or observations of native people.<sup>13</sup> These types of records also allow the scholar to investigate general economic flows, production, vital statistics, as well as revealing some of the activities and horrific events that occurred at the mission. Although many of the official mission-related records still exist for the Sonoma Mission in various regional repositories and in the archives in Mexico City, due to a strict policy that required regular biannual and annual reports to the local Father President, the vast majority of personal

---

<sup>10</sup> Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson, eds., *The New Latin American Mission History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1995), xiii.

<sup>11</sup> Hagiographies are biographies of saintly personage that were (are) usually written by other missionaries (some of whom may not even have known the subjects of their luminous praise) to further idealize the person and sometimes to promote the person’s canonization to Sainthood—some contain actual accounts of Native Americans from the region.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv. According to Jackson, although some of the best records were often kept at the missions, “under registration did occur in these records;” Jackson commented that the enumeration of the population was spotty. *Ibid.* For the most part, existing records of this type for the Sonoma Mission are held in repositories such as the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>13</sup> Langer and Jackson, *New Latin*, xiii-xv.

correspondence from the Sonoma Mission met its demise in various fires and earthquakes.<sup>14</sup>

Twentieth-century literature available to the public concerning the Alta California missions is, for the most part, seriously lacking in historical documentation and objectivity, thus presenting an extremely limited view of the missions. Well past World War II, adult readers received a romanticized view of missions, generally in a tourist-style format. Juvenile readers learned that the Indians of the time were poor creatures in need of rescue.<sup>15</sup> As the sun set on the twentieth century, new Native American writers such as Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo rocked previous notions of the California missions by presenting the horrors of mission life from a native perspective in their book *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*. Its title conveys the thrust of its contents. Although their highly polemical book challenged the public's conventional view of missions, it did not tell the complete story.<sup>16</sup> Therein lay the problem; both of the aforementioned views were extreme. Both views contained truths yet both failed to consider the larger picture.

The only work that has focused exclusively on the Sonoma Mission was Robert

---

<sup>14</sup> Missionaries sent an official report of their particular establishment to the local Father President in California; for more on Father Presidents, see Appendix B. Subsequently the local Father President prepared statistical tables for the entire group of missions. With this task completed, the original reports were attached and dispatched to the regional governor and to Mexico; for more on California Governors, see Appendix B.

<sup>15</sup> William Henry Hudson, *The Famous Missions of California* (New York: Dodge Pub., 1901); Leo Politi, *The Mission Bell* (New York: Scribner, 1953); Winifred Esther Wise, *Fray Junípero Serra and the California Conquest* (New York: Scribner, 1967); .

<sup>16</sup> Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco, CA: Indian Historian, 1987). The Costos not only told of the abuse to the Natives, they also offered a testament against Father Junípero Serra's possible canonization to sainthood.

Smilie's *Sonoma Mission*, which he dedicated to the benevolent Fray Buenaventura Fortuny.<sup>17</sup> Smilie's general publication focused on economic aspects of the mission from a European perspective, wherein indigenous aspects of history were essentially absent. While Smilie did present an accurate array of archival statistics useful to this research, such as crop production or lack thereof, his mathematical calculations were not always as precise. Scholarly works mentioned the Sonoma Mission if it served their specific purpose. Sherburne Cook's 1940 publication of *Population Trends Among the California Mission Indians*, or Robert H. Jackson's 1992 article, for instance, referred to the Sonoma Mission in a larger demographic study of missions.<sup>18</sup> These sources offer bits of useful statistical information that are helpful in constructing a fuller history of the region when taken in juxtaposition with other evidence.

Thus, in many ways, reconstructing the mission's history is similar to assembling a jigsaw puzzle that has missing pieces. Beyond employing the aforementioned sources, my research often requires the introduction, for example of archeologists and anthropologists, various medical sources, numerous personal accounts of travelers, observers, merchants, fur traders, and fort logs. While these documents at times present cynical views of native life, when used critically the documents provide windows into daily happenings as well as previously overlooked historical data providing a fuller view of history. Consider for

---

<sup>17</sup> Robert S. Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission: San Francisco Solano de Sonoma, The Founding, Ruin and Restoration of California's 21st Mission* (Fresno, CA: Valley Pub., 1975), v. Smilie claimed that Fortuny was "the forgotten Father... who accepted a demoralized embryo mission... [and] developed it into an outstanding and wealthy part of the California Mission Realm." *Ibid.*, v.

<sup>18</sup> Sherburne F. Cook, *Population Trends Among the California Mission Indians* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1940), 36; Robert H. Jackson, "The Dynamic of Indian Demographic Collapse in the San Francisco Bay Missions" *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 148, 153.

instance, the journals of Kirill Khlebnikov, an employee of the Russian American Company, a fur trade company, which reveals an uprising at the Sonoma Mission that until now was unverified by historians.<sup>19</sup> Thus, journals and logs from fur traders and other contemporaries provide valuable insight into the changing landscapes of the region and its inhabitants that later accounts do not offer.

My research considers previously overlooked archival materials that provide a more comprehensive view of the era.<sup>20</sup> Additionally, my research not only examines previous work but also many documents that I, and other scholars, have retranslated due to inaccuracies in initial transcriptions.<sup>21</sup> These inaccuracies included Eurocentric filters and embellishments, as well as the purposeful exclusion of information given in the original manuscripts. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M Senkewicz's recent retranslations of primary documents (*testimonios* and memoirs) have removed colorful augmentations not found in the original documents.<sup>22</sup> These new translations and retranslations create a fresh

---

<sup>19</sup> Kirill Khlebnikov served as an accountant for the RAC until 1824 when he was promoted to Commercial Counselor of the RAC. In his day, Khlebnikov was one of the foremost authorities on Russian North America and its boundary regions; he had mastered three different languages. For more information see: *The Khlebnikov Archive: Unpublished Journal (1800-1837) and Travel Notes (1820, 1822, and 1824)*, ed. by Leonid Shur, trans. by John Bisk (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1990).

<sup>20</sup> Thanks to the help of Lynn Bremer this research considers previously overlooked archival documents housed in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library (SBMAL).

<sup>21</sup> For example, retranslated primary documents: José Altimira, *Diario de la expedición con el objeto del territorio de examen para el nuevo planta de la misión en N .P .S. ..Alta Califa...25 de Junio de 1823 de la Alta Califa*. June 25 to July 22, 1823 (CM2453, Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library), hereafter: SBMAL; Fray Lorenzo Quíjas' letter dated August 2, 1835 in Francico Diego y Moreno García letter to Governor Figueroa, Santa Clara, August 12, 1835 (CM3567, SBMAL). Printed retranslations would include, for example, portions of Herbert Bolton's translation of *Font's Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition* (University of California, Berkeley, 1978), and his translation of Pedro Fages' *Expedition to San Francisco bay in 1770, diary of Pedro Fages* (University of California, Berkeley, 1911); Sherburne Cook, *The Aboriginal Population of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties* (Berkeley: University of California, 1957).

<sup>22</sup> Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M Senkewicz, trans, eds. *Testimonios: Early California through the*

view of the sociocultural, economic, and political landscapes that existed within the region by shedding new light on the forging of alliances, religious and cultural blending, and the continuance of traditional lifestyles, as well as the excessive abuse occurring at the mission.

Other recent scholarship that played a major role in this thesis include archeologist Stephen W. Silliman's *Lost Laborers in Colonial California*, touted as the first book to focus on a particular California rancho.<sup>23</sup> Mariano Vallejo's Rancho de Petaluma was associated with the secularization of the Sonoma Mission, a topic relevant to this research. Although Silliman's analysis is at times questionable due to his assumptions regarding the excavations at Petaluma, his archaeological findings are unique, especially when compared to Kent Lightfoot's research on the Kashaya middens at Fort Ross. Lightfoot's work revealed the Kashaya's adaptation of European and Aleut practices within their material culture and language.<sup>24</sup> Additionally the Kashaya are germane due to Fort Ross's proximity to the Sonoma Mission and the interactions between the two in both the pre- and post-secularization periods.

Today a new generation of scholarship offers a fuller look into the events that occurred as the missionaries arrived in the Americas. This new scholarship analyzes previous work, as well as primary documents and their translations in an attempt to provide

---

*Eyes of Women, 1815-1848* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2006); Antonio María Osio, *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California*, trans., eds., and anno. by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1996).

<sup>23</sup> Stephen W. Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California: Native Americans and the Archaeology of Rancho Petaluma* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2008).

<sup>24</sup> Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California, 2006).

a more comprehensive history that encompasses the diverse perspectives that existed within the region.<sup>25</sup> My examination of the Sonoma Mission follows this path.

“Civilizing” Missions and “Double Mistaken Identity”

The discussion begins with the nature of the pre-contact cultures caught up in the “Spiritual Conquest,” followed by an examination of the conversion processes employed in Alta California. Here the argument pursues the lead (albeit critically) of Herbert Eugene Bolton and others who argued that the Spiritual Conquest was part of an economic process that Bolton and other scholars refer to as the civilizing function. “Civilizing” began with the conversion of the indigenous to the Catholic faith. A component of the process required the native to adopt the customs and behaviors of Europeans. This, in turn, allowed the “civilizer” control over the native inhabitants, and by extension, their ability to exploit local resources, land, and native laborers. According to Bolton, the “civilizing function” of the Catholic clergy allowed for the successful colonization of the region as well as the formation of a peasantry, of sorts.<sup>26</sup> Bolton wrote that in this way “the

---

<sup>25</sup> For instance, Beebe and Senkewicz’s *Testimonios: Early California* and their translation of Osio’s *History of Alta California*, both provide valuable insight on the era, the region, and by association, life in the Mission.

<sup>26</sup> Herbert E. Bolton, “The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies” *American Historical Review* 23, no. 1 (October 1917): 42-61; Bolton, *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands*, ed. and intro. by John Francis Bannon (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1964), 67-85, 201, 255-299; Bolton and Thomas Maitland Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York: MacMillan, 1920), 13-19, 236-237; R. Louis Gentilcore, “Missions and Mission Lands of Alta California,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51, no. 1 (March 1961): 46-72; David Sweet, “The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History,” in Langer and Jackson, *New Latin*, 3; Langer and Jackson, previous book; Robert H. Jackson “The Impact of Liberal Policy on Mexico’s Northern Frontier: Mission Secularization and the Development of Alta California, 1812-1846” *Colonial Latin American Review* 2 (1993): 195-225; Langer and Jackson, “Colonial and Republican”; James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University, 2004; Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*.



missionaries were a veritable corps of Indian agents, serving both Church and State.”<sup>27</sup>

Here Bolton uses the term Indian agents to refer to the omnipresent authoritative control present in the daily lives of Native Americans. Bolton’s theory did not include the Sonoma Mission. There is, however, evidence that the civilizing process did indeed play a role in both colonization and the exploitation of the region’s resources, human and otherwise.

My research on the Sonoma Mission explores not only European methods of conversion but also provides glimpses of the ways in which indigenous peoples reacted to, and more importantly, transcended and coped with the challenges they encountered during Alta California’s mission period. According to Robert Jackson and a host of other prominent historians, indigenous people throughout the Americas mediated their adoption of Christianity, a process that frequently included adaptation in keeping with their own cultural traditions.<sup>28</sup> In nearly every region that the Spanish and the Catholic Church sought to possess, social scientists have noted some evidence of syncretic processes, including at other San Francisco-area missions but not at the Sonoma Mission. My research suggests the possibility of individual syncretism at the Sonoma Mission, however to date I have found no clear evidence of syncretism on a community level.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Bolton and Marshall, *Colonization of North*, 236. See previous footnote for additional sources.

<sup>28</sup> Also see, Jacques Soustelle, *Daily Life Of The Aztecs: On The Eve Of The Spanish Conquest*, trans. by Patrick O’Brian (CA: Stanford University, 1976), 95-119; Louise Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahuua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1989), 7, 188; Stephanie Wood, “The Cosmic Conquest: Late-Colonial Views of the Sword and Cross in Central Mexican Títulos,” *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 2 (Spring, 1991): 176-195; Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2003).

<sup>29</sup> There are several reasons why one is less likely to find information on the subject of adaption, acculturation, and assimilation at Sonoma but perhaps the most obvious and logical reason is that by 1823 much of the “newness” of native and non-native cultural encounters had for the most part worn off. Indians

During the 1800s, the increased rate of encroachment by outsiders left Native Americans in what cultural anthropologist Randall Milliken aptly referred to as “a time of little choice.”<sup>30</sup> That is to say, Native Americans frequently turned to the missions for protection and food due to depleted natural resources and the large-scale introduction of livestock that exponentially increased environmental degradation. Turning to the missions for help, much like in earlier periods, ultimately meant outwardly adopting and adapting European customs which in turn frequently allowed them greater liberties within Mexican society. Thus, some appeared to have adopted European customs, when in reality they only adapted the customs to fit their own needs. Others may have acculturated European religious rituals but not understood the actual meaning of the particular convention.<sup>31</sup>

James Lockhart refers to this process as “double mistaken identity.” Lockhart’s concept of “double mistaken identity” correctly suggests that both the foreigner and the indigenous did not fully understand one another. Although they often believed they understood each other, in reality, they were identifying false cognates in the other’s cultural practices. Thus each person would in actuality be seeing or experiencing the same object or event differently, within their “own frame of reference.”<sup>32</sup> Langer and Jackson’s

---

were not novel to those who arrived in the 1800s, unlike the first explorers and scientists, thus they were less likely to record daily activities or religious processes in detail.

<sup>30</sup> Milliken, *Time of Little*.

<sup>31</sup> For more information see, Soustelle, *Daily Life Of The Aztecs*; Burkhardt, *Slippery Earth*; Wood, “Cosmic Conquest: Late-Colonial”; Wood, *Transcending Conquest*; Robert H. Jackson, *Race, Caste, And Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1999); Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano, *Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala* (MA: Cambridge University, 2005); Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett’s *Indian Women of Early Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1999).

<sup>32</sup> James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (California: Stanford University, 1992), 445;

research suggests that “Indians viewed the Franciscans as witches with powerful magic” and “intermediaries with the spirit world,” rather than simply Catholic padres.<sup>33</sup>

Evidence of religious blending, borrowing, and “double mistaken identity” is clearly apparent with the right sources. Maynard Geiger’s book, *As the Padres Saw Them* contains responses to questionnaires sent to the Alta California missions clearly revealing forms of religious borrowing, blending, and the persistence of traditional spiritual practices.<sup>34</sup> The padres frequently stated that the neophytes did not practice their “heathen religions,” but in entry after entry, the padres spelled out its persistence. The Indians had “some foolish practices” before hunting or fishing: “they plant a stick with feathers and seeds or they abstain from meat” and if they failed to perform the rite, they would forgo the expedition.<sup>35</sup> Ostensibly, mission Indians were Christians and had renounced other religions, yet, it is clear that many continued to practice traditional customs under the watchful eyes of the padres.

---

Lockhart, *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993), 5.

<sup>33</sup> “Colonial and Republican,” 303; Florence C. Shipek, “California Indian Reactions to the Franciscans,” *The Americas* 41, no. 4 (April 1985): 482-483; Nancy Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (NJ: Princeton, 1984), 286-354; N. Farriss, *Crown And Clergy In Colonial Mexico, 1759-1821: The Crisis Of Ecclesiastical Privilege* (London: Athlone, 1968); Burkhardt, *Slippery Earth*.

<sup>34</sup> Department of Overseas Colonies in Cadiz, Spain on October 6, 1812 sent out questioners as part of a historical research project.

<sup>35</sup> Maynard Geiger and Clement Meighan, eds., trans. *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815* (CA: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, distributed by A. H. Clark, 1976), 51. Milliken, 78. Milliken’s research indicates many natives were taken from outlying areas. The core group at Santa Clara, for example, came from the Alson village; furthermore, the mission’s first *alcalde* (mayor) was from the San Francisco Solano village.

### Chapter Organization

This chapter, provides a background of my research and the research of previous historians. Chapter two offers a brief overview of the pre-contact cultures and the courses of impending collision. I argue that the diversity of native people in the region made them particularly vulnerable to the effects of foreign incursion. Some of the key factors that contributed to their vulnerability include geographic dispersal, multiple migrations, micropatriotic tendencies, and unfamiliar gender roles that distinguished them as uncivilized “others.” This chapter explores the ramifications of gift giving on indigenous hierarchies and the realities of forging new alliances, as well as the methods employed when establishing missions. Here I also examine the law verses the reality (*de jure* verses *de facto*) of missionization; for instance, the legality of attaining and punishing converts verses the reality of how many converts were attained and the actual corporeal punishments they faced. Further, I argue that despite their unfavorable conditions some natives continued to practice traditional customs.

Chapter three details the founding of the “Outlaw Mission” in 1823 as well as the events that occurred between the founding of the Sonoma Mission and the onset of secularization in 1833. It quickly becomes apparent that personal ambitions and the region’s distance from the central governing powers in Mexico City played integral roles in its founding and development. Fray José Altimira’s unauthorized expedition to establish the site for the new mission and the disputes that followed, which clearly reveal that distance from central powers played a role in its founding, as did the personal ambitions of Fray Altimira. In the end, to attain the mission he desired, Altimira bypassed his superiors

by playing on the governor's fear of Russian encroachment. Moreover, the lack of oversight allowed a program aimed at assimilation and Christianization to become unusually abusive. Yet, despite the despotic nature of some padres and the horrific conditions at the "Outlaw Mission," many native people continued traditional cultural practices. In this chapter, I explore the changes in native and non-native interactions both within and beyond the mission walls. This examination includes but is not limited to the building of new alliances, the shifting of economic and political relationships, as well as the degradation of ecological landscapes that frequently compromised the native's ability to attain sustenance.

Chapter four considers the trials and tribulations faced by neophytes and padres alike during secularization and the years that followed, from 1834 to 1846. The laws governing secularization provided both neophytes and padres with specific rights. The reality, however, was quite different. Sonoma's remote location allowed greater liberties to local authorities than in other regions, which frequently increased the abuse Native Americans endured. Here I also consider the challenges faced by padres and neophytes as colonists began to inundate the region in the post-secularization period. Once more, we see that many Native Americans continued to maintain and/or adapt traditional customs to fit their particular needs and circumstances. The chapter closes in 1846 with the Bear Flag Rebellion, which demarcates the closing stage of Mexican control over California. Moreover, it provides a point of reflection to observe the changes to the region's social fabric.

By way of concluding this thesis, chapter five serves as a conclusion as well as to

illuminate the lives of a few of the main actors of the narrative in the years that followed 1846. This chapter provides a reflective view that allows the reader to consider the scope of the changes that occurred in Sonoma from the establishment of the mission through secularization and beyond.

## CHAPTER TWO

### A TALE OF COLLIDING CULTURES

Before one can fully understand the changes that occurred at the Sonoma Mission, one must first consider the diversity of the people that inhabited California as well as the state's geographic and demographic makeup outside intrusion.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of such an exploration is to render their contact with non-natives in a more understandable manner. In this chapter, I discuss indigenous populations and consider observations of early explorers. Next, I consider the geographic encroachment of foreigners in areas north of Sonoma as well as the subsequent foreign intrusion from the south. In this chapter, I describe the collision and initial interactions of these cultures. The chapter concludes with an introduction to the mission system and its program.

The diversity of native people in the region made them particularly vulnerable to the effects of foreign incursions that came from virtually every direction. Some of the key factors that contributed to native vulnerability include geographic dispersion, multiple migrations, micropatriotic tendencies, and unfamiliar gender roles that differentiated them as uncivilized "others." In this period, native people frequently found themselves forced to assimilate or flee. Yet despite these vulnerabilities, some natives manage to preserve and practice traditional customs and ceremonies as well as adapting and adopting New and Old World concepts to fit their needs. As the years progressed, these factors, combined with

---

<sup>1</sup> Early "outsiders," in this particular region, were primarily of Spanish and Mexican heritage. This contingent brought Native Americans from Meso- and Latin America as well as slaves. Other, foreigners included: Russians, Aleuts, English, French, as well as other native people pushed from their lands by outsiders and Americans, just to name a few.

Spanish/Mexican plans for colonization, created a situation in which native populations frequently turned to the missions for protection and food due to the destruction of natural resources.

Fredrick Jackson Turner would have been astounded to find that many parts of the West were well populated long before the arrival of the first wagon trains. Today, scholars are just beginning to understand the vast diversity and complex hierarchies that existed in California as well as in the Sonoma and Napa regions before foreign intrusion. California's diverse geographic makeup closely mirrored the diversity of the people that inhabited the various regions during the pre-contact period. Topographic and climatic maps of California (see Appendix A, Figures A3-A4) clearly illustrate the divergent landscapes and climatic environments that influenced the development and physical placement of various Native American groups.

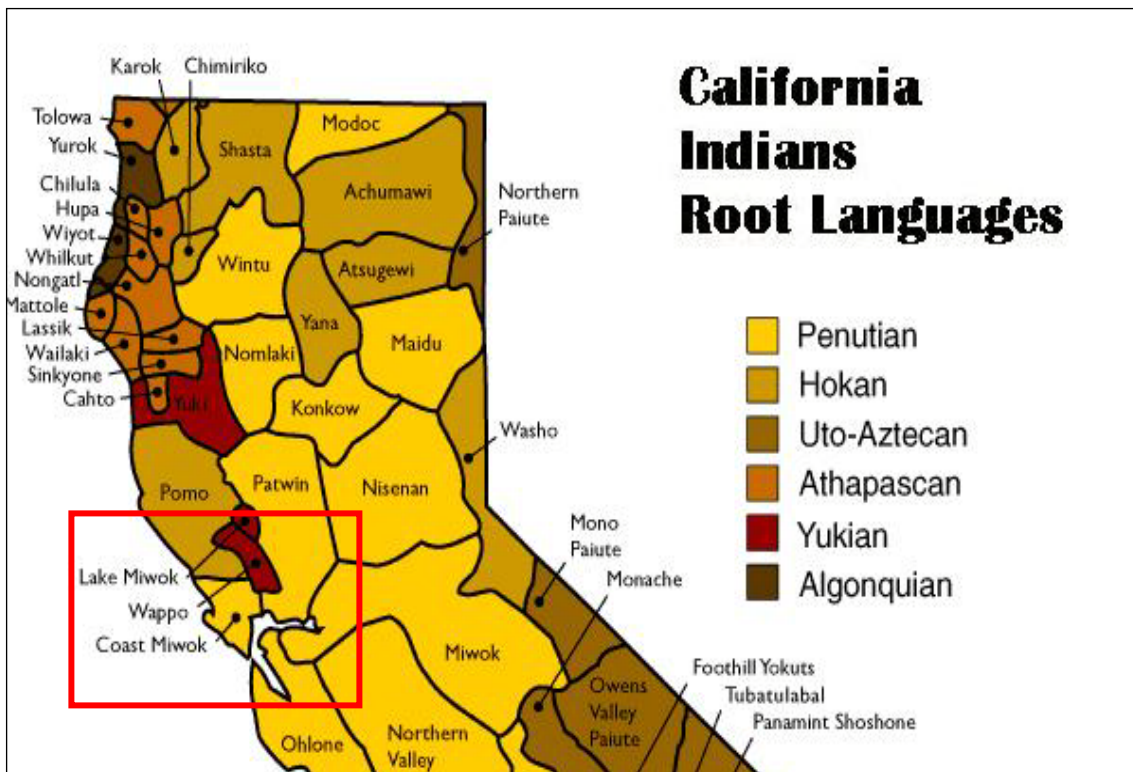
This, in turn, contributed to the diversity in languages within each particular region. California contained six stock languages that served as foundations for at least sixty-four and possibly as many as eighty different languages, each of which contained numerous dialects.<sup>2</sup> The native people in the San Francisco Bay Area (this includes the Sonoma and Napa regions), for instance, “spoke dialects of five mutually unintelligible languages,” creating a “complex mosaic” of culture (see Fig. 1, next page).<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Helen McCarthy, William Hildebrandt, Laureen Swenson, “Ethnography and Prehistory of North Coast Range California” *Archaeological Research Report No. 8* (Davis: University of California, 1985).

<sup>3</sup> Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena, 1995), 13; Edward Curtis, *The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing The Indians of the United States, The Dominion of Canada, and Alaska* 14 (Norwood, MA: Plimpton, 1924), 188-92, 195-197.





**Figure 1: California Indian Root Languages and Tribes**

Source: Map adapted from Leanne Hinton, *Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 1994), 27 (reprinted by permission of Heyday Books).

Indigenous people from the San Francisco Bay Area are generally placed in the greater Miwok, Pomo, Wappo, and Patwin tribes. This, however, is not inclusive nor should one consider these people as unified groups. In fact, most were extremely micropatriotic. In 1897, Franciscan Zephyrin Engelhardt believed that missionaries in the upper reaches of Alta California had contact with and meddled in the sociocultural fabric of thirty-five different groups.<sup>4</sup> Today, the majority of scholars believe that the number of Native

<sup>4</sup> Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.S.F., *The Franciscans in California* (Harbor Springs, MI: Holy Childhood Indian School, 1897), 451. Engelhardt lists the following native groups as being influenced by baptism: “Aloquiomi., Atenomae, Conoma, Carquin, Canijolmano, Caymus, Chemoco, Chichoyoni [Joyayomi], Huilue, Huymen, Laeatiut, Loquiomi, Linayto [Libayto], Locunoma, Mayacma, Muticulmo, Malaca, Napato, Oleomi, Putto [Putato], Palnomanoc, Paque, Petaluma, Suisun, Satayomi, Soneto, Tolen, Tlayacma, Tamal, Topayte, Ululato, Zaclom, and the Utinomanoe.” *Ibid.*, 451.

American groups directly impacted by evangelizing missionaries was significantly higher. The individual research of Randall Milliken and James Sandos indicate that missionary recruitment efforts impinged on at least ninety-six separate tribelets in the Bay area alone.<sup>5</sup>

For the most part, Bay area tribelets lived contemporaneously in three different villages throughout the year due to available natural resources and perhaps the climate.<sup>6</sup> The Ssalsons of the San Francisco Peninsula, 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, on or near Richardson Bay.<sup>7</sup> Climate, availability of resources, and the size of the population tended to dictate the style of dwelling various groups employed. Many of the native inhabitants in the central Sonoma region lived in small groups employing hemispherical huts with bulrush or grass-bundle thatching for their dwellings, while those near heavily wooded areas tended to build their homes in a conical fashion with slabs of redwood.<sup>8</sup> Several communities also built larger structures for group use; the Pomo and Patwin, for example,

---

<sup>5</sup> James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University, 2004), 14-15; Milliken, 24-26, 231-261, 228-229 for San Francisco Bay Area Tribal Region maps.

<sup>6</sup> Milliken, 21. For more information on “ecologic frontiers” see; Cynthia Murrieta Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850* (Durham: Duke University, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> Milliken, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Milliken, 18; Francisco Palou, *La Vida de Junipero Serra* (Ann Arbor; MI: University Microfilms, 1966), 212; A. L. Kroeber *Handbook of the Indians of California*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78 (Smithsonian Institute, Washington, DC, 1925), 276; Pedro Fages, *Expedition to San Francisco bay in 1770, diary of Pedro Fages*, ed. by Herbert Bolton (University of California, Berkeley, 1911), 20; George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the world: In Which the coast of North-West America... Vancouver*, 2 (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1778), 13; McCarthy, et al, “Ethnography and Prehistory”; J. K. Schneider, “Transcending the Spiritual Conquest: From Tenochtitlan to Mission San Francisco Solano,” *McNair Research: University of Oregon* (2008): 147.

constructed subterranean dwellings with large ceremonial centers.<sup>9</sup>

Occupation of the land, according to Milliken, “was divided among scores of independent tribes” who at times worked together harvesting plants and gathering other natural resources within predetermined territories.<sup>10</sup> Annual ceremonies (generally linked to harvests) also created bonds of reciprocity through a range of other venues. Specifically, these interactions created the opportunity to extend kinship networks that in turn fostered growth and exchange in commerce, trade networks, and fashioned minor alliances. Groups in this region frequently practiced exogamy and polygamy. Yet despite the bonds created through joint harvests, marriage, and the creation of *hutas* (special groups that regulated artisans’ activities and trade) the groups remained extremely micropatriotic, which frequently hampered the formation of a unified resistance against outsiders. Feuds between groups sometimes “grew into wholesale attempts to annihilate neighboring groups.”<sup>11</sup> Plainly, micropatriotic tendencies contributed to native vulnerability and their inability to generate a coordinated resistance.

Each group had some type of social hierarchy and ritual belief that were at times strikingly similar; nevertheless, their rituals, beliefs, and customs were not uniform. Ritual and ceremonial dances, for example, occurred across the board, however, the purpose and flow of the event varied at least to some extent from group to group. Some groups like the Patwin employed gendered tattoo rituals. Women and girls were adorned with

---

<sup>9</sup> Edward Curtis, *The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing The Indians of the United States, The Dominion of Canada, and Alaska* 14 (Norwood, Massachusetts: Plimpton, 1924), 188, 190.

<sup>10</sup> Milliken, 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

perpendicular tattoos on their chins with the specific design demarcating a particular group, while men generally sported tattoos resembling arrow points across their chests. Pomo groups, on the other hand, did not adopt tattooing until the mission period.<sup>12</sup> Another example would be that the Pomo did not have a specific ceremony marking a girl's adolescence but the Central Miwok did.<sup>13</sup>

The roles of men and women varied among native groups yet some similarities can be identified among them. Men tended to hunt and/or have specialized skills such as tool making. Women commonly performed domestic duties as well as procuring various types of edibles (roots, berries, and shellfish as well as hunting small animals). Women also played a major role in the production of household goods (for example, cooking baskets) as well as in the sacred process of fashioning ceremonial items. Duties were not inclusive to or restricted by gender as in Spanish society during the same period.

Outsiders in later years frequently commented that Indian women did tasks outside the realm of what observers thought proper, usually referring to their roles in agriculture, the collecting of edibles, or the initial processing of meat and hides, yet these activities were typical for native women. What was not so typical for native women, for instance, was taking on roles such as traders, warriors or leaders but there are recorded cases of women holding just such positions.<sup>14</sup> Sometimes this difference occurred due to the needs

---

<sup>12</sup> Curtis, 188, 190.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 188-195; Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians*, 51.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Haskett, "The First Human Societies" and "Forging 'Civilizations'" (lectures, Eugene: University of Oregon, September 29 and October 4, 2005); Jacques Soustelle, *Daily Life Of The Aztecs: On The Eve Of The Spanish Conquest*, trans. by Patrick O'Brian (CA: Stanford University, 1976), 183; Stuart B. Schwartz, *The Victors Vanquished: Spanish and Nahua Views of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), 198.

of the group/individual. More frequently, however, it was because the individual possessed a specific talent or because it was an intrinsic component of the group's social structure.

The evidence suggests that indigenous women routinely entered into the domain of sacred life and that women often played a larger role in the sociopolitical hierarchy than previously recognized by scholars.<sup>15</sup> Some women held pivotal roles as healers, shamans, leaders, and organizers. Isabel Kelly's research and interviews with indigenous women from the Marin Peninsula revealed at least two significant female leaders. The first held the title of *hóypuh kuléyih* and the second was the *máien* who apparently held the majority of the power.<sup>16</sup> *Máien* headed the women's ceremonial house while *hóypuh* ostensibly led the dance house. Yet the *máien* oversaw construction, sent out invitation sticks, and chose the dance house performers.<sup>17</sup> Kelly's research suggests that women in this region played an integral role in the social and political hierarchy in the pre-contact period, occupying positions they would rarely enjoy following foreign encroachment.

---

<sup>15</sup> For more information see; Louise M. Burkhart *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1989); Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano, *Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala* (MA: Cambridge University, 2005); Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett's *Indian Women of Early Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1999).

<sup>16</sup> Throughout my research, I have noted that *hóypuh kuléyih* indicates a female, while *hóypuh* indicates a male chief or figure of authority. Most authors shorten it to *hóypuh* once the sex has been determined.

<sup>17</sup> Isabel Kelly, "Coast Miwok" in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 8 ed. Robert Heizer (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1978), 419; same book see; John Lowell Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, "Western Pomo and Northwestern Pomo." Also see; Fray Pedro Font's *Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition*, ed. Herbert E. Bolton, vol. 4 (University of California, 1930), 354. For more on pre-Columbian North America see; Jesse D. Jennings, ed., *Ancient North Americans* (New York: W.H. Freeman, 1983); A. L. Kroeber, *Indian Myths of South Central California* 4, no. 6 (University of California Publications American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1907); Kroeber, in the same publication: *The Religion of the Indians of California* 4, no. 4.

The research of archaeologists Martin A. Baumhoff and Robert I. Orlins reveals that before the intrusion of outsiders some of the native inhabitants in Sonoma constructed permanent winter villages that included “sweat houses and a dance house.”<sup>18</sup> Adding to this mounting evidence of complex sedentary groups within the region is the fact that the subsistence and material cultures in the San Francisco Bay (and surrounding areas) for the most part went unseen by the first explorers, missionaries, and settlers of the region. Trade items included obsidian from the “Napa River, shells from the coast, sinew-backed bows from the east, and tobacco, basketry materials, and ornamental pigments from various locations.”<sup>19</sup>

Helen McCarthy found that the various Olompali groups also had a secret society called a *huta* that regulated the activities of artisans. The *huta* ranked above the individual village or group. Moreover, the Olompali employed specific placement terminology for their village, which lends evidence to the idea of a more sedentary culture that adapted rotational living patterns to fit the environment.<sup>20</sup> Taken in juxtaposition, the research and findings of Millikan, Santos, Kelly, McCarthy, Baumhoff and Orlins indicate more sedentary and complex cultures than previously considered, a subject requiring further research. Misconceptions about indigenous normative behavior and gender roles, as well

---

<sup>18</sup> Martin A. Baumhoff and Robert I. Orlins’ *An Archaeological Assay on Dry Creek, Sonoma County, California*, 40 (Berkeley, University of California: Department of Anthropology, 1979), 55, 59 (site Son-582).

<sup>19</sup> Milliken, 17. Items not readily available were obtained through extensive yet “indirect trading network” (Ibid.). Also see; Baumhoff and Orlins, 55, 200-205; Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians*, 276; Sonoma County, *Sonoma Country Inn Draft: EIR* (5.9 Cultural Resources) (Sonoma County, CA), 5.9-2, 5.9-5; Louis R. Gentilcore, “Missions and Mission Lands of Alta California,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51, no. 1 (March 1961): 46-72.

<sup>20</sup> McCarthy, et al., 44.

as constructions of social and political hierarchies of native groups have frequently led to misrepresentation of the region and its inhabitants. By extension, this erroneous information can subsequently influence the examination of regional changes and development, as well as interfering with our understanding of the region today.

Unlike many regions in the western Americas, California's native populations were thinly spread during the pre-contact period mainly due to the carrying capacity and geography of the land, which left them extremely vulnerable to foreign intrusion. The topography lent itself to small isolated tribelets analogous to today's *col de sac* separated by natural barriers. Early missionaries and explorers categorized Indian rancherías (villages) in the Sonoma region as small, medium, and large (40, 200 to 250, and 400 inhabitants, respectively) during first contact periods, a sharp contrast to other regions such as the Chumash in California or the Aztecs (Nahua) in Mexico.<sup>21</sup>

In contrast to first contacts in the eastern regions of North America, the western regions of the United States often experienced immigration and migration of peoples from four different directions. In many ways, California functioned much like an unmeted turnstile that permitted entrance and egress of native and non-native groups from nearly every direction with little to no regulation. California's distance from the central governing powers of Spain, and later Mexico, precluded proper oversight of their northern frontier. Consequently, the Spanish came from the west and south, the English and Russians from the west and north, and displaced Native Americans (and later Americans)

---

<sup>21</sup> Pedro Font, *Font's Complete*, ed. Bolton; Palou, *La Vida*, and *Noticias de la Nueva California*, trans. and ed. by Herbert Eugene Bolton (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966 [c1926]); Herbert E. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, vols. 1-5 (Berkeley: University of California, 1930), and *Fray Juan Crespi, missionary explorer on the Pacific coast, 1769-1774* (New York, AMS, 1971).

pushed in from an easterly direction.

On the eastern seaboard of what is now the United States, the first foreign encroachment came primarily from the north, south, and east. Thus, Native Americans frequently found themselves pushed westward into already occupied territories. In California, as foreign adventurers and entrepreneurs began to inundate region after region, they generated a ripple of migrations that increased exponentially with the passage of time and the advent of technology. These changes significantly altered pre-contact lifestyles, social fabrics, concepts of space and place, as well as signaling immense changes in the exploitation of natural resources that frequently led to ecological degradation. This in turn, played a major role in the life choices that were available to native people.

The first explorers of California's San Francisco Bay regions—in the 1500s and later in the 1700 and 1800s—often recorded similar sites but each tended to convey and analyze their experiences and observations in divergent manners. Take, for instance, the expedition of Francis Drake in 1579. Drake assumed that a native man was a “king” merely because he was clad differently than the other natives.<sup>22</sup> Drake envisioned the indigenous social hierarchy as having structured class divisions by attire, similar to those found in Europe. Other observers, like George von Lansdorff in the early 1800s, noted that garments from furs and feathers were common; both men and women wore furs in varying lengths.<sup>23</sup> Unlike Drake, von Lansdorff presumed little or no hierarchical divisions within native societies or between genders. Neither Drake nor von Lansdorff noted that the indigenous

---

<sup>22</sup> In Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians*, 276. Drake recorded that the “king” of the Marin Peninsula was clad in “a Coat of Rabbit Skins,” which reached clear “to his Waste.” Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> *George H. von Lansdorff's Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World during the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1807*, Pt. 2 (London: Henry Colburn), 164.



people dressed to suit the climate and their ability to support that need. Unfortunately, these types of erroneous assumptions frequently found their way into published works, inadvertently promoting stereotypes that often misrepresented the native people. Current scholars believe there was a moderate dress hierarchy and that frequently the style of dress depended on the season, available resources, and purpose of the journey.<sup>24</sup>

In 1542, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo and later Gaspar de Portolá in the 1760s were among the early Iberian/Spanish observers of California's inhabitants.<sup>25</sup> Although their visits were centuries apart, both classified California's native people as lacking the grand civilizations that were evident in the southern regions such as Mesoamerica and Peru. California lacked the three main hallmarks of wealth that the first *entradas* (expeditions) observed in Mexico. Specifically California lacked an abundance of visible resources (gold and silver). Moreover, it was devoid of complex civilizations and the advanced social and institutional hierarchies analogous to Tenochtitlan and the Aztecs (Nahua); in 1519 the population of Tenochtitlan was between 200,000 and 250,000 compared to 400 at the largest village in the San Francisco Bay region.<sup>26</sup> Other chroniclers of the period seemed more interested in the physical attributes of the native populations. Many travelers and settlers noted that the native inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay Area had a "darker" skin

---

<sup>24</sup> For instance, one would hardly wear a heavy waist-length coat of rabbit skin in the middle of summer or while fishing for salmon or sturgeon but it would be practical in the cooler months, for example, and when traveling it served as a source of warmth and bedding.

<sup>25</sup> Gaspar de Portolá was a Spanish soldier who served as the Governor of Las Californias (Baja and Alta California) from 1768 to 1700. Portolá is credited with the founding of San Diego and Monterey.

<sup>26</sup> The commonly accepted population for Tenochtitlan was between 200,000-250,000; yet, it must be noted, that a few historians claim Tenochtitlan was only between 100,000-150,000, which could still rival Europe's largest cities of the period. For more information see, Bernal Diaz, *The Conquest Of New Spain*, translated by J.M. Cohen (New York: Penguin, 1978); Francisco Palou *La Vida*, 212; Pedro Font, *Font's Complete*; Bolton, *Anza's California*, and, *Fray Juan Crespi*.

tone than other Indians they had seen. Moreover, they determined that the northern Indians were “uncivilized” when compared to native groups in southern regions because they lacked grand civilizations with complex hierarchies. This great divergence in populations, cultures, and geographic settings often caused confusion for padres and others that entered the region with preconceived notions of the area and its inhabitants.<sup>27</sup>

During the 1700s, Spanish, English, French, and Russian expeditions continued to explore California’s coastline and interior valleys. Russian and French scientists were among the first to produce detailed records of California’s diverse cultures and environmental features. While the Spanish did record some geographic, environmental, and demographic information, for the most part the records come from padres who focused on the land’s till ability, the act of gift giving and religious conversion. Each account provides a different view of the region and its inhabitants depending on the author’s motivation for going to California.

By the early 1800s, outsiders were pushing into California from all directions. Fur trade companies pushed westward and southerly across North America as they searched for pelts, skins, and other material goods. By the 1800s, the Russians found themselves sandwiched between the economic ventures of the English Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) and the Spanish/Mexicans, as well as American entrepreneurs and a host of others.<sup>28</sup> Fort

---

<sup>27</sup> California had its own myriad of clergy, first with the Jesuits who entered the Lower California frontier to establish and maintain missions until their expulsion in 1767. Following the expulsion of the Jesuits, control of Baja California went to the Franciscans and then to the Dominicans after the Franciscans received the charge of establishing missions in Alta California, considered a poor and difficult region with possibilities. For more on Jesuits see; Peter Masten Dunne SJ, *Black Robes in Lower California*, trans. Herbert Bolton (Berkeley: University of California, 1952).

<sup>28</sup> The 1814 Treaty of Ghent ended the War of 1812 between the United States and Britain as well as proving a division of lands.

Ross was part of the Russian-American Company and functioned as its southernmost outpost and settlement from 1812 to 1841, located in current-day Sonoma County, California. Fort Ross was not only a Russian settlement but also, much like its counterparts in the HBC and Hispanic enterprises, Fort Ross was also a chartered commercial venture controlled by the *tsarist* government. Each of the foreign powers aimed to control exploration, trade, and settlement, although not all had settlement in mind.

The first outsiders to settle the region north of San Francisco and south of the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Umpqua were predominately Russians and Alaskan Native Americans. Beyond the acquisition of furs and pelts, the *Ross Office* (today's Fort Ross) primarily functioned as a supplier of agricultural provisions to the Alaskan settlement, which was not always successful. Today the manager's house, the Rotchev house, is the only surviving structure.<sup>29</sup> In its prime, however, Fort Ross touted the first California windmills, shipbuilding yards, and first Russian Orthodox chapel south of Alaska. Of course, there was also a stockade and a number of other buildings, which included two corner blockhouses or bastions armed with cannons, the Officials' Barracks, and the Kuskov House. Here it is important to consider that Native Americans were the main labor source. Moreover, they procured the building materials and helped provide the Russians with their daily sustenance (fish, game, berries, and shellfish). Kent Lightfoot's research on Fort Ross clearly reveals that while some of these interactions were voluntary, other contacts were forced; labor conscription and debt servitude, for example. As time

---

<sup>29</sup> Named for Alexander Rotchev, the last manager of Fort Ross; he oversaw the reinvasion of the building in the mid-1830s. Fort Ross was sold in 1841 to Captain Sutter, for more information on the Russian Withdrawal see; John Clarence DuFour, "The Russian Withdrawal from California," *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* 7, no. 3 (September 1933): 240-276.

passed and cross-cultural relationships developed, the fort continued to employ local natives in various types of manual labor or to procure provisions. In turn, Native Americans received goods or credits to purchase goods at the fort.

Despite their contributions, native people lived outside the protective walls of Fort Ross, relegated to the lower levels of the fort's hierarchy. Located closest to the palisade walls was the Aleut village that early on served as home/refuge to many other Native Americans: Southern Pomo groups, the Kashaya, and some Coastal Miwok who were fleeing from Hispanic missionaries. The Russians, unlike the Spanish and Mexican missionaries, did not try to convert or civilize native people through education, nor did they generally keep them from returning to their villages. Over time, the Kashaya (S. Pomo) and other newcomers (Miwok and Hawaiians) established permanent settlements and new social hierarchies outside the fort's northeastern boundary while frequently maintaining previous kinship networks. Native Americans under Russian jurisdiction tended to benefit from greater independence, which allowed many to retain traditional customs while integrating new concepts and material culture to suit their own personal needs. Today, for example, the Kashaya language contains both Russian and Aleut vocabulary, implying a greater level of acceptance of Native American culture by the Russians than what developed at the Sonoma Mission.

Although Native Americans enjoyed a bit more freedom under the Russians than under Spanish/Mexican rule, they still ranked in the lowest levels of the social hierarchy. Kirill Khlebnikov, an employee of the Russian American Company, described the hierarchy of Fort Ross and the Ross Colonies as having four major divisions. At the top

were the Russians. Next in the hierarchy were those of mixed heritage (Russian-Aleuts), followed by Aleuts, then California Indians and their slaves.<sup>30</sup> Lightfoot argued that native Pomo and Miwok people associated with Fort Ross played a more active role in creating their future (and by extension they maintained their original tribal hierarchy) because they retained many of the “powerful connections” that neophytes “trapped in Franciscan missions” frequently lost. For instance, the Kashaya were able to return to their ancestral homelands and retain kinship ties, as well as preserve their language and cultural traditions.<sup>31</sup> For nearly thirty years, Fort Ross functioned as a quasi-multicultural settlement, where some native autonomy was possible compared to the treatment Native Americans received from their Hispanic neighbors.

The lands to the south of the Russians enjoyed the vast influence of the Spanish/Mexican government and the Catholic Church. Hispanic culture in the New World closely mirrored that of the Spanish estate system in Europe.<sup>32</sup> Understanding Spanish/Mexican culture is vital when trying to comprehend centuries of behavioral and structural entrenchment of ideologies that continued to play a dominant role in the conduct and attitudes of those migrating to Alta California. Entrenched ideologies often lingered for generations; thus, preexisting ideologies are extremely germane to an investigation of changing laws and first encounters verses later encounters. Changes in entrenched

---

<sup>30</sup> Kirill Khlebnikov, *The Khlebnikov Archive: Unpublished Journal (1800-1837) and Travel Notes (1820, 1822, and 1824)*, ed. by Leonid Shur, trans. by John Bisk (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1990), 187-194.

<sup>31</sup> Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California, 2005), 158.

<sup>32</sup> In Europe, the three estates were comprised of nobility, clergy, and commoners. For a more in-depth comparison between Iberian culture (Spanish and Portuguese) and Latin America see; Mark A. Burkholder & Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America* (New York: Oxford University, 2004), 182-210.

philosophies often did not fully sink in for three to four generations. Thus, deep-rooted expectations and beliefs of how the “world should be” (which may not have been practical for decades) often influenced the comportment of those that traveled to California.

As in early Spain, Mexican society was highly stratified into three basic divisions (estates) with each estate being highly stratified within itself. One’s placement within society stemmed from fictive and familial ties as well as from marriage, which could increase or decrease a person’s status and his or her possible life choices. Social status often dictated the colors and styles of clothing people could wear, the foods they consumed, the type of employment they could acquire, tools or weapons they could own, as well as the type of punishment one received for committing a crime. Government and Church regulations determined the type and amount of *fueros* (special privileges) within society. The higher one’s social status, the more privileges one acquired; those at the bottom of the hierarchy did not receive special privileges.

Normative gender roles in Spain and Mexico varied from those in Hispanic society in California yet there were some similarities. In both Spain and Mexico, elites who possessed wealth commonly sent their daughters to a convent where they would remain until they became either a bride of man or a “Bride of Christ.”<sup>33</sup> While a girl’s virtue

---

<sup>33</sup> Wealthy families or families with patrons who could afford to pay a dowry to the Church; in turn, the Church insured the proper care of the child. A nun was referred to as a “Bride of Christ.” Many nuns ran profitable businesses which often allowed them a sense of freedom and individualism that was not commonly known to women in that era. A married woman (feme covert) was a female who was under the care of another. The husband was entitled to all household earnings, and all children brought forth through the marriage were his property. A father could indenture the children without the consent of the wife; thus, the husband received a profit for selling his children into servitude. In the event of divorce (very rare and generally class specific), the children remained with the father. The law prohibited a man from beating his wife to death; however, due to a woman’s lack of rights in the legal arena, men often escaped punishment for killing their wives.

remained paramount, Spanish and Mexican girls in California typically had more freedom and stayed with their parents until their marriage. Males of privileged status in all regions remained in the home for a longer period, usually receiving a formalized education from a priest (friar) or private educator. Boys were encouraged to develop the intellectual and physical prowess that would be necessary to survive in their world. Both educations included the concept that marriage was an economic contract to increase one's standing in society. Those in lower classes, however, began work at an exceptionally young age and their social advancement was extremely limited. The majority of Mexico lived in an extremely regimented caste system ruled by blood and wealth. It is said that with enough of the latter one could attain the former. This system also took hold in California beginning with the earliest missions.<sup>34</sup>

Beyond wealth and ethnicity there were other qualifications that determined one's placement in life and society such as the style one chose to live in, which included their housing, manner of dress, foods consumed, the language(s) spoken as well as their comportment in European mannerisms. Consider, for instance, the eighteenth-century *Casta Paintings*, and the various terminologies for *mestizaje* (mixed ancestry) where one's race, ethnicity, particular skin tone, accouterments, and behavioral characteristics all played a role in one's placement within the social hierarchy, see Figure 2.

---

<sup>34</sup> Robert Haskett, "The Changing Socio-political Landscape in Late-Colonial Spanish America," and "Society and Culture in the Nineteenth Century," and "The California Mission Frontier" (lectures: University of Oregon, January 12, February 16, January 19, 2006, respectively).



**Figure 2: Casta Paintings**

Source: Robert Haskett, lecture Latin American History, University of Oregon, <https://blackboard.uoregon.edu/web> (accessed February 16, 2006).

The paintings and the terminology associated with them suggest a belief that one could become whiter through marriage, dress and outward comportment. The top illustration, for example, shows that if a Spaniard married an Indian the child would be *mestizo*, which was a decline in status for the child compared to a child who had two Spanish parents. The center image depicts the results of a marriage between an Indian and a *malato*. The child of this union would be *classified* as a *wolf*, again a decline in status. This painting clearly reveals that status is also tied to outward appearance, for example the clothes are shabby and do not cover the whole body. Moreover, the child is carried on the woman's back rather than being presented to the father as in the first image. In the bottom painting, we find if an Indian marries a *wolf* their child would be a *wolf-return-backwards*, a clear elevation in the child's status. Here again, the manner of attire has changed as well as the positioning of the child. Another difference in the final image is that the woman is

better dressed than the man and standing in front of the man, who has his head down and is



carrying a heavy load of baskets, denoting her elevated status above the husband. The *Casta Paintings* clearly reveal that one's placement in the sociocultural stratum was connected not only to one's heritage but also to the manner of one's dress and outer demeanor.

Ethnohistorians E. Bradford Burns, James Lockhart, and Robert Haskett referred to this process as "bleaching the blood." The "blood" in this case referred not only to one's ancestry and kinship, but also more importantly, one's outward ethnicity. Theoretically, bleaching the blood was "the eradication of weaker genes;" in this period, the weaker genes were thought to come from Indian and African heritage.<sup>35</sup> Burns, Lockhart, and Haskett all noted that bleaching of the blood also occurred with advances in wealth, which in turn allowed upward mobility within the societal hierarchy, a process clearly visible in the *Casta Paintings* and *mestizaje* terminology. The paintings also suggest, as do Haskett, Lockhart, and Burns, that one could raise their status by creating new kinship ties, as well as by altering their outward appearance and behavior thus allowing them to refashion their persona. A simplified version of Mexico's hierarchy, prior to independence, would place *peninsulares* (those born in Spain) at the top of the hierarchy, followed by priests and *cróelos* (those of Spanish descent born in the Americas), *mestizos/castas* (Spanish and Indian heritage), Indians, *mulatos* (one of African and Indian heritage), and finally at the bottom of the hierarchy came slaves.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> E. Bradford Burns' *The Poverty of Progress: Latin America in the Nineteenth Century* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1983), 30; Robert H. Jackson, *Race, Caste, And Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1999).

<sup>36</sup> Throughout my research I have noted that many scholars employ the term Creole to refer to those of mixed heritage (a combination of native/indigenous and non-native parentage) because the previous term is so similar to Hispanic term *cróelo* I do not employ the term Creole.

Although the *casta system* officially ended in 1822 with the promulgation of the *Plan de Iguala* (Plan of Equality), which proclaimed all people equal in society and under the law, this equality was rarely realized. The racial implications of the *casta system* frequently continued for several generations. Adding to the confusion was the fact the *Plan de Iguala* technically only applied to *gente de razón* (people of reason), not to neophytes who allegedly still needed to be civilized.<sup>37</sup> In the end, however, it was applied to all Indians.<sup>38</sup> Generational entrenchment of these beliefs often found their way into California mission and rancho cultures.<sup>39</sup> People came to California for many reasons, yet each came with his or her own preconceived beliefs regarding social hierarchy and the “imagined communities” they would encounter and/or create.<sup>40</sup> Many of those who migrated/immigrated did so with the express hope of elevating their status; they too wanted a taste of what they considered the good life. This often included the concept of racial superiority. These feelings and entrenched ideologies did not simply disappear because new laws were enacted, especially in the distant lands of Mexico’s northern frontier where their distance from central government often allowed them to operate with autonomy.

The Franciscan Padres who came to Alta California after 1769 hailed from many

---

<sup>37</sup> The term *gente de razón* generally refers to educated Christian Spaniards/Mexicans that held a respectable place within the existing hierarchy and followed the ways of the Church. However, in this case it refers to Christianized Native Americans.

<sup>38</sup> John Kicza, “Native American, African, and Hispanic Communities during the Middle Period in the Colonial Americas,” *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 1 (1997): 13-14; Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995), 30-31.

<sup>39</sup> Haskett, “California Mission.”

<sup>40</sup> Benedict Anderson employs the concept of “imagined communities” to explain that people imagine their community (real or ideal) and often presume others share that same concept of community. For more on “imagined communities” see Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (New York: Verso, 2006).

different regions, both in Europe and in the Americas. They all passed through the Franciscan College in Mexico or—at the very least—through San Blas where they received an orientation of sorts. Unfortunately, their introduction to native culture was generally limited to that which existed in Mexico and the idyllic society they hoped to fashion rather than that which actually existed, hampering their effectiveness.

The indigenous people of the region were somewhat accustomed to interaction with other tribelets; however, contact with outsiders often caused turmoil and fear within native populations. Consider the *Olompali* of the Coast Miwok (in Marin County near present day Petaluma) who continuously inhabited at least one site in the area from 6,000 BCE through the 1850s.<sup>41</sup> Archaeologists suggest that by 1300 CE Olompali had become a major trading center for the Miwok. One can only imagine the commotion that might have occurred when the Olompali first set eyes on Europeans or their products, possibly as early as Francis Drake's visit in 1567.<sup>42</sup>

The Olompali undoubtedly witnessed many outsiders crossing their lands, including an array of expeditions, as well as friars from various Catholic orders, counting Fr.

---

<sup>41</sup> The term *olompali* comes from the Miwok language and translates as *southern village* or *southern people*. California State Parks, "Olompali SHP," Historic No. 172, <http://search.parks.ca.gov/> (accessed February 10, 2009); Joan Reuting, "Olompali Park Filled With History," *The Coastal Post* (September 1997), <http://coastalpost.com/97/9/13.htm> (accessed February 10, 2009). Reuting discussed the "olompali" and their land in relation to the Mission System, Gen. Mariano Vallejo, and other owners.

<sup>42</sup> Olompali State Historic Park, <http://search.parks.ca.gov/olompali> (accessed February 9, 2009). Dr. Charles Slaymaker found a coin attributed to Drake's party in 1974. Also see Slaymaker's "Cry for Olompali," private publication and "An Archeological and Historic Assessment of Archeological Site CA-MRN-193" (Marin County, CA); June Ericson Gardner, *Olompali: In The Beginning* (Fort Bragg, CA: Cypress House, 1995); Robert C. Thomas, *Drake at Olompali* (Apala, 1979); Robert Powers, "Drake's Landing in California: A Case for San Francis Bay," *California Historical Quarterly* (1974). Archaeologists have unearthed a myriad of objects at Olompali but perhaps the most interesting of the finds was a 1567 Elizabethan silver sixpence at the 1600 CE soil level, corresponding to the time of Francis Drake's expedition in Marin County.

Altimira on his way to found the Sonoma Mission. The intrusion of outsiders frequently aroused fear and anxiety within native populations. In 1770, for example, when Pedro Fages' expedition came upon a small village (most likely a group of *Olompali*) which contained four women and three children.<sup>43</sup> Frightened by the presence of outsiders, the women gave them their two cooked stuffed birds and ran away to avoid further contact.<sup>44</sup> Five years later, the Sal-Danti party recorded that few native inhabitants remained in the region where Fages and Juan Bautista de Anza had recorded the presence of numerous villages.<sup>45</sup> Over time, scores of foreigners crossed Olompali lands and occasionally through these interactions new relationships and alliances formed between native and non-native peoples, which in turn influenced the hierarchy of the region.

During these expeditions, gift giving to native populations was commonplace. Padres, soldiers, and other foreigners frequently bestowed trifling gifts of white beads and the occasional article of clothing on Native Americans. In fact, gifts were “given and repaid under obligation.”<sup>46</sup> This process required the fashioning of a new “symbolic language” that occasionally fostered new relationships and bonds between the parties exchanging gifts.<sup>47</sup> The Olompali were some of the first in the region to receive gifts

---

<sup>43</sup> Fages, *Expedition to San*, 15. The men were most likely way from the village at the time.

<sup>44</sup> Previous translations by Bolton and Cook referred to the birds, as “stuff geese,” however, “stuff birds” is a closer translation. Admittedly, the script on the original document is a bit difficult to read and there were a good number of geese in the region, however, the word means birds generically not geese.

<sup>45</sup> Sherburne F. Cook, *The Aboriginal Population of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties* (Berkeley: University of California, 1957), 146.

<sup>46</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. by Ian Cunnison (London: Cohen and West, 1970), 1.

<sup>47</sup> Jennifer Thigpen, “Obligations of Gratitude: Gender, Interaction, and Exchange in the Nineteenth-Century Hawaiian Islands” (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2007), 124.

during the mission period and in return, many agreed to baptism without understanding the concept. They did, however, comprehend that this small gesture allowed them to attain items that few others possessed. Perhaps, then, it is not surprising that at least 258 Olompali accepted baptism at various Alta California missions.<sup>48</sup>

Marcel Mauss' analysis in *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* suggests gift giving was anything but impulsive and it frequently had long-term affects on developing relationships between elites. A good example of such a relationship was that of Mariano Vallejo and Camilo Ynitia, the last chief of the Olompali, in 1836. Camilo Ynitia was one of the few Native Americans to receive a Mexican land grant. In return, Ynitia pledged his allegiance to Vallejo. Thus, gift giving not only created a language for communication it also influenced one's conduct in these burgeoning relationships.<sup>49</sup> This interaction in turn influenced native hierarchies and cultural systems within the group and by extension the region. Those who received gifts had items that others did not, moreover, the stranger had picked them to visit verses any other group, thus they were unique and perhaps favored ones; the latter is a concept noted by chroniclers and observers of the period as well as scholars of the missions and the fur trade. This preferential status of some individuals and groups over others frequently altered indigenous hierarchies, which exponentially increased during the mission period.

#### The Mission and Its Program

According to Robert H. Jackson, the "Spanish frontier policy sought, in part, to

---

<sup>48</sup> Olompali State Historic Park, Website.

<sup>49</sup> Thigpen, "Obligations of Gratitude," 123.

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” in Mexico.<sup>50</sup> In other words, missions not only served as a tool for the Christianization of indigenous populations, they were also a cost effective method of colonization because missions could serve as sites for conversion and civilizing the so-called savages while also functioning as outposts, trading posts, and places of safe haven at little to no cost to the governing powers.

From a political standpoint, missions had three basic purposes when it came to the Indians, according to Herbert Bolton: “to convert him, to civilize him, and to exploit him.”<sup>51</sup> But before the aforementioned could be attained, the Church and the Crown had to make them willing subjects, not always an easy task considering the horrific loss of life due to the introduction of foreign pathogens into what many historians have referred to as “virgin soils.” Most scholars concur that 80 to 90 percent of indigenous populations in contact regions perished due to the introduction of disease to which they had no immunity.<sup>52</sup>

As disease took its toll on native populations, the Church and Crown instituted new programs to cope with the loss of laborers. Early on, in the sixteenth-century Caribbean, the Spanish introduced African slaves to replace the lost Indian workers. Indigenous

---

<sup>50</sup> Erick D. Langer and Robert H. Jackson, *The New Latin American Mission History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1995), vii.

<sup>51</sup> Bolton, “Mission as a Frontier,” 43.

<sup>52</sup> For maps see, Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians*, 887; Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*, 224. Also see, Albert L Hurtado, “California Indian Demography, Sherburne F. Cook, and the Revision of American History” *Pacific Historical Review* 58, no. 3 (August 1989): 323-343; Cook, *Aboriginal Population*, and, *The Population of the California Indians, 1769-1970*, (Berkeley: University of California, 1976).

populations continued to dwindle causing the state institution of the *reducciones* (reducing) and *congregaciones* (congregating) programs, which dealt with resettlement of the indigenous populations into “compact” villages. According to ethnohistorian Stephanie Wood, the program was “an integral part of the consolidation of conquest” designed “to condense dispersed populations following epidemics for better religious instruction and taxation.”<sup>53</sup> Today this process is recognized as a disruptive force within communities. Critics of the *congregaciones* programs saw forced resettlement as a means of gaining and retaining control of assets including labor, while allowing the conversion and the civilizing of the so-called savages.<sup>54</sup> Such relocation tore native people away from their homelands and for the most part destroyed the political, economic, and social hierarchies of everyday life, although some natives did continue traditional customs. Horrendous mortality rates in indigenous populations coupled with increased numbers of clergy in central Mexico allowed padres in the late 1500 and early 1600s to begin evangelizing in distant regions where there was frequently little oversight of the process.

This same process continued in California after 1769 with dreadful results and appalling mortality rates.<sup>55</sup> Squalid conditions in many cases made missions virtual

---

<sup>53</sup> Stephanie Wood, “The Cosmic Conquest: Late-Colonial Views of the Sword and Cross in Central Mexican Títulos,” *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 182.

<sup>54</sup> Jackson, *New Latin*, viii.

<sup>55</sup> While the rate varies from region to region, the generally accept mortality rate is 80-90%. For more information see; Daniel T. Reff’s *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764* (Salt Lake: University of Utah, 1991), 181-274; Robert H. Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects: Missions in the History of the American Southwest* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2000), 89-125; Jackson’s *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687-1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1994); and Jackson’s *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, AZ: Pentacle, 2005), 275-355.

deathtraps, especially for single women and young girls who were subject to nightly confinement in the *monjerío*, which was similar to a small dormitory without windows.<sup>56</sup> All single females (including girls over the age of seven and married women whose husbands were away) were confined to the *monjerío*. Lack of ventilation and proper sanitation provided the optimum conditions for disease to flourish.

As the padres spread out looking for new converts and rich lands, so did the troops and *presidios*; theoretically, soldiers were under the command of the padres.<sup>57</sup> For the most part, troops were poorly trained, ill supplied, and dependent on the missions. There were two types of troops: *regulares* (regulars) and *soldados de cuero* (known as leatherjackets). Pedro Fages' Catalonia volunteers were formally trained soldiers, regulars versus the leatherjackets soldiers who were often criminals given the option of jail or service on the Northern Frontier. As far as military commanders and padres were concerned, the principal issue with leatherjackets was controlling them. Padres' diaries, correspondence, and military reports leave little doubt of their appalling behavior. A common comment was that soldiers—in particular leatherjackets—molested and raped Indian women and children. These actions often instilled further fear of the Spaniards and increased Indian flight, primarily east toward the Central Valley and north toward Fort Ross.

Fray Junípero Serra found the situation so appalling that he encouraged soldiers of

---

<sup>56</sup> John E. Kicza, *Resilient Cultures: America's Native Peoples confront European Colonization, 1500-1800* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003), 104; Robert Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1995), 48-50; Jackson, *Savages to Subjects*, 87.

<sup>57</sup> A *presidio* is a permanent military encampment that usually has a jail. In California, by 1823 there were four presidios: San Diego (1769), Monterey (1770), San Francisco (1776), Santa Barbara (1782).



good merit and religious standing to marry neophyte women. Father Serra believed that the marriage of soldiers to indigenous women would serve a dual purpose.<sup>58</sup> First, he believed that if the soldiers' sexual needs were satisfied, the Indians would suffer less sexual abuse. Secondly, Serra believed marriage would hasten the indigenous woman's assimilation and acculturation into an accepted sphere of society. Marriage, it was thought, would Europeanize Indian women and encourage them to enter into domesticity where they would in turn pass acceptable cultural comportment to their children and extended kinship networks. This, of course, was not a new idea nor had it been extremely fruitful in previous applications. But Serra tended to be an idealist, so perhaps it is not surprising that he chose to emulate this model. Unfortunately, Serra set his standards so high that he found few men acceptable, resulting in few marriages. Adding to this dilemma was the souring of relations between the padres and soldiers, which worsened over the years as each contingent tried to assert their authority/superiority over the other.<sup>59</sup>

The troops were often ill supplied and frequently found themselves reliant on the missions for their daily sustenance and material needs. In turn, the missions and missionaries were dependent upon the troops and presidios due to their remote locations and the fact that missions usually infringed on territories belonging to various indigenous groups. Generally speaking, native inhabitants outnumbered the troops and may have even

---

<sup>58</sup> Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*, 73-74.

<sup>59</sup> Serra's vision of marriage was quite unlike the marriages that occurred early on in Mexico or later at Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) forts and the Ross Colony. Fur trading posts frequently employed marriage between employees and elite females from native groups, to satisfy the male sex drive, fostered extended kinship networks as well as to enhance trade. At times these marriages created lasting communities, e.g. the Métis community at the Red River settlement and on a smaller scale the Kashaya at the Ross Colony in California; this however was not the case in the northernmost missions of Alta California.

enjoyed military superiority had it not been for their micropatriotic tendencies, which often inhibited coordinated resistance. Without a coordinated resistance, indigenous peoples were left with two options: missionization or flight.

Another issue that inhibited indigenous struggle was the aggressive nature of the Franciscans in California, especially when it came to gathering and *civilizing* the native inhabitants. John Kicza, a historian of Latin American and Mexican history, wrote that the California Franciscans “were rather aggressive, gathering numerous native bands into their missions” to convert them to Christianity as well as to train them as agriculturalists.<sup>60</sup> Legally, natives had to be baptized before the padres could conscript their labor. Following baptism, neophytes lost all rights and became wards of the Crown with the padres serving as their guardians for a period of at least ten years—longer if the padre felt the neophyte was not ready.

Baptism was supposed to be voluntary but California’s distance from Mexico and the closure of the “overland route” in 1793 often precluded enforcement of the law. Some of these baptisms were somewhat benign: padres, for instance, commonly baptized both the elderly and children due to their high mortality rate following initial contact. Others received food or material goods and, in exchange, agreed to accept baptism. The latter possibility raises the question of whether or not the native person fully understood the concept of baptism. Here two distinct possibilities come to mind. First, they believed that baptism was part of the traditional gift-giving process and simply acquiesced to the ceremony, or secondly, they rejected the legitimacy of the ritual but used baptism to obtain

---

<sup>60</sup> Kicza, *Resilient Cultures*, 104.

items they desired. Punitive missions were another technique employed in acquiring new neophytes; punitive missions were raids on Indian villages by the military and auxiliary troops (the latter being comprised of neophytes and indigenous allies).

In 1783, California's Governor Felipe de Nevé established a "pass system," which required all neophytes to obtain a written pass from the padre before leaving the mission. Following Nevé's institution of the "pass" system, Father Junípero Serra formally "initiated the practice of the forcible return."<sup>61</sup> The aforementioned actions greatly increased the number of punitive missions on Indian villages and Indians forcefully brought to the mission for civilizing, moreover, it increased levels of abuse endured by native populations.

Nevé and Serra agreed that a pass was an important element of control but they differed when it came to the treatment neophytes should receive on their return. Nevé had mixed feelings about the Indians. He saw them as creatures that needed to be civilized but also viewed them as victims of abuse. Nevé also believed that the Laws of the Indies had correctly dubbed the Indians perpetual children and for this reason, he believed if the Indians were given gifts upon their return they would gladly return to the mission rather than run away. Nevé also suggested that the gifts would elevate the Indian's status both inside and outside the mission walls, which would allow them to serve as role models for others. Conversely, Serra followed the example of St. Francis Solano. Serra viewed flogging as an instrument to correct sinful behavior and create loyalty, thereby creating better subjects for the crown.

---

<sup>61</sup> Milliken, 95.

Janitin, an indigenous neophyte, thought differently about the laws and their application in 1803 as he recalled his capture in La Zorra, and his later resettlement in an unknown northern mission.<sup>62</sup> Following his baptism, the padres sent him to work in the fields but because Janitin was not familiar with the work they flogged him. Janitin tried to escape several times. He remembered his second capture was much like the first. The soldiers lassoed him and took him to the mission, “martyrizing” him every step of the way. Janitin recalled: “when we arrived the father...ordered them to tie me to the pillory and punish me; they gave me so many lashes that I lost consciousness.” According to Janitin’s account, he lay there for “several days without being able to get up from the ground.”<sup>63</sup> Janitin revealed his scarred backside to Manuel Rojo (the official investigating the abuse) to prove he was not embellishing the event or the abuse. The investigation resulted in Janitin’s resettlement in an unnamed northern mission.

These types of apprehensions and punishments were common and as one might guess, they were definitely a violation of the law.<sup>64</sup> In 1773, Fray *presidenta* Fermín Francisco de Lasuén decreed that Indians in Alta California were “never to be given...more than twenty-one” strokes of the whip, and never were the soldiers, the padres, or the *alcaldes* (in this case indigenous mayors) to draw blood or leave bruises on the

---

<sup>62</sup> Janitin’s testimony was recorded by Manuel Rojo 1803.

<sup>63</sup> Janitin, quoted in Jackson, *Savages to Subjects*, 76. Janitin said, he was flogged daily because he “didn’t know how to do” the work. *Ibid.*, 78. Fr. Palóu documented these types of accounts, as did Father Luis Sales in his *Observations On California, 1772-1790* (Los Angeles, CA: Dawson’s Book Shop, 1956).

<sup>64</sup> Spain, *The new laws of the Indies for the good treatment and preservation of the Indians, promulgated by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, 1542-1543: a facsimile reprint of the original Spanish edition...*, trans., and intro. by Henry Stevens and Fred W. Lucas (New York : AMS, 1971).

Indians.<sup>65</sup> These punishments, harsh by modern standards, were common practice in the missions. Punishment was to be the same as for a child because Indians were considered perpetual children or *niños con barbas* (children with beards) but this was clearly not the case.<sup>66</sup> The promulgation of *Las Siete Partidas* gave minors the right to legal representation and lighter sentencing as a “double minority.”<sup>67</sup> However, California’s isolation from Mexico made law enforcement and communication precarious at best because there was no regular system to facilitate seaborne or land-based travel. One can only imagine the extent of corruption when the dispatch of *informes* (reports) occurred but once a year.

Another measure to reduce abuse and prevent revolt was the institutionalization of a parallel hierarchy in missions. Theoretically, according to ecclesiastic policy and Spanish/Mexican law, each mission was required a minimum contingency of two priests and two soldiers; ideally six or more soldiers would have been stationed at each mission.

---

<sup>65</sup> Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, quoted in Francis F. Guest, *Fermin Francisco De Lasuen (1736-1803): A Biography* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1973), 200-201; Spain, Council of War and Royal Treasury Decree (May 6, 1773).

<sup>66</sup> Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, “Model Children and Models for Children in Early Mexico,” in Tobias Hecht, *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin American History and Society* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2002), 58-64. When a child reached the age of ten and a half years old, the law allowed for punishment. The prescribed methodology: first a verbal warning but if they continued to commit the same offence, they were whipped. At the age of seven, under colonial law, girls could be married off. At this young age, missionaries took the girls from their families and confined them to the *monjerío* (a windowless dormitory).

<sup>67</sup> Spain, *Las Siete partidas del sabio rey don Alonso el IX, glosados por el Lic. Gregorio López* (1767 [1265]), Valencia. *Las Siete Partidas* literally translated means “The Seven Games” however because it was a legal decree the terms take on a different meaning, the seven stages (or parts of life) that occurred before the age of maturation. Thus *Las Siete Partidas* ascribed indigenous persons the right to legal council and the status of a “double minority.” Bianca Premo, “Minor” in Hecht, *Minor Omissions*, 127. An example of this law was when a twenty-two year old indigenous man confessed to “having robbed a store of various items of clothing.” He was found not guilty due to his “double minority;” which was due to his age and because of “his Indian condition [condición Yndica].” *Ibid.*, 127 (original case: Fáctica, Juzgado del Corregidor del Cercado o Sub-Delegado del Cercado, 18800, legajo, cuad. 16, fol. 29).

However, the theory of a minimum contingency did not always work out, especially when it came to the number of padres. Such was the case at the Sonoma Mission, which only had one padre at any given time. Ideally, when establishing new missions, missionaries took Native American families that had originally come from (or been taken from) the region of the new establishment. Historically, according to Herbert Bolton and a host of other scholars, “three Indian families from the older mission” were to accompany the missionaries to serve as teachers and examples of proper comportment.<sup>68</sup>

Padres frequently evangelized surrounding regions and participated in various expeditions that allowed contact with an array of indigenous groups. These contacts frequently allowed the padres to obtain new converts, mainly through the gift-giving process. Other converts were characterized as curious followers, those who were hungry or wanted more gifts, and outcasts. Still others were taken by force in punitive raids conducted both by native and non-native actors. Although prohibited by law, this well-documented tactic played an integral role in Spanish/Mexican America.<sup>69</sup>

The *Leyes de Indies* (Laws of the Indies) offered many protections to Native Americans. Unfortunately, many of the laws were difficult to apply and enforce in the far

---

<sup>68</sup> Bolton, “Mission as a Frontier,” 54. Here Bolton is relaying the writings of Father Romualdo Cartagena from a 1772 *informe*.

<sup>69</sup> Fray Altimira to Governor Argüello, San Francisco Solano, August 31, 1823 [CM2474, SBMAL]; F. F. Matiushkin, “A Journal of a Round-the-World Voyage on the Sloop Kamchatka, under the Command of Captain Golovin,” trans. Stephen Watrous, *Fort Ross Interpretive Association Newsletter* (Sept-Oct): in particular 5-6; Taylor & Francis, Ltd; Bolton, “Mission as a Frontier”; Sherburne Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization*. Berkeley: University of California, 1976; Costo, Rupert and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco, California: Indian Historian, 1987); Jackson, *Savages to Subjects*; Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans*; Virginia Marie Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2001); Steven Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2005).

reaches of the northern frontier, while others had limited application.<sup>70</sup> One section of law required padres to teach native people in their native tongue. This was not always practical, especially considering the complex variety of languages/dialects that existed in California. Thus, the law was rarely practiced. The *Law of the Indies* also required each mission to provide Indians with schooling on proper self-government, a tricky task considering the micropatriotic tendencies of tribes in Northern California, which could make communication and cooperation between the actors extremely difficult. The scope of the neophytes' education was often extremely limited but it was a tool of acculturation; theoretically, once the purported savage was civilized he could then hold similar positions in the world outside the mission walls. Moreover, the training often served as a means for Native Americans to promote their status within the mission, as well as gaining the favor of the padre, which frequently included the allocation of temporary and permanent *fueros* (special privileges).

One such example would be the position of an *alcalde* (mayor) at a mission. Much like his counterpart, a community of neophytes elected him; however, it was never quite that simple.<sup>71</sup> At new missions, the padre selected the first *alcalde* and typically described the person as *loyal*, a *good Indian*, or *an Indian that was mistreated by his fellow Indians*;

---

<sup>70</sup> *Leyes de Indies* (Laws of the Indies) were laws for the New World, first promulgated by Emperor Charles the Fifth, 1542-1543 in an effort to protect and preserve in Indians in Spanish America; over the centuries, the laws contained in *Leyes de Indies* were added, removed, and amended.

<sup>71</sup> In 1778 Governor Neve, promulgated additional laws to protection neophytes from the overzealous padres and soldiers, for example, the extension of traditional dual of governance within the neophyte population was expanded not only embraced the traditional role of the chief/shaman but also colonial positions that theoretically extended the neophytes representation within the mission. Neve directed each mission to employ two *alcaldes* (majors) and two *regidores* (councilmen) to represent, guide, and punish the neophytes in civilized ways. Also see; Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*, 24, 71.

at times, the *alcalde* was not even Indian. When elections did occur, the padre usually recommended the possible candidates. Being the *alcalde* at a mission allowed the titleholder special privileges. For instance, the *alcalde* strode around in his European-style clothes carrying a special staff of authority that afforded him special status and rights not bestowed upon the average citizen, including land grants, special benches in a church or an official building, theoretically he was exempt from corporal punishment and reprimand was a private affair.

Although the *alcalde* of a mission received *fueros* like the priests, government officials and those in the military, it was a scaled-down allotment of privileges.<sup>72</sup> *Alcaldes*, for instance, received a land grant of four leagues and the opportunity to appoint their own officers to help with law enforcement; his orders however, were subject to the padres' wishes.<sup>73</sup> The *alcalde* was also responsible for administering punishment to the neophytes under the padre's supervision. Thus attaining a position such as an *alcalde* not only afforded a person more rights and better treatment, it altered his status within mission hierarchy and civilian society.

Larger missions had as many as three *caciques* (leaders/chiefs) with *alcaldes* serving under them to command other neophytes.<sup>74</sup> Over time, as the missions matured, these relationships created units of auxiliary troops made up of Christianized Indians (see Figure

---

<sup>72</sup> For more information on land grants in relation to governmental and military service see; Kenneth Pauley, "Weights & Measurements in California's Mission Period: Part I – Linear Measurements," and "Weights & Measurements in California's Mission Period: Part 2 – Area Measurements," *California Mission Studies Assn. Articles*, [www.ca-missions.org/](http://www.ca-missions.org/) (accessed April 14, 2007).

<sup>73</sup> Bolton, "Mission as a Frontier," 60.

<sup>74</sup> Jean-Francois de Galaup Lapérouse, *The First French Expedition to California: Lapérouse in 1786 /translated with introduction and notes by Charles N. Rudkin* (Los Angeles, CA: Glen Dawson, 1959), 69.



A6, c.1846 view of troops). Such was the case at the Sonoma Mission. Traveling under the supervision of and in conjunction with Mexican soldiers (regulars and leatherjackets), auxiliary troops often led raids to capture suspected fugitive neophytes. The participation of native auxiliary troops in punitive missions speaks loudly of the changing sociocultural landscapes. In many ways, their position opened venues not available to other Native Americans such as elevated social status as well as special privileges and increased material goods.<sup>75</sup> Yet this role also separated them from their people as they attempted to acculturate into Hispanic culture.

In conclusion, the borderlands of Alta California, geographic isolation created an environment where the indigenous people lived in small groups that were relatively isolated from each other. In the San Francisco Bay Area, there were at least ninety-six different tribelets employing five base languages, which in turn yielded an array of different dialects. The use of permanent village sites with subterranean sweat lodges and large community structures coupled with their use of specialized groups that oversaw artisan groups suggests that indigenous people in the greater Bay Area and in Sonoma were more sedentary than previously considered by scholars. Moreover, the evidence suggests that women also played a larger role in the sociocultural stratum than previously recognized. Many of the tribelets lived contemporaneously in three different villages. Although many of these groups created bonds of reciprocity and kinship ties, for the most part, they remained micropatriotic units living in small groups.

Isolation helped to create a vast mosaic of people and cultures. Yet, it also made

---

<sup>75</sup> Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*, 68-73.

them vulnerable to the outsiders who traversed the region mainly because they could not form a unified large-scale resistance against them. Gift giving functioned as a gesture of goodwill as well as providing an opening to start communication. Gifts, however, were given and repaid through obligation. Gift-giving processes frequently cultivated new relationships and alliances between natives and non-natives, and at times, allowed the padres to attain new neophytes. The giving of gifts also altered hierarchies by privileging some groups and individuals over others.

Native Americans from Bay Area missions, unlike the Métis in the far reaches of North America or the Kashaya at Fort Ross, did not form their own unique communities for many reasons. Beyond the missionization process, factors such as physical geography, micropatriotic tendencies, as well as the tremendous diversity of people and languages that existed in the area frequently left native groups extremely vulnerable to the influx of foreigners because they could not form a unified resistance. The gift-giving process also played an integral role in reshaping the sociocultural and political landscapes of Sonoma, by privileging some groups/individuals over others as well as in forging new alliances. Gift were repaid under obligation, which set the stage for the domination and increased abuse of native populations during the 1800s.<sup>76</sup>

Missionized Indians often danced on a double edge sword, so to speak. Like the Métis, those of mixed heritage on Mexico's Northern Frontier frequently found themselves trapped between two worlds, native and non-native, not fully accepted by either group. Missionized Indians commonly played a role in attaining other converts. Theoretically,

---

<sup>76</sup> Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*, 29.

they could also hold quasi-official roles and attain limited citizenship that allowed them to serve as teachers, preachers, and disciplinarians over other Native Americans. Here the belief was that civilized natives would stand in for real colonists securing the territory; Spain/Mexico often lacked colonists.

By the 1800s entry and egress into California by foreigners was much like an unmeted turnstile; its remote geographic location precluded reliable law enforcement. Beyond groups of American merchants, there were four main groups of foreigners in the region and each had their own reason for being there which greatly influenced attitudes towards and treatment of the local inhabitants. Spanish/Mexican contingents came to colonize, evangelize, and civilize the region and its inhabitants. The economic ventures of the French, Russian, and English (although by no means benevolent) primarily utilized Native Americans as quasi-business partners, a sharp contrast to the Catholic Church and Spain/Mexico who viewed Indians in terms of conversion and a feudalistic labor pool, respectively. Clearly, seclusion, diversity, and personal ambitions played an integral role in development of the region.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE OUTLAW MISSION, 1823-1833

The Sonoma Mission was definitely not the typical mission in fact it was inimitable. The unique circumstances of its founding in 1823 made it an “Outlaw Mission.” The mission’s distance from the central governing power in Mexico and regional authorities permitted abuse and illegal actions to continue unchecked due to a lack of oversight. Sonoma’s distance from authority often provided those in the region with greater independence than those closer to central powers but it also reduced or delayed the response time from the central government in Mexico City when issues did arise. This was especially true in the years and decades following Mexican Independence from Spain in 1821, a period when Mexico was frequently in a state of political and economic turmoil fettered by civil unrest that precluded proper oversight of the distant Northern Frontier.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter examines the founding of the “Outlaw Mission” (Sonoma Mission) as well as the trials and tribulations faced by neophytes and padres alike between 1823 and 1834. The Sonoma Mission was the final and most northern border mission in the Mexican period whose founding was under the guise of impeding Russian encroachment. The section begins with Fray José Altimira’s unauthorized expedition to establish the Sonoma Mission, his subsequent disputes with Church officials and his pleas to the

---

<sup>1</sup> For example, between 1824 and 1857, Mexico experienced the following changes within their hierarchies of their governing institutions: 16 presidents, 33 provisional chief executives, 49 national administrations, 53 leaders of the War Ministry, 57 Foreign Ministry changes, and 61 changes in the Justice Ministry. Mark Wasserman, *Everyday Life And Politics In Nineteenth Century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2000), 46. For a brief sociopolitical timeline of events (in Mexico), see Appendix B.

governor to compel the mission's construction. This chapter also considers how the final accord substantially altered native hierarchies, to include the abuse neophytes endured, the 1824 and 1826 uprisings that led to the burning of the mission, the egress of Fray Altimira and subsequent padres. The chapter also provides a window into the daily life of the neophyte.

The chapter examines the founding of the "Outlaw Mission" as well as exploring the changes in native and non-native interactions, both within and beyond the mission walls: creating new alliances, shifting economic and political relationships, the degradation of ecological landscapes, as well as glimpses of traditional lifestyles that continued under the watchful eyes of the padres. It also demonstrates the despotic nature of some padres at the Sonoma Mission who alternately used discipline to "civilize" and Christianize the neophytes or exploit them for their own purposes. Personal ambitions and lack of oversight due to the mission's distance from central authority and geographic isolation allowed a program aimed at assimilation and Christianization of the native inhabitants to become an unusually abusive process. Despite the cruel and sometimes deadly conditions at the "Outlaw Mission," many Mission Indians chose to preserve at least some remnants of their traditional cultural practices rather than acculturate to the new world the outsiders were fashioning.

The factors that played a role in the founding of the Sonoma Mission included the region's seclusion, the growing Russian presence to the north, and the additional the personal autonomy that individual such as officials, soldiers, and padres frequently experienced in the far reaches of the northern frontier, for example the personal ambitions

of Fr. José Altimira.<sup>2</sup> The Sonoma Mission was founded July 4, 1823 without the formal permission of the Church and without legal authorization from Mexico. It was not until after Altimira established the site for the new mission that he actually wrote to his California superiors to inform them of his actions and his plans to usurp the indigenous populations of the other Bay Area missions in order to fill the Sonoma Mission. By the time, his superiors in San Juan Bautista received and produced a response to Altimira's letter it was August 23, 1823. This increased response time allowed Altimira to begin construction at the new mission site.

According to Franciscan Zephyrin Engelhardt, Altimira's planning for this project actually began in 1821 when Altimira commenced the transfer of neophytes from San Rafael to his current post of Mission Dolores, also called San Francisco de Asís.<sup>3</sup> The notion here was that Mission San Rafael was in poor condition and endemic illness made the transfer necessary, Altimira later attempted to use the same premise in juxtaposition with other factors to attain converts for the Sonoma Mission. Fray Altimira did not have the consent of the Church or Mexico to found the new mission but he did have the direct approval and encouragement of temporary acting Governor Luis Antonio Argüello.<sup>4</sup> In fact, on March 23, 1823, Altimira presented a document with the blessing of the governor to the territorial legislature at Monterey, requesting the transfer of the neophytes from

---

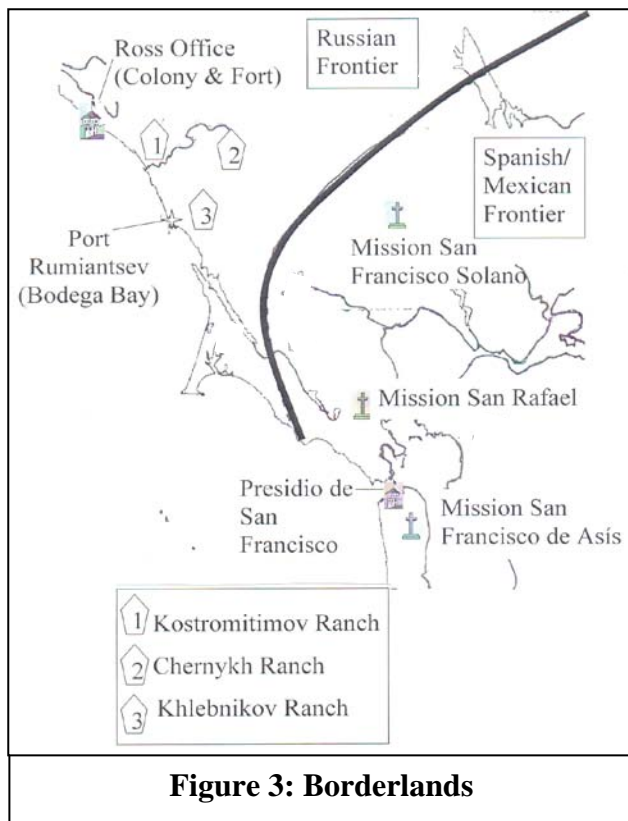
<sup>2</sup> Altimira to Senan, San Francisco, July 10, 1823, California Mission Document Collection 2450 (San Barbara Mission Archive Library), (hereafter: CM+document number, SBMAL: [CM2450, SBMAL]). It is worth noting that Fr. Engelhardt's descriptions of the events were much more colorful, at times, vilifying Altimira; Engelhardt's prose has a propensity to waver from one extreme to another (for example, from the idyllic to the dreadful in passionate, colorful tones).

<sup>3</sup> Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California: San Francisco and San Francisco Dolores*, (Chicago, Ill: Franciscan Herald, 1924), 164-165.

<sup>4</sup> Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 165.

Mission San Francisco and Mission San Rafael to his new mission in Sonoma.

While the territorial legislature approved the construction of the mission at the behest of the governor, they had no legal authority to do so. Thus, their approval was not legal or binding; nor was it theoretically executable without the approval of authorities in central Mexico.<sup>5</sup> California's distance from Mexico, in this case, afforded the governor, the Monterey legislature, and Fray Altimira greater autonomy than those closer to central powers due to delays in communication and subsequent intervention when a problem did arise. Moreover, the geographic isolation of the northern most missions, in relation to



Altimira's Franciscan superiors, afforded Altimira less oversight and scrutiny over his actions.

Altimira used the growing Russian presence in the north to swell Governor Argüello's fear of increased Russian incursion into the region as a rationale for the new mission.<sup>6</sup> The increased Russian presence amplified the number of indigenous people seeking asylum at Fort Ross from the

<sup>5</sup> Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 165; Maynard J. Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848: A Biographical Dictionary* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1969), 7.

<sup>6</sup> Altimira to Argüello [CM2454, SBMAL]; Altimira to Argüello [CM2474, SBMAL].

overzealous Spanish and later Mexican padres, see Fig. 3.<sup>7</sup> This desire, however, brought its own issues. In 1818 F. F. Matiushkin, a Russian voyager on the science vessel *Kamchatka*, recorded the details of his visit to the region in his personal diary.<sup>8</sup> From Port Rumiantsev, today's Bodega Bay, Matiushkin wrote that the "Spanish had expanded their hunt for people to Tomales Bay itself. By now all the Indian bands [have] fled for safety under the guns of Fort Ross or to Port Rumiantsev, where they think that four falconets and three Russians can defend them from the Spanish." Matiushkin added that Ivan Kushov, the manager of the Ross Office (commonly called Fort Ross), had persuaded the Indians to inhabit "the forest and mountain gorges and then to attack the Spanish unexpectedly."<sup>9</sup> While it is clear, from other period sources, that numerous natives did flee the region and that many did indeed request asylum from the Russians, whether Kuskov wanted the Indians to ambush and kill the Spanish is another question.

Kuskov's official correspondence provided a slightly different narrative than the one suggested by Matiushkin. Kuskov reported that he did not want trouble with his Hispanic neighbors, so he encouraged "native peoples displaced by the construction of Mission San Rafael and Mission San Francisco Solano [Sonoma Mission]...to relocate along the southern boundary of the colony, providing a buffer between the Russians and their

---

<sup>7</sup> Altimira to Luis Arguello, [CM2454, SBMAL]; Altimira to Luis Arguello, [CM2474, SBMAL]; F. F. Matiushkin, "A Journal of a Round-the-World Voyage on the Sloop Kamchatka, under the Command of Captain Golovin," trans. Stephen Watrous, *Fort Ross Interpretive Association Newsletter* (Sept-Oct): 5-6; Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California, 2005), 155;

<sup>8</sup> Matiushkin, "Journal of a Round-the-World," 5-6; Taylor & Francis, Ltd., "Russian Sources for the Writing of Pacific History" *The Journal of Pacific History* 17, no. 4 (Oct., 1982): 218-221.

<sup>9</sup> Matiushkin, quoted in Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*, 155.



Hispanic neighbors.”<sup>10</sup> Most likely, both aspects of Kuskov and his tactics have merit; it would not have been wise for Kuskov to write in an official record that he suggested the Indians should attack the Spanish, whilst an unofficial discussion may have revealed a different discourse. While it is possible that Kuskov asked the Indians to ambush the Spanish since the Spanish officially expelled the Russians in 1814—a task the Spanish could not complete due to their lack of manpower—it seems highly unlikely that Kuskov would promote hostilities given the fort’s minimal defenses.

Reminding Governor Argüello of these types of situations, Altimira hoped to stimulate support for his new mission. Although it was true that a single “mission could hardly serve as a military bulwark... it could substantiate a claim to territory” thus minimizing Russian encroachment and at the same time asserting Mexican sovereignty over the region.<sup>11</sup> It is worth noting that within months of the Mission’s founding, Altimira began corresponding and conducting trade with the Russians; the Russians bestowed gifts on the new Mission before the Franciscan Order did.<sup>12</sup> In sum, Altimira played on Argüello’s fear of foreign encroachment to promote his new mission.<sup>13</sup> Altimira’s ecclesiastic superiors, on the other hand, continued to withhold their endorsement of the new mission site.<sup>14</sup> Thus in many ways the founding of the Sonoma

---

<sup>10</sup> Ivan Kuskov, in quoted Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*, 135.

<sup>11</sup> Charles Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (NY: MacMillan, 1936), 431.

<sup>12</sup> 1823 *informe*, José Altimira, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL; Kirill Khlebnikov, *The Khlebnikov Archive: Unpublished Journal (1800-1837) and Travel Notes (1820, 1822, and 1824)*, (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1990); Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*.

<sup>13</sup> Altimira to Arguello [CM2454, SBMAL]; Altimira to Arguello [CM2474, SBMAL].

<sup>14</sup> Altimira to Señán [CM2450, SBMAL].

Mission was a venture of the state rather than the Catholic Church.

Governor Argüello urged Altimira to begin the expedition to found the new mission's site right away and not wait for his superiors' permission. The expedition began on June 25, 1823 at the behest of Governor Argüello, and no doubt due to Altimira's personal desires, which were clearly visible in his correspondence. Accompanying Altimira on the journey were Deputado Francisco Castro and Lieutenant José Sánchez, who had nineteen armed men under his command.<sup>15</sup> On the second day of the journey, their midday camp was in Olompali country. Altimira referred only to the proud people who once occupied the territory before the mission process began in earnest.<sup>16</sup> By 1823, the majority of the Olompali had been captured and taken to various missions. Those that were still free may have been in hiding, or more likely, given the time of year, were off hunting or gathering various eatables and supplies not readily acquired in the region, for

---

<sup>15</sup> Robert S. Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission: San Francisco Solano de Sonoma: The Founding, Ruin and Restoration of California's 21st Mission* (Fresno; CA: Valley Pub., 1975), 5. Zephyrin Engelhardt wrote that the group contained Fr. José Altimira, Francisco Castro and "20 soldiers" in Altimira's diary of the expedition does not list the number of travelers in the party. Beyond the standard provisions, the expedition and its animals also unknowingly transported a multitude of foreign pathogens to the countryside they traversed, which often had devastating affects on indigenous populations. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Franciscans in California* (Harbor Springs, Michigan: Holy Childhood Indian School, 1897), 446.

According to James A. Sandos visual sightings and reports from in Alta California suggest that in 1769, 65,000 Indians and 150 Spanish made up the population in Alta California; Erick D. Langer and Robert H. Jackson reported 90,000 in the pre-contact period. The visual count of Native Americas during the 1820-1830s in California revealed 3,400 of mixed heritage and about 22,000 of full Native America ancestry. By 1832, there were 4,000 of mixed heritage and less then 17,000 Indians in California. James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University, 2004), 1; Erick D. Langer and Robert H. Jackson, "Colonial and Republican Missions Compared: The Cases of Alta California and Southeastern Bolivia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 2 (April 1988): 289, (respectively).

<sup>16</sup> Fray José Altimira, *Diario de la expedición con el objeto del territorio de examen para el nuevo planta de la misión en N.P.S. ..Alta Califa...25 de Junio de 1823 de la Alta Califa*, beginning June 23, 1823 [CM2453, SBMAL], día 2 (hereafter: Altimira, *Diario*).

example, salmon fishing or an assortment of coastal foodstuffs.<sup>17</sup>

By nightfall, Altimira and his party were camping on the Petaluma plains with eight to ten Petaluma Indians who were trying to evade Indians from the Libantioyomi Rancheria (village). The issue here was that the Petalumas were hunting in Libantioyomi territory; both groups were extremely micropatriotic and protective of their land and resources.<sup>18</sup> The Petaluma Indians were successful in their ruse. They avoided confrontation with the Libantioyomi and managed to kill a bear before they departed.<sup>19</sup> Both the Petaluma Indians and Altimira's expedition were in fact trespassing upon and pilfering from the Libantioyomi's resources; however, Altimira had been welcomed while the Petalumas were hunted. This likely had something to do with earlier gift-giving processes, which allowed Altimira safe passage and possibly the right to hunt on Libantioyomi land.

At ten o'clock in the morning on the third day, the expedition reached Sonoma and prepared camp.<sup>20</sup> They spent the afternoon exploring and assessing the region's resources, as well as killing bears and other creatures that they deemed "offensive to humans."<sup>21</sup> Altimira and his party failed to recognize that they were decimating local food sources without providing compensation. They continued surveying the region for several more

---

<sup>17</sup> Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena, 1995); Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*.

<sup>18</sup> Altimira, *Diario*, día 2.

<sup>19</sup> Altimira, *Diario*, día 2.

<sup>20</sup> Altimira, *Diario*, día 3; Smilie, 6. Smilie lists the time of arrival at 11 am, which does not match the diary of the expedition.

<sup>21</sup> Altimira, *Diario*, día 3.

days, passing through Suisun territory where they met with various indigenous groups. On June 30, 1823, Fray Altimira and his party met a group of twenty-four people from the Lybártos Rancheria; during this meeting, indigenous emotions ran the gamut. To help alleviate the tension and fear, Altimira presented trifling gifts to the natives from the Lybártos Rancheria. In grand style, compared to earlier periods, Altimira bestowed gifts of meat, cotton shirts, and glass beads on the Lybártos.<sup>22</sup> By giving these gifts to individuals and groups, the padre changed the status of both the individual and their associated group because those people now had items of status and alliance that others did not.<sup>23</sup>

In earlier periods, padres who traversed the region stopped at rancherías, giving the headman glass beads and an article of clothing while others in the group received only glass beads.<sup>24</sup> As many padres suggested in their writings, the gift-giving process had a dual meaning. First, the gift was to convey the padres' peaceful intention. Secondly, it functioned as a means of opening communication with various groups, allowing for safe passage through the territory as well as new baptisms.<sup>25</sup> On occasion, curious Indians

---

<sup>22</sup> Altimira, *Diario*, día 6.

<sup>23</sup> A vast array of actors (padres, fur traders, travelers, and so on) employed the process gift giving the Americas to open lines of communication, trade, assure safe passage, and to help foster new alliances. From the chronicles of padres and travelers to the journals of fur traders, the astute reader will find countless references to the importance and reasons for giving gifts as well as the long-term obligations inferred by the process. Some of the compelling examples come from fort journals/logs that often clearly state the importance of giving gifts for safe passage and in elevating the receivers status within the indigenous group/community, as well as a tool for future communication, to promote trade and foster new alliances; for example, *The Fort Langley Journals, 1827-30* edited by Morag Maclachlan (Vancouver: UBC, 1993), 11.

<sup>24</sup> Fray Francisco Palou, *La Vida de Junípero Serra* (Ann Arbor; MI: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), 212.

<sup>25</sup> Herbert Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, v.1-5 (Berkeley: University of California, 1930); Fray Juan Crespi, *missionary explorer on the Pacific coast, 1769-1774*, edited by Herbert Bolton (New York, AMS, 1971); Peter Masten Dunne, S.J., *Black Robes in Lower California*, trans. by Herbert Bolton (Berkeley: University of California, 1952); Pedro Fages, *Expedition to San Francisco bay in 1770, diary of Pedro Fages*, ed. by Bolton. (University of California, Berkeley, 1911); Palou, *La Vida*; Luis Sales, O.P,

followed along behind the travelers to observe and to attain more gifts, frequently resulting in new neophytes.<sup>26</sup>

On July 3rd, Altimira and his party returned to Sonoma and prepared for the next day when they would consecrate the site for the new mission, a day that Altimira considered worthy of a festival. They constructed a crude altar and a provisional cross from redwood to prepare for the celebration. According to Altimira, the cross measured seven *varas* in length by three *varas* in breadth at the arms.<sup>27</sup> They blessed and consecrated the site that had once been the home of the Sonoma Indians by planting the Holy Cross. At that moment, the troops discharged a volley of gunfire while Altimira and his two neophytes sang their praises toward the cross.<sup>28</sup>

Unfortunately, Altimira did not record the reactions of the curious Indians who watched from a distance, leaving one to wonder what the images meant to each of the onlookers given their lack of exposure to Catholicism and its rituals. Did they understand the meaning of the songs, the altar, the veneration of the Holy Cross, or the volley of gunfire during the consecration? Based on what we know of indigenous cultures in the

---

*Observations On California, 1772-1790*, trans. by Charles N. Rudkin (Los Angeles, CA: Dawson's Book, 1956).

<sup>26</sup> Jackson, *Savages to Subjects*; Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans*; Virginia Marie Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2001); Sandos, *Converting California*; Steven Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2005).

<sup>27</sup> Altimira, *Diario*, día 10. The exact measure of the *vara* (plural *varas*) changed over the years; on average, a *vara* is a distance that spans 33 inches. Needless to say, Altimira's cross would have been an extremely large, leaving one to wonder if these figures might have been slightly an inflated, or perhaps Altimira's seven was meant to be a four, the latter seems the more likely. For more on measurement see; Kenneth Pauley, "Weights & Measurements in California's Mission Period: Part I – Linear Measurements," and "Weights & Measurements in California's Mission Period: Part 2 – Area Measurements," *California Mission Studies Assn. Articles*. [www.ca-missions.org/](http://www.ca-missions.org/) (accessed April 14, 2007).

<sup>28</sup> Altimira, *Diario*.

area, there is little doubt this imagery fostered a myriad of different impressions and reactions depending on the onlookers' familiarity with Catholicism, ranging from a basic understanding of the ritual to utter confusion.<sup>29</sup>

Given the linguistic and ideological barriers between the cultures, learning and witnessing aspects of the new faith often created confusion within indigenous populations. The onlooker likely understood the consecration ceremony as a sacred ritual. Beyond that, as James Lockhart has suggested, their interpretation of the event probably varied greatly. For instance, the dedication of the ground using the redwood cross may have served as a lesson on the interconnectedness of the life force of the tree and humanity (a common aspect of indigenous cosmology) rather than the Catholic philosophy of the cross.<sup>30</sup> Others might have believed that the ritual was a prerequisite for a safe journey, similar to rituals some Native Americans performed prior to departing on a hunting or fishing trip. Thus, each viewer, as Lockhart suggested, would have interpreted the festival, the cross, the

---

<sup>29</sup> James Lockhart argued that, "Each [party] could view Indian town government, the monastery complexes, mural painting, land tenure, and many other phenomena of the post conquest" world. Each person then would be seeing or experiencing the same object differently, within their "own frame of reference." James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* CA: Stanford University, 1992), 445; James Lockhart, ed. and trans., *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993), 5; Lousie M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona, 1989), 7, 188; Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (NJ: Princeton University, 1984), 286-354.

<sup>30</sup>A. L. Kroeber, *The Religion of the Indians of California* 4, no. 4 (University of California Publications American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1907); Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Tree of Death, Tree of Life: A Lesson About the Cross from The Psalmody Christiana* (Christian Psalmody), trans. by Arthur J. O. Anderson (Salt Lake: University of Utah, 1993), 147. The lesson was based on the *First Psalm*. It charged the indigenous listeners to "venerate of 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." Ibid. Also see; Stephanie Wood, "The Cosmic Conquest: Late-Colonial Views of the Sword and Cross in Central Mexican Títulos" *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 176-195; Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2003).

volley of gunfire, and the singing from within his or her own cognizance and experience.

### Reporting the Unethical Act

Altimira and his party left that day to return to the San Francisco *presidio*. Once there, Altimira had to explain his unethical and unlawful actions of founding the new mission to his Franciscan superiors, who had previously denied his request to establish the mission. This began a flurry of letter writing as Altimira scrambled to defend his actions. Fray Altimira had broken his Order's chain of command by asking acting Governor Argüello for permission to build the Sonoma Mission. Sidestepping the chain of command was viewed as unethical and a violation of one's vows.<sup>31</sup> Proper comportment after the initial denial would have been to petition the Franciscan ecclesiastical college and council in Mexico and, as a last resort, the central government in Mexico. Altimira, however, did not avail himself of these options.

On July 10, 1823, unaware that Local Father President José Francisco de Paula Señan had died, Altimira sent a letter attempting to rationalize his behavior. Although most travelers and other observers did not concur with his assessment, Altimira claimed that conditions at Mission Dolores and San Rafael Arcangel were so deplorable that the new mission was necessary to ensure the health and welfare of the neophytes.<sup>32</sup> Altimira

---

<sup>31</sup> De Sarria to Altimira, San Juan Bautista, August 23, 1823 [CM2472, SBMAL]; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 179-183.

<sup>32</sup> Wood, "Cosmic Conquest," 176-195. Most of the observers from the 1820s viewed at times viewed the Mission as poor but little mention was given to the state of the buildings or other affairs. Those who viewed the Mission after the 1836 the Hayward Valley earthquake tended to report that the mission was falling apart. Consider Titian Ramsay Peale who viewed Mission Dolores in 1841 that "nearly all in ruin, but 50 Indians are left who are the 'picture of poverty.'" Titian Ramsay Peale, *Diary of Titian Ramsey Peale: Oregon to California, overland journey, September and October, 1841*, trans. by Clifford Merrill Drury, intro. and bibliography by Carl S. Dentzel (Los Angeles, California: Glen Dawson, 1957), 76.

charged that the padres from Mission San José were forcibly seizing the Indians from the *Norte Este regionales* (northeastern regions) to take to San José. Moreover, he declared that San Rafael's participation in the process was a clear violation of the agreement for the mission's independence contract. In his written communication, Altimira attempted to portray San Rafael as unfit to promote his new mission in Sonoma.<sup>33</sup> While Altimira hoped for approval from his superiors, he clearly stated in his correspondence that if he did not receive authorization he would pack his bags and return to Europe with great haste.<sup>34</sup>

Altimira received a reprimand in reply. After discussing the issue of the mission's unlawful founding with Fr. Estévan Tápis and Narciso Durán, Fr. Vicente Francisco de Sarriá wrote to Altimira, chastising him for his insolence.<sup>35</sup> Tápis and Durán believed that in many ways Altimira's actions had nullified the "spiritual function of [his] ministry."<sup>36</sup> Not only did Altimira break his Order's chain of command, he placed envy and greed into the equation as he openly longed for what he did not have (the mission). This also called into question his vow of poverty. Altimira's behavior (the unlawful founding of the mission) and his attitudes were in opposition to what was acceptable during the period, as his correspondence with his superiors and the governor clearly revealed.<sup>37</sup> Overall,

---

<sup>33</sup> Altimira to Señán, [CM2450, SBMAL]. They dispersed the natives into Missions San Rafael and San Jose. Independence meant that San Rafael's status changed from *asistencia* (sub-mission) of San José, to a full or self-sufficient mission.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, [CM2450].

<sup>35</sup> De Sarria to Altimira, [CM2472, SBMAL]. Narciso Durán was the new Father President of the Franciscans in the region. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 182-3.

<sup>36</sup> De Sarria to Altimira, [CM2472]; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 179-180.

<sup>37</sup> Duran to Arguello, San Jose, July 12, 1823 [CM2451, SBMAL]; Altimira to Señán, [CM2450]; Altimira, *Diario*; Altimira to Arguello, [CM2454, SBMAL]; Altimira to Arguello, [CM2474, SBMAL].



Altimira was hardly the ideal candidate to manage a mission. His superiors ordered him to stop work on the project.

Altimira promptly responded by sending a letter to Governor Argüello on August 31, 1823, threatening to leave if the Governor did not intervene and convince the Church to allow the construction of his mission.<sup>38</sup> Altimira wrote, “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.”<sup>39</sup> Altimira challenged the acting Governor’s pride and status as governor by questioning the legality of Argüello’s order for *diputación*.<sup>40</sup>

Governor Argüello retorted that now that the “establishment at Sonoma was a fact, it would continue as a military post,” implying that Altimira could leave and the site would still be useful to him.<sup>41</sup> In other words, Argüello clearly understood that his distance from the Mexican government allowed him increased autonomy and reduced the chance of repercussions from Mexico or the Church. Argüello undoubtedly felt that the fledgling

---

<sup>38</sup> Altimira to Arguello, [CM2474].

<sup>39</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works Of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vol. 2 (San Francisco: History Company, 1888-1890), 501-502. In 1770s, the plan for the Alta California mission chain was to construct twenty-two missions with today’s Sonoma Mission being the twenty-first mission. For this translation, I used Bancroft’s translation because much of this part of Altimira’s letter to Argüello is illegible; Smilie has also used Bancroft’s translation. Here I also render a comment on Richard White’s out of context quote on Hubert Howe Bancroft in his article “The Gold Rush: Consequences and Contingencies,” where White cited Bancroft statement that “for all practical purposes, modern California began in 1848” (*California History* 77, no. 1 [1998]: 45). Contrary to White’s assessment while Bancroft did believe that California’s history started with the Gold Rush—Bancroft did not believe that California’s actual history started with the Gold Rush, merely that the Gold Rush tended to dominate California’s history. Bancroft understood the value of recording oral histories from the mission as well as from others in the Spanish/Mexican Era, otherwise he would not have gone to the expense of sending out so many researchers to interview survivors from the era, children of survivors, or worked so diligently to record said histories, presented later in this piece.

<sup>40</sup> *Diputación*, in this case, called for the closure of San Francisco de Asís and San Rafael, allowing for the transfer of goods and populations to the Sonoma Mission.

<sup>41</sup> De Sarria to Altimira, [CM2472]; Arguello, quoted in Smilie, *Sonoma*, 17-18. Also see; Altimira letter to Luis Arguello on the need for suppressing Mission San Rafael and aggregating its inhabitants to Mission San Francisco Solano [CM2474].

nation would find the site useful given the encroachment of Russians and other foreigners and he was right. Sonoma was to have its own military attachment, formal barracks, a jail, and there was even a plan to construct a full presidio under Vallejo's command.<sup>42</sup>

With the help of Governor Argüello, Fray Altimira finally won the right to build the Sonoma Mission. His plans to usurp the populations of San Francisco de Asís and San Raphael, however, were thwarted.<sup>43</sup> The Franciscan Order only allowed Altimira to take the neophytes that other padres and soldiers had originally taken from the region, unless they volunteered to go. Many volunteered to accompany Altimira because being first in a mission elevated one's standing, whereas being last left them at the bottom of the hierarchy and the mercy of others. As a result, hundreds volunteered to go with Altimira.<sup>44</sup>

Although the exact number of neophytes remains unknown, Randall Milliken's research sheds light on the diversity that existed within the population at the Sonoma Mission. By recasting Milliken's statistical and ethnographic research in table form, it quickly becomes apparent that at least eleven different tribelets comprised the early population at the Sonoma Mission (see Figure 4). The Alaguali and the Petaluma spoke

---

<sup>42</sup> Clarence John DuFour, "The Russian Withdrawal from California," reprinted in *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* 7, no. 3 (September 1933): 240-276; John Hittell, *History of the City of San Francisco and Incidentally of the State of California* (San Francisco, 1878), 89; Andrew Rolle, *An American in California, The Biography of William Heath Davis, 1822-1909* (San Mariano, CA: Huntington Library, 1956), 39.

<sup>43</sup> Altimira to Arguello, n.p., October 4, 1823 [CM2496, SBMAL].

<sup>44</sup> Altimira, 1824 *informe*, Solano, [SMBAL]; Smilie, 22; 1826 age distribution from S. F. Cook, *Population Trends Among the California Mission Indians* (Berkeley: University of California, 1940), 36; Robert H. Jackson "The Dynamic of Indian Demographic Collapse in the San Francisco Bay Missions," *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 148. The exact number and origin of indigenous people who accompanied Altimira is questionable. Altimira's 1823 *informe* for San Francisco Solano noted 482 neophytes at the mission with 95 baptisms the following year. Yet the 1824 *informe* reported 676 Indians; the 1824 *informe* lists 332 from San Francisco de Asís, 153 from San José, 92 from San Rafael and 95 new baptisms, the origin of the latter remain unknown. Cook's assemblage and count of individual mission records showed 636 persons, Smilie claimed 692, and Jackson recorded 634 neophytes at the mission in 1824.

<b>Tribelet</b>	<b>Language Group</b>	<b>Total Baptized</b>	<b>Transfers (T) and Baptisms (NB)</b>	<b>Change in Linguistic or Tribal Association</b>	<b>Other Tribal &amp; Kinship Linkages</b>
Alaguali	Coast Miwok	120	Surviving members		
Alson	Costanoan	Unknown	T		
Bitakomtara *Gualomi	Southern Pomo *C. Miwok	124+	T	Changed linguistic and tribal association	
Canijolmano	Wappo	Unknown	T + NB	Multi-tribe association “Canicaymo”	Caymus, Huilic
Caymus	Wappo	245	T + 5 NB	Multi-tribe association “Canicaymo”	Aloquiome, Canijolmano, Huilic, Mayacm
Chemoco	Wappo & Patwin	34	34 NB		Toenas, Caymus, Aloquiome
Chocoime	Miwok	135	T + NB		Also listed as <i>Chucuiens</i>
Chucumne	Plains Miwok	369	Unknown		
Huiluc	Wappo	170	T + 36 NB	Multi-tribe association *Canicaymo	Canijolmano, Caymus
Petaluma	C. Miwok	125+	T + NB		
Ululato	Patwin	347	T + 67 NB		

**Figure 4: Ethnographic Distribution at Mission San Francisco Solano**

Source : Compiled from Randall Millikan's *A Time of Little Choice* (see bibliography)

dialects of Coast Miwok, the Chucumne were Plains Miwok, and the Alson on the other hand employed Costanoan. In the Wappo language group, there were Canijolmano, Caymus, Huiluc and the Chemoco; the Chemoco also employed Patwin, which was the language of the Ululato. The Bitakomtara, on the other hand, first associated themselves with the Southern Pomo but over time changed their affiliation to Coast Miwok and their name to Guolomi, which would have allied them with the Alaguali and the Petaluma. The Canijolmano, Huilic and Caymus developed a multi-tribal association (Canicaymo) through marriage; the Caymus also had kinship ties with the Aloquiome and Mayacm.

One can only imagine the jockeying and power struggles that occurred as neophytes struggled to find their place in the new hierarchy. The Canicaymo multi-tribal association incorporated people from two language groups (Wappo and Patwin). Overall, the Canicaymo association comprised the majority of the mission population and most of the new baptisms yet it was the Alson, Alaguali, and the Petaluma who had come from the local homelands. Those that joined the Canicaymo comprised the majority of the population and likely held a preponderance of power, whereas the Gaulomi (previously Bitakomtara of the Southern Pomo) changed their tribal association and their language to ally themselves with the Petaluma who came from the region but held reduced power due to their small numbers. The Gaulomi probably chose to change tribal affiliations, group names, and their original language to attain allies, possible marriage partners, and new kinship networks. Here it is apparent that missionization often created enormous shifts in native hierarchies as Native Americans struggled to define their space and place at the new mission. By extension, these changes likely altered their association and acceptance with

their original tribal connection with members outside the mission walls.

### Building a Mission and Life in a Mission

The construction of a mission generally took place in two distinct phases, with the neophytes doing the majority of the work. The first phase consisted of constructing the temporary buildings fashioned to provide rudimentary shelter from the elements and from predators. Their framing consisted of little more than limbs and small trees covered with tules, reeds, or grass thatching with a squared entrance.<sup>45</sup> Here it is important to recall that Sonoma, unlike many of the other missions, only had one padre, a handful of soldiers, and a large contingent of native laborers to build the mission with the majority of the supplies being procured by the native population. The laborers required sustenance and the livestock still required tending during mission construction, which necessitated acquiring additional native labor.<sup>46</sup> While the padres often brought a store of provisions similar to many fur trading posts, these provisions frequently ran short, forcing neophytes to forage for additional sources of sustenance in an increasingly degraded environment divested of its natural resources due to foreign intrusion.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, neophytes frequently found themselves required to share their acquisitions with the padres at the mission.

---

<sup>45</sup> Thomas E. Simondi, (2005) "A Virtual Tour of the California Missions: Mission Materials," <http://missiontour.org/related/adobe.htm> (accessed June 4, 2008); Athanasius Schaefer Multimedia, "Mission San Francisco Solano (Sonoma)," <http://www.athanasius.com/camission/sonoma.htm> (accessed April 5, 2007); California Missions Website, "San Francisco Solano," <http://mission.bgmm.com/sanfran.htm> (accessed March 7, 2007)

<sup>46</sup> See previous footnote; Altimira to Argüello, San Francisco Solano, March 29, 1824 [CM2595, SBMAL]

<sup>47</sup> 1823 *informe*. José Altimira, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL; 1824 *informe*. José Altimira, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL; 1825 *informe*. José Altimira, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL; 1826 *informe*. José Altimira, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL; 1827 *informe*. Buenaventura Fortuny, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL; 1831 *informe*. Buenaventura Fortuny, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL.

The second phase of mission building signaled the construction of permanent mission structures, which more closely resembled the missions we are accustomed to seeing today. During this phase, Indians, as a part of their training, often became responsible for procuring and fashioning the necessary resources. This was conducted under the supervision of soldiers, the padre, or an *acalde*. From the timber employed to frame the building to the clay, soil, sand, and organic materials required for fashioning the adobe bricks and tiles necessary for the construction of the mission, Native Americans bore the main burden of hauling and shaping raw resources into finished materials.<sup>48</sup>

Theoretically, heavy work including hauling the largest adobe bricks was male labor. When there was a shortage of male workers, however, padres found it necessary to enlist women to do labor generally performed by men.<sup>49</sup> While it is doubtful that women were employed to work with raw timber, they were assigned to carry the adobe mud, tiles, and bricks, which could be considered heavy labor when one considers that the heaviest adobe brick weighed roughly fifty-five pounds.<sup>50</sup> The padres viewed hard work as part of the Christianizing and civilizing process, as well as a venue for neophytes to learn skills that would help them survive in the new world the foreigners were fashioning.<sup>51</sup>

Hard labor was but one means of acculturating and assimilating Indians. The padres

---

<sup>48</sup> Robert S. Vessely, "The Resources Required to Build a Spanish-Era Mission Building," edited by Dan Krieger (Proceedings of the 21st Annual Conference of the California Mission Studies Association, 2004): 14-23; Simondi, "Virtual Tour."

<sup>49</sup> José Altimira, in Engelhardt, *Mission and Missionaries*, 165.

<sup>50</sup> Thomas E. Simondi, "A Virtual Tour of the California Missions: Mission Materials," <http://missiontour.org/related/adobe.htm> (accessed June 4, 2008); Sonoma State Historic Park, "Mission San Francisco Solano," <http://www.napanet.net/?7Esshpa/mission.htm> (accessed February 10, 2007).

<sup>51</sup> Contemporary scholars, much like Herbert Bolton, are inclined to view this training as constructing a pool of peasant laborers.

introduced neophytes to a quasi-local government meant to replicate a Spanish/Mexican township (for example the role of *alcaldes*). The padres also initiated a limited study of the arts, letters, and language in various forms of religious instruction. While children over nine and parents went off to perform their prescribed daily duties, the padres turned their focus to the young neophytes, hoping to create a bond between themselves and the young neophytes, which inadvertently often fostered cultural borrowing and/or blending due to linguistic barriers. Friars frequently employed music and dance (both native and non-native) to strengthen the associative bonds with Hispanic culture particularly given the communication issues, which were greatly increased in Sonoma due to the array of languages spoken in the region. The mix of native and non-native dance and music undoubtedly bolstered relationships between natives and non-natives, however, it likely left many confused when it came to what was and was not acceptable. Neophytes were required to renounce their “heathen” ways and were forbidden to perform customary ritual. Yet at times, they were allowed and even encouraged to present ritual dances. These types of inconsistencies may have allowed, and perhaps even cultivated, a blending of faiths for the participant.<sup>52</sup>

In the mission, native men and women had prescribed duties. Their paths rarely

---

<sup>52</sup> These types of results were common in Spanish Missions throughout the Americas. For California see, Hackel, *Children of Coyote*; Maynard Geiger, and Clement W. Meighan, eds, *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815* (California: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1976). For other U.S. regions see, Jim Norris, *After “The Year Eighty”: The Demise of Franciscan Power in Spanish New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2000); Jerald Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeatern Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1999). For various Latin American regions see, Farriss, *Maya Society*; Wood, “Cosmic Conquest,” and, *Transcending Conquest*; Gauvin Baily, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (BC: University of Toronto, 2001); James Saeger *The Chaco Mission Frontier: The Guaycuran Experience* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2000), just to name a few.

crossed except during the early years of mission building when everyone—even the youngest child—helped to make and carry adobe bricks and tiles. Some collected and toted the required resources while others took the raw materials and fabricated the items needed to build the mission. Both men and women rendered tallow and made candles. Sometimes men even helped make the soap. However, men were generally the only ones to cut and haul wood, to learn agricultural and irrigation methods, or to be vaqueros (cowboys) who cared for the livestock. Theoretically, as the mission matured, some men would be taught to work in the tannery, blacksmith shops, warehouses, and even a small Winery. Due to the Sonoma Mission's short span of operations, however, few native men became expert tanners or smithies.<sup>53</sup>

Women, on the other hand, learned the proper duties for women, as prescribed in European society. This included, of course, domestic tasks, to demonstrate proper respect for male authority, and obedience to one's husband; the latter two were extremely important aspects of Hispanic patriarch. They also received lessons in proper European etiquette. Women and girls learned to card, spin, and weave wool and cotton, as well as how to sew and cook. Women and girls also did the majority of the processing and milling of wheat and corn. Milling wheat, in particular, proved an arduous task. While some women threw the wheat between the millstones, others led the horses, mules, or oxen in a circle allowing the millstones to grind the wheat that was later swept from the floor. Women were responsible for removing as much of the animal manure as possible. Corn was ground on one's hands and knees using a traditional *mátate* or mortar and pestle; it

---

<sup>53</sup> Herbert Eugene Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *The American Historical Review* 23, no. 1 (October 1917): 57.



was a difficult task even under the best conditions.

In the early 1800s complaints of female labor abuse against the padres became commonplace, allowing scholars to examine the *de jure* aspects of prescribed women's labor. Perhaps one of the most specific and detailed accounts of acceptable women's labor came from Fr. Tapis and Fr. Cortes, who were stationed at Santa Barbara Mission. In 1800, Tapis and Cortes attempted to defend themselves against charges of labor abuse. In their statement to the court they stated that "pregnant Indian women have never, we repeat, have never been assigned to the Metate for grinding *atole* [usually corn], flour, and other arduous tasks."<sup>54</sup> Rather, they were employed pulling weeds, pounding bark for use in the tannery, separating the wheat from the manure, and working with wool. According to Tapis and Cortes' statements when supply carts were lacking, however, pregnant women carried adobe bricks, tile, and rock; here it is worth noting that Fr. Altimira also wrote of employing women to do heavy hauling when men or carts were in short supply.<sup>55</sup> From this correspondence, one also learns that children nine and older worked as spinners, weavers, and brickers (those that made, transported, or worked with adobe).<sup>56</sup> Thus, neophytes over the age of nine supplied much of the mission's labor. In return, they were generally fed three bowls of *atole* a day. Yet these meager rations would not have provided enough calories (given their workload) to maintain one's health. This caloric shortfall likely contributed to high mortality rates, low birth rates, and the propensity for

---

<sup>54</sup> Reply from Tapis and Cortes to Goycochea's states, Oct. 30, 1800, in Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California, 1976), 93-94.

<sup>55</sup> Fray José Altimira, quoted by in Engelhardt's *Mission and Missionaries*, 165.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

flight and resistance that occurred at the Sonoma Mission.

Unfortunately, observers who wrote about the Sonoma Mission did not provide a complete account of the neophytes' daily regimen. Sonoma was quite different from the idyllic mission that Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt described in the 1890s. Indeed, descriptions and observations of the Bay Area missions in 1785 by the French voyager Jean de Lapérouse reveal a more realistic view of mission life, which can be applied to the Sonoma Mission. For the most part, Engelhardt viewed the padres as paragons of virtue (barring Altimira), whereas Lapérouse expressed mixed feelings about the missions and their padres. Lapérouse disliked the unsanitary conditions at many of the missions, the Indians confinement to the mission, and he objected to padres whose punishments were excessively abusive. Even though each had his own point of view, there was some consistency between Engelhardt's description and Lapérouse's observations of daily routines.

Both agreed that at sunrise the church bell called all those over the age of nine to mass and then each collected their food from the *pozolera* (community kitchen area) subsequently returning to their respective quarters to eat their morning meal of *atole*. Engelhardt's description implied that the neophytes had the freedom to move about as they pleased.<sup>57</sup> Lapérouse's written observations, however, revealed quite a different situation. Lapérouse wrote that a friar or an overseer conducted the neophytes (particularly the women) everywhere; therefore, mission Indians rarely had the freedom that Engelhardt

---

<sup>57</sup> Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 253-255.

suggested.<sup>58</sup>

After breakfast, the bell again called the neophytes to assemble in the main area. No one was allowed to be absent; absenteeism was a punishable transgression. During this meeting men, women, and children received their work assignments. Men and larger boys worked in the field with the livestock or in a shop and a matron supervised girls and single women's duties.<sup>59</sup> Boys and girls five and older received religious instruction and etiquette lessons. Before lessons or work began, each neophyte was to come forward and kiss the padre's hand. Then the punishment of alleged "miscreants" commenced.<sup>60</sup> No outsiders were to be present during punishment; however, on rare occasions there were witnesses (for example, Lapérouse) who wrote about the horrific abuse inflicted on the neophytes.

Neophytes were subject to two forms of punishment: light and harsh. Light punishment was verbally corrective and slightly physical. Those who missed daily mass, for example, were rounded up and pinched on the ears. Other times, padres used a long stick or walking cane to strike the Indians "about the ears and head."<sup>61</sup> There were, of course, worse punishments. Female promiscuity, considered a sign of idolatry, was punishable by whipping, shackling, the stocks, and/or public humiliation.<sup>62</sup> Those

---

<sup>58</sup> Jean-Francois de Galaup Lapérouse, *The First French Expedition to California: Laperouse in 1786*, trans., intro., and notes by Charles N. Rudkin (Los Angeles, CA: Glen Dawson, 1959), 64-65.

<sup>59</sup> Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 253-255.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*.

<sup>61</sup> Sandos, 49.

<sup>62</sup> For more information see; *Friar Diego Miguel Bringas y Encinas, Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain, 1796-97*, trans. and eds. by Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1977); Guadalupe Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days,"

suspected of abortion or infanticide were subject to the aforementioned punishments and the humiliation of carrying around a wooden baby often painted red for a period of a month or more.<sup>63</sup> Guadalupe Vallejo, the nephew of General Mariano Vallejo, believed public punishment was effective.<sup>64</sup> However, each padre imposed his own methods and degrees of punishment as did the *acalde* or soldier who preformed the chastisement, thus, punishment for the same transgression varied in each mission as well as among padres, *acaldes* or soldiers.

Regarding punishment, most padres shared the notion that the Indians needed to atone for their sins here on earth rather than face purgatory or eternal damnation following one's death. Franciscan Francis Guest has argued that whipping was a common punishment during the era, and that native people were accustomed to the whip because some followed the Franciscan's example of self-flagellation.<sup>65</sup> While the neophytes may have been accustomed to whipping themselves, I would suggest that whipping oneself is

---

*Century Magazine*, 41 (Dec. 1890); Virginia Marie Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001).

<sup>63</sup> Padres have employed a wooden doll as a means of humiliation and chastisement over the centuries. For more information see; Bringas y Encinas, *Bringas Reports*; Guadalupe Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission"; Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest*.

<sup>64</sup> Guadalupe Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission," 186.

<sup>65</sup> Also see; Guest, "Cultural Perspectives on California Mission Life," *Southern California Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 6-22; Guest, "An Inquiry into the Role of the Discipline in California Mission Life" *Southern California Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (1989); Palou, *La Vida*, 44 ; Geiger, *Life and Time*, 146-147; Sandos, 35-37. Fray Junepero Serra was originally one of five friars, Palou, Juan Crespi, and two Mallorcans thought to be unfit/unstable but due to the shortage of missionaries, they accepted Serra and his lot. Imitating Saint Francis, Father Serra like many of the other padres was devoted to the Virgin Mary and the practice of self-flagellation. Self-flagellation "was a ritual that involved removing the tunic from the shoulders and striking his bare back repeatedly with a small braided whip, called *la disciplina*, [while] meditating upon Christ's sufferings. To increase pain and further mortify the flesh, Serra embedded pieces of metal into the cords of the discipline as well as into the hair shirt he wore to curb what he regarded as a tendency to commit the sin of pride. Sandos, .35-37.

wholly different from having the whip, the lash, or the cane inflicted on your naked body by someone who likely had their own agenda and biases. Moreover, one's physical ability to whip themselves with a small *disciplina* is quite different than the impact that one would experience from someone else employing a full-sized whip. Lapérouse recalled: "We have seen men and women loaded with irons, [and] others in the *bloc*."<sup>66</sup> He vividly remembered the dreadful sounds that emanated with each blow of the whip. What Lapérouse witnessed was part of everyday life for those conscripted by baptism, but it was rarely seen by those outside the mission and (as one might guess) completely absent from the annual *informes* (reports) of the padres. Lapérouse's writings testify to the abuse, suffering, and regimented lifestyles native populations endured under truly appalling conditions.

Contrary to the law, the punishments inflicted on native populations were usually similar to or harsher than the sentence a criminal received. In 1877, Thomas Savage, an associate of Hubert Howe Bancroft, interviewed Eulalia Pérez at her son-in-law's San Isidro Ranch; purportedly, Pérez was 139 years old at the time of the interview.<sup>67</sup> A soldier's wife, Pérez worked at many different missions primarily supervising the dispensing of food at the *pozolera* (community kitchen). Pérez recalled that many punishments went far beyond the limits of the law.

---

<sup>66</sup> Lapérouse, 64-65. A *bloc* "is a beam split lengthwise in which has been made a hole of the size of an ordinary leg. An iron hinge unites the halves of this beam at one extremity...[it] is fastened with a padlock. This forces him to lie...in a very uncomfortable position" Ibid., 64-65n.

<sup>67</sup> Euladlia Pérez was interview in at the home of Michael C. White (her son-n-law) who was about seventy-five at the time of the interview. Pérez was married and widowed twice to Spanish/Mexican soldiers and for the most part, dearly loved the padres of the missions. She was also the mother of 7 living children, she gave birth 12. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M Senkewicz, trans, eds., *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848*. (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2006) 98, 95.

According to Pérez, less serious crimes might be punished by placing the offender in stocks and/or confining the person to a cell. “When the crime was serious,” however, “they would take the delinquent to the guardhouse” where the offender was whipped.<sup>68</sup> Pérez remembered that the guards sometimes tied the indigenous person to a post like a common criminal and whipped them. In the absence of a post, the guards (at the behest of the padres) tied the “delinquents” to a cannon. Lacking a post or cannon, the punishers employed what Pérez termed as *ley de bayona*. *Ley de bayona*, according to Pérez, entailed placing a shotgun behind the Indian’s knees, tying their hands to the gun, and then the person was whipped.<sup>69</sup> Today, it is hard to imagine anyone tying their child to a pillory post or cannon, or for that matter putting them into the position of *ley de bayona* and then whipping them in front of the rest of the community. However, it was common practice in the missions: it purportedly served as a means to civilize and Christianize the neophytes. Documentation of such brutality, however, is rarely found in mission *informes*. Rather, an *informe* was more of an annual inventory that detailed the mission’s properties, goods, production, building progress, as well as other vital statistics including the number of new baptisms. It was important to have an increase in baptismal rates and to show continued building progress in order to validate the continued support of the mission. The *informe* also reflected on the padre’s ability to manage the mission. Thus listing punishment, resistance, and uprisings in the *informe* could have unforeseen results.

---

<sup>68</sup> Eulalia Pérez, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 109.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

Disease, Fugitivism, and *Informes*: 1823-1826

Fray José Altimira's 1823 annual *informe* on the new mission was brief. An examination of the statistics in Altimira's report quickly reveals that less than four months after its founding nearly one-third of the neophytes no longer resided at the mission. Altimira recorded one Indian burial but did not address where the rest of the neophytes had gone or why they left the mission. Instead, his discourse centered on gifts (or lack thereof) given to the mission. He complained about the lack of customary gifts from his fellow Franciscans, with the exception of the wonderful painting of San Francisco Solano sent by the President Father. Altimira reveled in the generosity of the Russians and their lavish gifts, which included altar cloths, candlesticks, holy pictures, mirrors, vestments, as well as other religious items. Altimira wrote that he hoped to find a bell amongst the many crates he had left to open because to date the mission was still without one.<sup>70</sup>

Altimira's jubilation over the Russian gifts raises serious questions about the need to found the Mission to counter Russian influence. Over the years, the Russians made an effort to satisfy the Franciscans by ordering specialized candles for their religious use, which Kyrill Khlebnikov noted could be no taller than .9 meters with a diameter of four centimeters.<sup>71</sup> Altimira must have been astonished when he finished uncrating the goods sent by the Russians. Not only did the Russians at Fort Ross send more gifts than his fellow Franciscans, they also sent the Mission's first bell.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> 1823 Informe, San Francisco Solano [SBMAL].

<sup>71</sup> Kirill Khlebnikov, *The Khlebnikov Archive: Unpublished Journal (1800-1837) and Travel Notes (1820, 1822, and 1824)*, ed. and notes by Leonid Shur, trans. by John Bisk (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1990), 206-207.

<sup>72</sup> Athanasius, *Mission San Francisco Solano*.

Fray Altimira's annual report of December 1824 did not mention the Russian's gift of a bell, but he did discuss his busy and prosperous year. His production statistics, however, are deceptive because they do not report the amount of seed set aside for the next year's planting. Consider corn for instance, the mainstay of the neophyte populations, which yielded 200 *fanegas* with two *fanegas* retained to plant the following season.<sup>73</sup> Here it quickly becomes apparent that a harvest of 198 *fanegas* would not adequately provide for the neophytes let alone the entire mission population, the *escolta* (guards), their families, visitors, as well as sales to entrepreneurs and travelers.

This underscores the neophytes' lack of food and proper nutrition. Insufficient agricultural production necessitated the neophytes' need to forage for food for survival. Yet this too had become increasingly difficult due to the encroachment of foreigners. While testing of the skeletal remains from the Sonoma Mission is lacking, it is highly likely that they suffered skeletal deformation/degradation due to malnutrition and extensive physical labor given the growing deficiency of indigenous foods and the intense labor requirements.<sup>74</sup>

Missing from Altimira's 1824 report was the fact that he had reached out to the Russians at Fort Ross not only for supplies but, more significantly, for repairs when the Indians burned the mission in May of 1824. Previously, historians recorded only one revolt/uprising at the Sonoma Mission, which occurred in 1826. Robert Smilie and Hubert

---

<sup>73</sup> A *fanega* is a dry weight of measure (in this case) that equals approximately 1.56 U. S. bushels or 4 pecks with each peck being 8 quarts or 537.605 cubic inches; however, a *fanega* is also a land measurement equaling 3.57 hectares or 8.81 acres.

<sup>74</sup> Cook, *Population Trends*; Cook, *The Epidemic of 1830-1833 in California and Oregon* (Berkeley: University of California, 1955); Cook, *The Aboriginal Population of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, California* (Berkeley: University of California, 1957).



Bancroft believed there might have been two uprisings but both stated they could never find proof. However, my research reveals that there were indeed two revolts or uprisings at the Sonoma Mission, contrary to previous historical accounts. The first uprising at the Mission occurred in 1824; the second, more successful uprising occurred in 1826. It not only left the mission in flames, but also necessitated Altimira's flight from the mission in order to save his own life.<sup>75</sup>

Previously historians had not been able to confirm the 1824 uprising. However, the "Travel Notes" of Kirill Khlebnikov verify the 1824 insurrection.<sup>76</sup> Khlebnikov quoted a letter from Altimira to Mr. Schmidt, the manager of Fort Ross. Altimira began by apologizing for his absence on the day of Mr. Etholen and Mr. Schmidt's visit. Altimira explained that while he was "away from the mission, Indians had burnt" it down.<sup>77</sup> He requested the employees of Fort Ross to renovate the tools damaged by the fire.<sup>78</sup> The soldiers who delivered the letter assured Khlebnikov that "the guilty persons had been found and law and order restored."<sup>79</sup>

There are two ironies here. The first was the developing relationship with the

---

<sup>75</sup> Sandos, 159.

<sup>76</sup> The first uprising occurred in June of 1824 according to the Julian calendar, thus the actual rebellion occurred in May. The Julian calendar was twelve days behind that of Gregorian calendar and considering the dateline the rebellion actually occurred in May of 1824, eleven days earlier than the date given in Khlebnikov's journal. Leonid Shur noted the different calendar systems in the preface of *The Khlebnikov Archive: Unpublished Journal* on page 1.

<sup>77</sup> Khlebnikov, *Khlebnikov Archive*, 130. This new evidence might also explain Charles L. Gebhardt's findings on the "razed adobe building...at the northeast corner of the servant's quarters," which he noted in the *Historic Archeology At The Site Of Vallejo's Casa Grande Sonoma, California – 1962* (Salinas, California: Coyote Press [Facsimile Reprint], 1963), 21.

<sup>78</sup> Khlebnikov, *Khlebnikov Archive*, 130. Khlebnikov noted, "the Spanish had large debts" owing to Fort Ross. San Francisco Solano debt was 114 piasters and 2 reals. *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

Russians given the reason for founding the mission, ostensibly to preclude Russian encroachment. Secondly, the first uprising occurred less than two months after Altimira's letter to Governor Argüello stating there was no danger of revolt.<sup>80</sup> One can only imagine why Altimira chose to turn to the Russians for help and denied that he was having problems controlling the neophytes. The most logical reason would seem to be that Altimira did not want to risk further chastisement from his Order or the governor. One would think such information would have been included in his report and letter but it was not; perhaps he feared his superiors and the governor might think him incompetent.

Instead, his *informe* described the archetypal aspects of his progress on the mission. Altimira claimed to have completed a granary, a home for the padres divided into four rooms, a *cuartel* (barracks), and seven houses for the *escolta* (guards) and their families. The structures were constructed from small timbers with thatched tule roofing. Altimira boasted that by April they had completed the first chapel, which measured 10 *varas* wide by 34 *varas* long by 7 *varas* high.<sup>81</sup> Using adobe brick, the neophytes constructed a forge shop and a weaving room; this would have required thousands of bricks and innumerable hours of labor for the malnourished neophytes.

Fray Altimira's 1825 annual report was short and somewhat confusing, mainly because Altimira inventoried new temporary buildings that he listed as completed the previous year, leaving one to wonder if these new buildings replaced those that burned down in the 1824 uprising. In his 1825 report, Altimira once again documented neophyte

---

<sup>80</sup> Altimira to Argüello, San Francisco Solano, March 29, 1824 [CM2595, SBMAL]. Argüello's concern stemmed from resent Chumash revolt.

<sup>81</sup> 1825 *Informe*, San Francisco Solano [SBMAL].

labor. The report detailed the neophytes' work building a house for the padre and his servants with an attached granary as well as thatched houses for the guards, which Altimira listed in both the 1824 and 1825 reports. Altimira reported heavy damage to the forge shop and weaving rooms due to rain but he did not explain rebuilding any of the other shelters. Leaving one to wonder if Altimira was attempting to mislead his superiors regarding the stability of the mission and his ability to manage the establishment, which is entirely likely given his previous unethical behavior and the 1824 uprising.

Beyond constructing the buildings at the mission, the neophytes also labored at Rancho Santa Eulalia building an adobe house and heavily timbered corrals with lean-tos that served as shelters for selected horses and mules in the depths of winter. Rancho Santa Eulalia was one of the first cattle ranchos to become part of the Mission's domain and it served as Altimira's home when he was not at the mission. When Altimira was at the mission, an *alcalde* and/or *mayordomo* (manager) governed the rancho and its inhabitants. The *alcalde* and/or *mayordomo* received superior accommodations, which included a private room, a regular bed, and a decorative *manta* adorning the ceiling over his bed signifying his position as overseer. During Altimira's stays at the rancho, soldiers and *alcaldes* governed the mission in his absence; Sonoma had only one padre, unlike the majority of other California missions, thus his absence may have allowed some greater independence.

Several other issues arise when one examines Altimira's *informe* in depth. The small amount of corn and *frioles* grown, for instance, would hardly have supplied the yearly needs of the native population. Wheat and barley harvests, the staple for the non-native

population and a major commodity for export, were vast in comparison. Adding to this disparity was the percentage of the crop kept for seed as well as the fact that governors frequently required missions to sell their agricultural commodities to merchants, settlers, and the Russians regardless of the missions harvest or need.<sup>82</sup> Another inconsistency in Altimira's report was the number of cattle owned and butchered. The mission only butchered 200 cattle over the year, which left 100 head of cattle unaccounted for in the annual report. The meat from the 200 head of cattle supplied *the escolta* (and their families), herdsmen in outlying areas, as well as the total mission population; meat was issued to neophytes on Saturdays. It is unclear whether the *vaqueros* (cowboys) at the various ranchos had their own meat and staples or if they shared those of the mission. It is also unclear what happened to the missing livestock.<sup>83</sup> These disparities likely raised tension levels at the mission. Observers from the period noted that for the most part neophytes were overworked and underfed, the sanitary conditions of their living quarters were appalling, and personal freedoms were at a minimum. This underscores the dire conditions that neophytes frequently faced at the Sonoma Mission.

It is little wonder the French artist Louis Choris wrote, "I have never seen one smile, I have never even seen one look another in the eye," perhaps a sign of the abuse neophytes endured considering that other accounts painted a similar picture.<sup>84</sup> Neophytes in many

---

<sup>82</sup> Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena, 1995), 87-88.

<sup>83</sup> According to Hubert Howe Bancroft, in 1825 Mission San Francisco Solano listed the following property: 40 Leagues of land in circumference, 35,000 in merchandise, 25,000 in specie, 76,000 head of cattle, 3,000 horses, 79,000 sheep. Bancroft, *The Works*, 34, 218.

<sup>84</sup> Louis Choris, *The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816* (CA: Stanford University, 1932), 91-102.

regions ran away from the missions, and Sonoma was no exception. John Berger described Fray Altimira's behavior at Rancho Santa Euladlia as abusive. Altimira believed discipline was the only way to ensure proper comportment because purportedly natives lacked the ability to reason and could only learn from punishment. "Forsaking moral arguments," Altimira continued to flog and imprison the neophytes until large numbers began to flee.<sup>85</sup> Most of those who fled returned to their villages where troops on punitive missions soon found them. Following their capture, they quickly found themselves back at the mission facing punishment for running away.

Sherburne Cook's research revealed that some Indians who fled from the Sonoma Mission to San Carlos where they stated "that many were running away from San Francisco Solano [Sonoma Mission]" because they did not like Father Altimira.<sup>86</sup> Each had their own reason for fleeing. Some simply missed home. Others complained that Altimira constantly whipped them not only for disobedience but also for crying over the death of a loved one. Many cited hunger, overwork, and fear of disease.<sup>87</sup> Cook's compiled list of explanations for flight speaks loudly of the hunger and abuse neophytes endured under Altimira. Antonio María Osio remembered Altimira had ordered that each Indian should "be given fifty lashes" as punishment for their transgressions, a clear violation of the law and a sign of the abuse occurring at the Sonoma Mission.<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> John A Berger, *The Franciscan Missions of California* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1941), 373.

<sup>86</sup> Cook, *Conflict Between*, 69-72.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Antonio María Osio, *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California*, trans., eds., by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1996), 123.

Echoing the grievances of the neophytes, Fr. Sarriá wrote to Argüello complaining that the “Indians were running away from Sonoma, because they disliked Fr. Altimira’s ways.”<sup>89</sup> Although the complaints were passed to the governor, little was done to ameliorate the problem.<sup>90</sup> Large-scale fugitivism was an issue in the California missions, with the highest flight rate occurring in the Bay Area Missions, which includes the Sonoma Mission.<sup>91</sup> In 1832, for example, the four Bay Area Missions had approximately 1,900 fugitives or an average of 475 fugitives from each mission, compared to San Fernando with 19, San Juan Bautista with 247, or Santa Cruz with 186 fugitives.<sup>92</sup> Running away was only one form of resistance practiced by Native Americans.

According to historians Robert Jackson and Erick Langer, an innovative type of resistance surfaced when the Franciscans began recruiting Yokuts and other groups from the Central Valley. Thus, when the new recruits fled they frequently headed for the Central Valley, which led the authorities to send punitive missions of soldiers and Indian auxiliary troops to capture the fugitives, punishing those who hid the neophytes and forcibly relocating many Central Valley Native Americans into the mission system, much like slave raids.<sup>93</sup> To combat this intrusion, many Native Americans from the Central Valley adapted their lifestyle to include the horse and mounted warfare.

The addition of the horse led to a reorganization of their society, which altered the

---

<sup>89</sup> Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 184; Complete account: Altimira to Luis Argüello, San Carlos, October 18, 1823 [CM2506, SBMAL].

<sup>90</sup> Smilie, 23.

<sup>91</sup> Cook, *Conflict Between*, 56-64.

<sup>92</sup> 1832 Annual Reports, California Mission Documents, SBMAL.

<sup>93</sup> Langer and Jackson, “Colonial and Republican,” 307.

social hierarchy of the region, and in time, enabled them to raid the coastal strip of California due to their increased mobility.<sup>94</sup> Increased mobility also spurred the spread of disease and non-indigenous flora, through the excrement of the horses and their riders.<sup>95</sup> Horses trampled and ate indigenous plants and subsequently transported them to new regions. The introduction of foreign plants and animals had devastating effects on the ecosystem and indigenous food supplies. Archeological research, for example Steven Silliman's findings, reveals the disappearance of some native flora and fauna in the same level where non-indigenous plant and animal remains were first found. These changes had overwhelming consequences for the inhabitants of the region. For example, nearly half of the children under ten did not survive due to malnutrition and disease.<sup>96</sup> Hunger, familial loss and excessive abuse often left the neophytes trapped in dire circumstances that at times provided the venue for revolt and rebellion.

#### Dire Circumstances and the 1826 Rebellion

Given the abuse California native people suffered, many have questioned why they failed to mount a wide-scale rebellion. Scores undoubtedly feared reprisal. Micropatriotic tendencies also played a role, as did the fact that the law prohibited them from owning iron tools or weapons. Furthermore, the law forbade Indians to ride horses unless a padre or

---

<sup>94</sup> For more information see; Cook, *Conflict Between*, 245-251; Sylvia Broadbent, "Conflict at Monterey: Indian Horse Raiding 1820-1850" *Journal of California Anthropology* 1, no. 1 (1974): 86-101; and Robert H. Jackson, "Gentile Recruitment and Population Movements in the San Francisco Bay Area Missions," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 6 no. 2 (1984): 225-239.

<sup>95</sup> Steven M. Fountain, "The Republic of Hell: Raiding Beyond Nineteenth-Century California's False Front" (lecture, University of Washington, Pullman, (October 2, 2008). Also, to be discussed in his upcoming book *Sky Dogs and Empire: Horses and History in North America*.

<sup>96</sup> Langer and Jackson, "Colonial and Republican."

soldier had given them permission.<sup>97</sup> Another dynamic that undoubtedly prevented revolt was the fact that all single females over the age of seven were locked up each evening in the *monjeríos* much like hostages. The knowledge that one's wife, child, or mother was locked up likely discouraged both rebellion and escape.

Like many other padres, Altimira believed that without strict control rebellion was inevitable. Yet rigid control and serious forms of abuse did result in uprisings. The latter was clearly visible in the neophytes' reaction to Padre Andrés Quintana at Mission Santa Cruz, who threatened to introduce a "new metal-tipped whip" that would cut the flesh.<sup>98</sup> Here the natives rebelled. The first two attempts to kill Quintana were foiled but on the third attempt they killed him, first smothering him and then shoving one of his testicles into his mouth, a final insult used by some native groups during the period.<sup>99</sup> Although resistance was common, uprisings, revolts, and total rebellions occurred only in the most desperate of conditions. Sonoma Mission, unlike many other California missions, experienced two revolts in less than two years. This speaks loudly of the abuse neophytes faced and the lack of oversight in the far reaches of the Northern Frontier. In this secluded region, neophytes frequently found themselves at the mercy of the padre, the soldiers, and other outsiders with little to no official intervention on their behalf.

Beyond abuse, neophytes at the Sonoma Mission also suffered from hunger. The

---

<sup>97</sup> A law was promulgated in 1780s barred Indians from riding horses; a special clause allowed Christian Indians to ride horse in the performance of the duties under the supervision of a padre or soldier. In 1790, Governor Fages made it illegal for Indians to have "axes, plow blades, or other weapons or iron tools." Milliken, 98, 101.

<sup>98</sup> "The Assassination of Padre Andres Quintana by the Indians of Mission Santa Cruz in 1812, The narrative of Lorenzo Asisara," trans. by Edward Castillo, *California History* 68, no. 3 (Fall 1989): 116-125.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.



annual report on the status of the mission for 1826 provides further explanation of the rebellion that occurred following the harvest. Robert Smilie suggested that the 1826 revolt was a result of a good harvest (too much food) and excessive idleness; however, analysis of the 1826 *informe* makes it clear that the actual harvest was poor and probably a leading factor in the revolt. Although more corn was planted than in previous years, the harvest was meager and unless the mission received seed from others, the usable amount of corn was only 84 *fanegas*, which was substantially less than previous years. The reduced harvest would have led to a decrease in ingredients for the daily soup as well as a reduction in weekly rations afforded married couples, while the padres and the soldiers enjoyed an abundant wheat harvest. This disparity undoubtedly heightened the tension between the Indians and overseers, and likely, was a major factor in the 1826 revolt.

While Fray Altimira may have been a good business administrator, he was not an agriculturalist; moreover, he had difficulty relating to both his superiors and those entrusted to his care. In early 1826, at least twenty-one neophytes escaped from the Sonoma Mission. The names of many of those who ran away remain unknown because, for the most part, only females were crossed off the mission's registry; the reason for this is unclear.<sup>100</sup> Altimira's success in establishing the mission was short lived. Whether his limited success was due to his fervor for building, his bad temper, or his constant flogging of the neophytes may never be known. A logical assumption would be that all of the

---

<sup>100</sup> Known to have escaped, were "Jacinta Atamapi, a Caymus Indian, who fled with her husband, Bertran Pilawspi; the widow Dionisia Lemancitipi, age forty, who fled with her two children (Ysidoro Cholla, twenty, and Mariia Trinidad Chiaipi, fifteen), and her thirty-five-year-old sister-in-law, Estefania Nanaiamitipi Canijosmo; and a Caymus widow, Venancisa Octola." Bouvier, 100 (original in Bancroft Library, "Padrón de 1826," San Francisco Solano mission, Folder 90, 102).

aforementioned issues played an integral role in his lack of success. Altimira's terrible temper and abusive actions most certainly contributed to the two revolts (1824 and 1826), the latter revolt being the most devastating. With the mission in flames, Altimira fled to the safety of Mission San Rafael.<sup>101</sup> His exodus much like his entrance influenced and changed the sociocultural hierarchy.

Changing the padres in a mission often caused discontent among the neophyte population and altered the mission hierarchy because the new padre usually brought his own favorite neophytes, his own servants, and as often as not, changed the *acalde* as well. Fray Buenaventura Fortuny, previously stationed at San José, was assigned to replace the absentee Altimira; however, little is known of the hierarchical changes that accompanied his arrival. On this matter, both Fortuny and observers from the period are silent. However, eyewitness accounts provide windows into other aspects of everyday life in the mission.

In August 1827 Auguste Duhaut-Cilly, a French sea captain and entrepreneur, came to the mission to acquire deer tallow. Fray Buenaventura Fortuny, aware of his impending arrival, sent a group with horses to hasten his journey. Duhaut-Cilly noticed a large herd of deer grazing on the wild green grass that remained in the ravines and among clumps of oak trees sheltered from the summer heat but he was disappointed that he did not see a single bear (a likely explanation was their decrease in numbers due to overhunting).<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> When Fray Altimira arrived at San Rafael, his fellow Franciscans did not welcome him. By January 23, 1828, Fr. Altimira and Fr. Antonio Ripoll had left the country aboard the American brig *Harbinger*. For more information see; Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*.

<sup>102</sup> Auguste Duhaut-Cilly, *A Voyage to California, the Sandwich Islands, & Around the World I the Years, 1826-1829*, trans and ed by August Frugéand Neal Harlow (Berkeley: University of California, 1999), 134, 133.

Nearing the mission, Duhant-Cilly noticed that the mission sat prominently in the middle of an extensive plain protected in the north by mountains and hills with the bay to the south, and streams of fresh water that crisscrossed the land.<sup>103</sup>

Duhant-Cilly favored the padres' model of Christianizing the native inhabitants but he did not always agree with the way some of the padres treated the Indians or their implementation of punitive raids to recover fugitive neophytes.<sup>104</sup> He recalled there were "few happier sites" and believed that one day the mission would prove to be "quite important" as an economic center. At the time of his visit in 1827, however, it was "still of small account." Duhant-Cilly judged that the Sonoma Mission was truly poor because Fortuny offered them only Indian cornmeal cakes and dried beef strips.<sup>105</sup>

Fortuny's 1827 *informe* described a fair harvest; slightly better than Altimira's 1824 and 1825 reports. However, Duhant-Cilly noted that an "intractable resentment" had developed between mission and non-mission Indians during the harvest because Fortuny hired non-Christianized Indians for extra labor during harvest periods. Duhant-Cilly estimated that during his visit two to three hundred "wild Indians" came to the Sonoma Mission with their wives and children. They camped in front of the padre's quarters where they built temporary huts to live in during the harvest season. Mission Indians

---

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 135.

<sup>104</sup> August Fruge and Neal Harlow (translators of Duhant-Cilly's notes) suggested that Duhant-Cilly's story of the massacre was a retelling of F. W. Beechey's eyewitness account of what happened at Mission San José. I, however, am not so convinced because Alférez José Antonio Sánchez was attached to Presidio de San Francisco during the period in which Sánchez served as one of the major defenders of the Bay Area mission region. Moreover, there are numerous records connecting Sánchez's military service/exploits to the Sonoma region from its founding, through the early years and in well into secularization with later years with Mariano Vallejo and Chief Solano, hence his account of the two murders may be true but further research is on the subject necessary before a definitive answer can be presented.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 135-136.

undoubtedly resented the proximity of non-mission Indians to the padre; this placed the independent natives closer to the head of the mission hierarchy and their spiritual leader.

Duhaut-Cilly described the “wild Indians” as “wretched” creatures. The men were nearly naked and the women covered themselves in a pest-ridden cloak of “rabbit skin twisted into strips and sewn together.”<sup>106</sup> He observed that males employed traditional hunting tools (bow and arrow) to hunt beaver or stags, while “their sweethearts” engaged in hunting “succulent eatables such as, mussels.” Duhaut-Cilly further noted that the women often traded their catch for “a bon-bon box of mints.”<sup>107</sup> Following the harvest, the non-mission Indians received a small quantity of the harvest at which time they could leave if they wished.<sup>108</sup> Legally, neophytes could not leave without the express permission of the padre and a pass. Additionally, neophytes received reduced compensation for their labor because work was considered part of their duty and training. The relative freedom of independent Indians and their superior compensation certainly played a role in the tension between the two groups.

Duhaut-Cilly related that attaining peace with the various tribes was extremely difficult because “if you make peace with one village, the neighboring groups regard those as traitors and join together to destroy them.” Moreover he believed “that the commandants of the presidios [were] pursuing a bad policy” by conducting punitive raids which he considered as “acting against humanity” because it created fear and mistrust.<sup>109</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Duhaut-Cilly, 139.

This in turn spawned even greater issues including a greater chance of attacks on missions and travelers, not to mention the loss of revenue that would result from the upheaval.

During his stay, Duhuat-Cilly also had the opportunity to observe how mission Indians hunted deer, gathered tallow, and the extreme waste the process created. Riding horses, they employed a lasso to catch the creature, and then pulled it down in such a manner that the antlers pierced the body and broke its neck leaving the hunter to continue in the pursuit of more game. By employing horses and lassos to hunt, mission Indians were able to kill far greater numbers of deer than in previous periods. One boy, who was about sixteen, took twenty-three deer during the hunt.<sup>110</sup> Once the fat was removed, the flesh was abandoned.<sup>111</sup> One can only imagine the dreadful smell as carcasses rotted in the baking sun, not to mention the exponential depletion of traditional foods sources.

Duhaut-Cilly mistakenly believed the young neophyte who killed the twenty-three deer would receive payment for the fat that would render ninety-six *arrobas* of tallow, worth approximately thirty-eight hundred piasters.<sup>112</sup> Unfortunately, it was the missionaries—not the neophytes—received the profit. It was rare for neophytes to receive any formal payment because it was considered their duty and part of the civilizing process thus a lesson rather than formal employment. Most missions paid seasonal Indian workers in goods, while others employed the use of scrip. Much like company or fort scrip, mission scrip was redeemable for goods at the mission or the presidio.<sup>113</sup> Unlike the Indians

---

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 136-137.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 137. An *arroba* equals approximately 25 pounds.

<sup>113</sup> Cook, *Conflict Between*, 316-322; J. R. Gibson, "The Maritime Trade of the North Pacific Coast,"

dealing with fur trading posts, who at times received a credit or an advance on future returns, Indians who worked seasonally at the missions did not receive advances.<sup>114</sup>

As a tool to promote trade, padres often encouraged the neophytes to perform traditional dances wearing their customary accouterments. Traditional dancing also served as a means to entertain foreigners and locals alike. In fact, Mariano Vallejo was relatively “addicted to this form of entertainment.”<sup>115</sup> The padres often allowed indigenous practices to continue, if they did not offend their concept of Christian decency or if it served their needs, gaming is a prime example. Prior to missionization, gaming often defined one’s placement within the social hierarchy. Similar to pre-mission periods, both men and women participated in gaming in the missions. Some records indicate they played together while other records suggest the games were gender specific. Although traditional forms of gaming continued, it no longer dictated one’s standing in the community in the same way. Gaming also became a popular diversion for travelers, locals, and soldiers. During these cross-cultural interactions, native people often sold and traded their wares to foreigners. The neophytes at the Sonoma Mission continued adapted forms of traditional dances and gaming, often at the behest of the padre to promote trade. However, it is uncertain how the dances and games changed because of missionization or from the influence of white observers. For the most part, however, the trading was between the padres, local

---

in *Handbook of North American Indians: History of Indian-White Relations*, vol 4, ed. W. E. Washburn (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1988), 375-390; P. N. Kardulias, “Fur Production as a Specialized Activity in a World System: Indians in the North American Fur Trade,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 14, no. 1 (1990): 25-60; Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*, 25.

<sup>114</sup> Arthur J. Ray, “The Hudson’s Bay Company and Native People,” in Heizer, *Handbook of North American Indians* 8 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1978): 340-342.

<sup>115</sup> Cook, *Conflict Between*, 153.

entrepreneurs and ship's merchants.

Padres frequently engaged in trade, both legal and illegal. Minor products manufactured by the neophytes at (and for) the Sonoma Mission were “*mantas* [blankets], *terlingas* [clothing], *sayales* [capas], *rebozos* [a women's shawls], *frezadas* [encomendero clothing],” as well as bolts of woolen and cotton fabric.<sup>116</sup> Major trade items, on the other hand, were “hides, tallow, and grain in that order.”<sup>117</sup> Compensation came in many forms. For instance, commodities and goods sold to other missions and presidios resulted in credit slips redeemable in Mexico City through an authorized purchasing agent. The most common items received from Mexico consisted of “prayer books, trade beads, woolen blankets, fine cloth, paper products, cooking spices, and wine, chocolate and rice.”<sup>118</sup> Prayer books not only served as tools for Christianization of the neophytes they provided revenue when sold, usually to local whites and travelers. Blankets were multipurpose. Sometimes they provided warmth for the neophytes but they also functioned as trade items and in the gift-giving process as did the beads. Fine cloth was occasionally part of the gift-giving process but more frequently, it was a trade item or a luxury item for the padre's personal use. These items help to illuminate the activities of the missionaries as well as the disparity in conditions that existed between the padre and neophytes. The list of items received also suggests that missionaries needed to conduct trade to acquire other items required at the mission.

---

<sup>116</sup> Bolton, “Mission as a Frontier,” 59.

<sup>117</sup> Richard Somerset Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793-1843* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 171.

<sup>118</sup> Steven W. Hackel, “Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California,” *California History* 76, no. 2 (1997): 117.

From the earliest days, the padres and others in the northern regions of Alta California conducted illicit trade with the Russians for a multiplicity of items. Padres participated in smuggling and illegal trade with the English and the Americans as well as engaging in a black market system with the Russians at Fort Ross.<sup>119</sup> As Lightfoot put it, “missions remained the primary economic engine” of the frontier especially as populations increased. The mission became a trading post of sorts; a place for travelers and entrepreneurs to buy, sell, and trade various items. Some missionaries even allowed natives to sell their traditional wares. The limited production of traditional goods allowed some neophytes to retain small pieces of their heritage. Unfortunately, it also demarcates a period when Indians became performers and entertainers selling/trading their traditional wares to the curious onlooker, much like tourism.

One can only imagine how the neophytes interpreted the padre’s messages and actions, which were frequently contradictory. Consider the following and its unforeseen ramifications: the padres insisted that Indians acculturate to become civilized, Christians who obeyed the laws. Yet their behavior provided mixed signals by suggesting that it was sometimes acceptable to thwart or circumvent the law. Some padres encouraged Native Americans to perform traditional ceremonial dances to entertain those who came to trade. Much of the trade was illegal. These contradictory messages and actions likely created confusion about proper comportment, as well as providing venues that allowed for the continuation of traditional rituals and customs, and at times, a blending of the two cultures.

Fr. Fortuny drove a hard bargain when it came to trading and he was very

---

<sup>119</sup> Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*, 59.



enthusiastic when it came to building. Fortuny had resumed building at the mission in 1826. During his residency at the mission, with the help of the neophytes, he restored the razed mission buildings and built several new structures, completing at least twenty of the twenty-seven rooms of the mission (see Fig. A5, for 1834 view of Mission). Yet despite the new living spaces, mortality rates increased exponentially between 1825 and 1830. In 1828 overall life expectancy was 4.6 years; by 1830 the average life expectancy in the mission had dropped to 1.4 years.<sup>120</sup>

From the 1700s on, travelers and observers noted the high rate of illness and death in the Bay Area. The most frequent illnesses and diseases were syphilis, chronic tuberculosis, measles, influenza, typhoid, malaria, and smallpox.<sup>121</sup> Typically, diseases spread through contact with infected people, animals, and contaminated goods. Other diseases such as syphilis brought an array of different explanations from observers and scholars of the period that are still debated today.

In 1778 Dr. Rollin, part of Lapérouse's expedition, like many other physicians of the era noted that the Indians in the San Francisco region were constantly afflicted with the venereal disease that he considered to be endemic to the Indians of the region.<sup>122</sup> Other observers and scholars of the period connected the presence and pervasive nature of syphilis in the region to Indian promiscuity; moreover, they blamed its presence in Europe

---

<sup>120</sup> Native neophyte population: In 1825, the population was 634, the crude birth rate was 24 and crude death rate was 73 with an overall life expectancy was 4.6 years; here I question the use of 4.6 years because the mission had only been in existence of 1 year. By 1830, the population was 760, the CBR was 41 and CDR was 106 with an overall life expectancy was 1.4 years. Jackson, "Dynamic of Indian," 148.

<sup>121</sup> For more information see; Cook, "Population trends," 13-34; Jackson, "Dynamic of Demographic."

<sup>122</sup> Dr Rollin, quoted in Lapérouse, *First French*, 111.

on American Indians. Scholars in later periods suggested that syphilis existed in Europe long before the discovery of the Americas.<sup>123</sup> In the 1970s, historian Alfred Crosby suggested the “combination theory,” wherein the bacterium that causes syphilis was present both in Europe and in the Americas at the time of first contact.<sup>124</sup> Today, the majority of scholars support Crosby’s “combination theory,” but they postulate that when strains of the New and Old World syphilis united within one host it created a more virulent form of syphilis. A few scholars, venture to ascribe the origins of syphilis. Jared Diamond suggests the disease came from Eurasia and/or the Americas, with the latter being less likely.<sup>125</sup> The exact origins of syphilis remain a highly debated topic perhaps because there are several subspecies of the spirochete commonly dubbed syphilis.

Modern medical science tells us there are at least four subspecies of the *Treponema pallidum* spirochete. The *Treponema pallidum pallidum* spirochete (syphilis) is transmitted through sexual contact and to the fetus by means of transplacental passage. When the latter occurs, the motile spirochete enters the tissue and a mucus membrane, the result is endemic syphilis.<sup>126</sup> Given current medical knowledge and Crosby’s adapted “combination theory,” it would appeared that syphilis quickly became prevalent or

---

<sup>123</sup> The “Columbian Exchange theory” and the “pre-Columbian theory,” respectively, for more information see, W.M. Bollaert, “On the Alleged Introduction of Syphilis from the New World. Also Some Noteds from the Local and Imported Diseases into America,” *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London* 2 (1864): cclvi-cclxix.

<sup>124</sup> Called the “combination theory,” for more information see, Alfred Crosby’s book *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1972 [reprinted in 2003 as the 30th anniversary ed.]), 225.

<sup>125</sup> Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 2005).

<sup>126</sup> G. M. Anta, S. A. Lukehart, A. Z. Meheus, “The endemic treponematoses,” *Microbes Infect* 4, no. 1 (January 2002): 83–94.

“endemic” in the region during the early period largely due to ceremonial tattooing practices rather than simple sexual activity. Customary and ritual tattoos were ubiquitous in many native groups in the San Francisco Bay Area including those in the Sonoma and Napa regions. In some groups, the Suisun (Patwin) and the Olompali (Coast Miwok) for example, girls and women had various types of perpendicular line tattoos on their chins symbolizing their specific association with a particular clan or group; males also employed tattoos for various reasons. Such markings were generally given at prescribed times and ceremonies. Thus, multiple tattoos were completed with the same implements. Tattooing then provided a venue for the introduction of spirochetes to those subsequently tattooed due to contamination of the applicator or dyes. The consequences would be an increase in syphilis and the onset of endemic syphilis.

The majority of deaths, however, arose from the introduction of diseases spread through casual contact such as influenza, measles, and smallpox rather than syphilis. In most cases, the exact cause of death did not appear in reports or correspondence. The exception often came when death was a direct result of a terrible incident or an outbreak of highly contagious disease such as smallpox.<sup>127</sup> Incidences with devastating consequences often appeared in the official mission records and correspondence, barring Altimira’s communications. Fortuny, for example, noted in his December 1831 *Informe* that on October 14, 1831 a fire had quickly engulfed several huts in the neophyte ranchería on the

---

<sup>127</sup> Smile, 32; Platon M. G. Vallejo, *Memoirs of the Vallejos: New Light on the History, before and after the ‘Gringos’ Came* (James D. Stevenson and the Napa County Historical Society, 1994), 29; Myrtle M. McKittrick, *Vallejo son of California* (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1944), 140. For example in 1828, when Mr. William Richards from Yerba Buena visited the mission, he vaccinated those of Spanish descent and neophyte overseers when it was rumored that smallpox was headed toward the mission.

southern side of the padre's quarters, and while the mission itself had not been burned, one male and four females perished in the flames.<sup>128</sup> His description of the dreadful event focused on the destruction of the huts and their reconstruction, although he did note that future building should be constructed with conventional materials (adobe brick and tiled roofs). Fortuny mentioned only the gender and number killed, omitting their names; perhaps, this is not surprising considering the nature of annual reports as inventories of the mission. Mission *informes* usually included a male to female ratio but when accidents such as these occurred, some of the deceased names were generally included in the report, leaving one to speculate if the mission buildings themselves or the number of laborers lost was not his primary concern. The hastily rebuilt domiciles of the Indians remained a fire hazard while the mission gained several properly built rooms.

In 1832, Fortuny requested a transfer due to his advancing age, as well as his lack of both companionship and a personal confessor.<sup>129</sup> His only assistant was a deaf Englishman, who was no help because the "Indians didn't pay much attention" to him.<sup>130</sup> The Sonoma Mission could be a very lonely place, as many padres learned. In 1833, a year prior to secularization of the northernmost missions, Fray José María Gutiérrez came to replace the aging Fortuny. Fray Gutiérrez was born in Mexico; he joined the Franciscan

---

<sup>128</sup> Bancroft, *The Works*, vol. 3, 719n.

<sup>129</sup> Fortuny to J. Sánchez, San Francisco Solano, January 2, 1831 [3317, SBMAL].

<sup>130</sup> Fortuny, in Smilie, *Sonoma Mission*, 40. The Englishman may have been the one that Mr. Schmidt (from Fort Ross) sent with the soldiers on June 7, 1823 when they returned to the mission after delivering a request to repair the tool that had been damaged during the 1824 uprising at the mission. Khlebnikov, *KhlebnikovArchive*, 131.

order of Zacatecas in December 1819.<sup>131</sup> According to Robert Smilie, Gutiérrez's stay at Sonoma was brief because of his questionable methods and ethics yet that is only part of the story. General Mariano Vallejo, the Mexican military commander of the Northern Frontier, filed charges against Gutiérrez for abusing the Indians, a tactic Vallejo employed with nearly every padre stationed at Sonoma. Vallejo had his own agenda; moreover, his ethics were equally questionable.

Throughout 1833 and 1834, Gutiérrez wrote letters to his superiors and to the governor of California contesting the conditions at the mission as well as the dangers native people faced from foreigners including men like Vallejo. Vallejo countered with charges of his own, claiming Gutiérrez was the villain for flogging the Indians too much and keeping them in church for too long, which hindered the amount of work that could be extracted from them. Vallejo asserted that when he confronted Gutiérrez, Gutiérrez retorted that the Indians "had neither honor nor shame and could be controlled only by fear."<sup>132</sup> Gutiérrez admitted flogging the neophytes in a parental manner and claimed since they were not completely civilized or Christianized, the law allowed him to do so.<sup>133</sup> The

---

<sup>131</sup> Engelhardt, *Franciscans in California*, 121-122. Designated one of the faithful, in 1831 Gutiérrez departed for San Blas on the *Catalina* headed for Alta California. Gutiérrez' indoctrination to the region came under the guidance of commissary prefect, Francisco García Diego y Moreno.

<sup>132</sup> Engelhardt, *Franciscans in California*, 121-122. This same discourse can also be found in Gutiérrez's correspondence with the commandant general of California, San Francisco Solano, June 16, 1833 [CM3427, SBMAL]).

<sup>133</sup> Mariano Vallejo, to Figueroa, San Francisco, May 5, 1833 [CM3414, SBMAL]; Gutiérrez, José de Jesus María, to [Mariano Vallejo] Commandant General of California, San Francisco Solano, June 16, 1833 [CM3427, SBMAL]; Francisco Diego y Moreno García, to gobernador Figueroa, Santa Clara, June 30, 1833 [CM3434, SBMAL], and, to Figueroa, Santa Clara, June 30, 1833 [CM3435, SBMAL], and, to the all Alta California Missionaries, Santa Clara, July 4, 1833 [CM3437, SBMAL].

courts found Gutiérrez not guilty and he was assigned to another mission.<sup>134</sup> Fray José Lorenzo de la Concepción Quíjas replaced Fray Gutiérrez in 1833. Military, government, and Church documents indicate that abuse came from both the padres and military personnel as they attempted to Christianize and civilize the so-called savages. Yet despite the padres' intense effort to curtail indigenous religious practices, native people often continued traditional rituals under the watchful eyes of the padres both before and after secularization.

The original inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay Area missions openly continued traditional customs. In many cases, the padres failed to comprehend their actions and customs. This was especially true when it came to the process of death and an afterlife. Some groups, like the Coast Miwok, believed that following their death, they would “go out to sea,” while others envisioned walking the land with the ancestors. The Coast Miwok believed that they would return to the sea where they would find their family, thus implying a belief in an afterlife in keeping with pre-contact beliefs.<sup>135</sup> The padres' responses to the Cadiz questionnaires contained information on funerals, which included ceremonial rituals for both the living and dead.<sup>136</sup> Some padres mentioned that indigenous women often bedaubed themselves following the death of a loved one and some covered

---

<sup>134</sup> Engelhardt, *Franciscans in California*, 121-122. By 1846, Gutiérrez had become the procurator of the college of Zacatecas in Mexico.

<sup>135</sup> Maynard Geiger and Clement W. Meighan, eds., *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815* (CA: SBMAL, 1976), 52, 146, 119-120.

<sup>136</sup> Geiger and Meighan, *As The Padres*, questions: 10, 29, 35.

their faces with black soot.<sup>137</sup>

Other padres who were perhaps less observant suggested that the method of burial depended on the number of relatives the deceased had and if those people were lazy. As one might guess, this assumption was often incorrect. Whether the native person buried or cremated the dead had little to do with laziness; rather, it depended on the individual's tribal affiliation and customs as well as the number of tribal members at or near the mission.<sup>138</sup> The Wintun, for example, buried their dead while the Miwok employed cremation of the body and material goods. Before cremation occurred, those performing the ceremony underwent purification rituals, relatives singed their hair, and elderly women covered their faces with charred berries. Following cremation, the bone fragments and ash were buried in a basket.<sup>139</sup> Divorced from the clerical bias, the evidence suggests that some indigenous people continued to practice traditional burials without the padres' knowledge despite the padres' fervent objections to the continuation of indigenous customs. It is clear from these and other accounts that despite the padres' insistence that neophytes give up their so-called heathen practices, traditional burial practices and mourning rituals persisted suggesting only partial conversion to the new faith or a blending of faiths.

In this chapter, I have argued that the personal ambitions of Fray Altimira and others,

---

<sup>137</sup> Geiger and Meighan, *As The Padres*, 52, 146, 119-120. The term *bedaub*, means to beat oneself on the chest using a stone, usually to the point of drawing blood.

<sup>138</sup> See map: "Distribution of Methods of Disposal of the Dead," in Robert Heizer and M. A. Whipple, *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley: University of California, 1973), 36.

<sup>139</sup> Edward Curtis, *The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing The Indians of the United States, The Dominion of Canada, and Alaska* 14 (Norwood, MA: Plimpton, 1924), 191, 196; Heizer and Whipple, *California Indians*, 35-36.

the lack of oversight at the mission due to its distance from central authority, and that the mission's geographic isolation from regional authority provided the impetus for a program aimed at assimilating and Christianizing neophytes to become unusually abusive. Living space, disease, high mortality rates, abuse, and hunger were all factors that created dire conditions that led to uprisings and rebellions. Such was the case when the neophytes at the Sonoma Mission rose up and burned parts of the mission in 1824 and 1826, with the latter necessitating the flight of Altimira.

Despite these brutal conditions, many Mission Indians managed to preserve at least some of their traditional culture. Some native people continued to practice aspects of traditional life despite the padres' protestations. The continuation of traditional dances, tattoos, burial methods, and mourning ritual speak loudly of nominal conversion as well as the persistence of cultural traditions despite the introduction of Catholicism, especially when one considers the tremendous abuse native populations endured as punishment for their transgressions.<sup>140</sup> Clearly some chose to continue aspects of their previous lives—despite the possible penalties—rather than acculturate.

Located in the northernmost reaches of the Mexican-Russian borderlands, Sonoma's geographic isolation played an integral role in the development of the mission and the surrounding regions. While there can be little doubt that the majority of Native Americans struggled to cope with the changing landscapes they also experienced limited forms of agency. For example, many chose to go with Fray Altimira to the new mission because it brought them closer to their homeland, while others hoped to gain status because being

---

<sup>140</sup> Geiger and Meighan, *As The Padres*, 70, 79-80.



first at a mission provided one with more opportunity for advancement and special privileges. Once at the mission, some neophytes, for instance the Gualomi, changed their tribal connection and language to become part of the Canicaymo multi-tribe association, which in turn provided them with allies and kinship networks within the mission. Others undoubtedly employed various coping mechanisms including religion. Some adopted Catholicism. Others blended native and non-native religious aspects, while still others maintained traditional rituals and customs.

Some native people rebelled and others ran away rather than remain at the mission. Some even ran away to other missions. Each neophyte had their own reason for running away: they missed home, they did not like Altimira, and he constantly whipped them not only for disobedience but also for crying if a loved one died. Abuse, however, did not simply mean physical punishment. There were many forms of abuse. Other neophytes cited hunger, overwork, and the fear of disease as reasons for their flight. Unfortunately, the latter choice frequently spread the disease to their homeland often decimating entire villages.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SECULARIZATION AND THE YEARS THAT FOLLOWED, 1834-1846

The abuse of native populations increased with secularization at the Sonoma Mission in 1834. After secularization, ex-neophytes commonly found themselves at the mercy of military and civil authorities at the mission. If they left the confines of the mission, Mexicans and other foreigners frequently took advantage of them. Yet despite these harsh conditions, some Native Americans did maintain various traditions and lifestyles for at least a time, for example continuing to sport traditional battle and matrimonial attire as well as fashioning traditional tools. Others chose various levels of acculturation within the new society.

This chapter explores the trials and tribulations neophytes and padres alike faced at the Sonoma Mission both during and after secularization, from 1834 to 1846. Mexican laws governing secularization provided specific rights to neophytes and padres. The reality, however, was often quite different than the law might suggest, especially as Mexican colonists began to inundate the region. The colonists came to California for many reasons. Settlers from the Híjar and Padrés Party, for example, came with the promise of employment, land, startup supplies and goods. By the 1830s, the ratio of women to men had changed dramatically as had their reasons for coming to California. Nearly half of the women came for employment, a sharp contrast from previous years. As colonists poured into the region, they took the mid-level jobs that Indians were being trained to do, relegating most natives to labor-intensive positions.

In the post-secularization period, Indians at the Sonoma Mission suffered increased abuse mainly due to the Mission's remote geographic location, the political upheaval in California and Mexico, the lack of oversight, as well as the personal ambitions of others. Beyond exploring the changing sociocultural, political, economic, and environmental landscapes of the mission and the region, this chapter also provides a window into daily life. I argue that the remoteness of the northern frontier allowed local authorities greater autonomy than in other regions, which exponentially increased the abuse many Native Americans endured.

Here again it is apparent that despite the increased abuse and disparity many Native Americans chose to maintain and/or adapt traditional customs to fit their particular needs and circumstances, the latter frequently included new and changing alliances. The chapter closes in 1846 with the Bear Flag Rebellion. I chose to end with the Bear Flag Rebellion for two reasons. First, it demarcates the closing stages of Mexico's control over California, and secondly, because it provides a point of reflection to observe the colossal changes that occurred in the social fabric. This is especially true when the reader considers the pre-contact cultures and the seven different flags that flew over Sonoma between 1542 and 1847.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The following is from, Sonoma State Historical Park Assoc., *Seven Flags Over Sonoma* (2009); California State Parks, *Sonoma State Historic Park* (CA: Sonoma State Historic Park Assoc., 2002), 4. In 1542, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo planted the Spanish flag; in 1579, Francis Drake claimed the region for England; in 1812, the Imperial Russian flag was planted at Bodega Bay and Fort Ross; in 1822, following Mexico's independence from Spain the flag of the Mexican Empire was hoisted Sonoma; next came the Flag of the Mexican Republic; followed by the raising of the Bear Flag in 1846, which signaled the rise of the short lived California Republic; and the final flag to fly over the region, came on July 9, 1846 when the United States hoisted the Stars and Stripes over Sonoma. In 1847 California joined the Union.

### Secularization

In 1834, the Mexican government once again called for the secularization of missions and churches in California.<sup>2</sup> This time, the governing powers brought the concept to fruition and began the transition in earnest. Secularization brought many changes, namely the end of the *casta* system, a caste system of sorts that delineated one's social placement not only by race but also by ethnicity and comportment. Ending the *casta* system purportedly allowed the emancipation of indigenous and "mixed blood" people, putting them on an equal footing with other members of society.<sup>3</sup> Simply ending the system, however, did not end the discrimination. Rather, it ended the person's right to representation and special protection under the law, which frequently left them at the mercy of others. In truth, most of the neophytes left at the mission found themselves taken advantage of by the very foreigners who promised to protect them.

Prior to secularization, missionaries secured the lands of the neophytes from land-grabbers and squatters.<sup>4</sup> As borderlands historian Herbert Bolton correctly pointed out, the missionaries' fervor to construct more missions and convert more Native Americans in preparation for the second coming of Christ often rendered optimistic reports that frequently provided the impetus for further exploration. In many ways padres—whether

---

<sup>2</sup> C. Alan Hutchinson, "The Mexican Government and the Mission Indians of Upper California, 1821-1835," *The Americas* 21, no. 4 (April 1965); W. W. Robinson, *Land in California: The Story of Mission Lands, Ranchos, Squatters, Mining Claims, Railroad Grants, Land Scrip, Homesteads* (Berkeley: University of California, 1948 [reprinted 1979]).

<sup>3</sup> *Casta* refers to someone of mixed heritage.

<sup>4</sup> Herbert Eugene Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *The American Historical Review* 23, no. 1 (October 1917): 45. For general information on land see, W. W. Robinson, *Land in California*. For more specific information on governmental actions see, Hutchinson, "Mexican Government."

consciously or unconsciously—tended to serve as promoters or “boosters” of the frontier.”<sup>5</sup> The padres fought secularization for many reasons, but the primary reason noted in official documents and correspondence was their trepidation for the Indians’ personal safety and their ability to fend off land-grabbing foreigners. There was good reason for their fears. Secularization of the missions, as Bolton has indicated, “almost without fail, was a struggle over land and property, which the Indian almost always lost.”<sup>6</sup>

Secularization at the Sonoma Mission might have been appealing to neophytes had it not been for entrenched Spanish/Mexican ideologies of caste and class, the influx of foreigners, as well as the greedy and often self-serving approach of the administration at the Sonoma Mission. Another consideration was the unorthodox relationships that developed between the Spanish/Mexicans and the Russians at Fort Ross and the Ross Colony, henceforth discussed as one region. From the earliest days of Fort Ross’ establishment in 1812, the Russians conducted business with a variety of traders and visitors. The Spanish and, later, the Mexicans were among the visitors as were various missionaries, including those at the Sonoma Mission. In fact, many developed social and economic ties with Fort Ross, which greatly increased following secularization.

Here it is important to take a few paragraphs to explain the changing political and socioeconomic landscapes between the Spanish/Mexicans and the Russians, most readily observed by examining *de jure* verses *de facto* (the law verses the actuality) aspects of trade. Free trade was illegal during this period. Legal commerce required a special

---

<sup>5</sup> Bolton, “Mission as a Frontier,” 52.

<sup>6</sup> Bolton, “Mission as a Frontier,” 52.

permit/license from the appropriate authorities, which varied depending on the commodity, the region, the period, and even one's place of origin. The Russians, for example, needed a permit or license from their government and one from the Spanish/Mexican central government in order to apply for a separate permit to trade, hunt, or travel within a specific area for a predetermined period. Spaniards/Mexicans, on the other hand, required fewer permits. In reality, many did not attain the proper permits at all, which in turn allowed for untold amounts of resources to be harvested causing further depletion and degradation of the environment. Thus, illegal trade frequently contributed to the decrease of natural resources and the natives' ability to attain daily sustenance. It also suggests that officials frequently had difficulty enforcing the law on the frontier due to a lack of manpower and oversight.

California's distance from Spain and Mexico allowed many in the region greater independence than those who lived closer to central governing powers; this was especially true in Sonoma due to its isolated location. In many ways, Sonoma's remote location on the borderlands of the northern frontier, exemplifies the actuality of additional autonomy from not only central governing powers both before and after secularization but also from regional government for several reasons. The Sonoma Mission was the northern most Mexican settlement bordering the Russian frontier, and as such was not sandwiched between Mexican holdings and officials. Furthermore, not situated on the main trade or patrol routes Sonoma frequently lacked oversight. Moreover, Sonoma had a minimum contingency of official personnel. The lack of oversight and law enforcement provided the opportunity and venue for unlawful trading. One such example would be the Spanish

Officer Gabriel Moraga, who first visited Fort Ross in 1812 and 1813. Little is known about the first visit. But we do know that in 1813, at the behest of his superiors, Spanish Army Officer Moraga returned to Fort Ross with the hope of instituting trade relations. Officially, Moraga brought cattle and horses as gifts but he also brought his own livestock without attaining a permit, suggesting a lack of integrity in those frequently charged with enforcing the law.<sup>7</sup> Illegal trade became ubiquitous in the region and the influx of foreigners began to increase at an alarming rate.

Unable to control trade and properly defend its Northern Frontier from foreign encroachment in 1814, Mexico ordered the cessation of all trade and the expulsion of the Russians. In actuality, Mexico had neither the supplies nor the military might to force the Russians to withdraw; Mexico was nearly always in a state of political turmoil (Appendix B, Mexico Timeline). Regional enforcement was difficult at best given the lack of reinforcement from Mexico. Therefore, trade continued much as it had before the order. In 1818, one of the padres from San Raphael “made a weekly trip to Ross by muleback” where he illicitly obtained brandy.<sup>8</sup> Padres and others (including government officials) continued to open personal accounts with the Russians.<sup>9</sup> Thus, on the far reaches of the northern frontier government officials, military personnel, settlers, and padres alike often skirted the law with little worry of repercussion.

---

<sup>7</sup> Fort Ross State Historical, “Fort Ross Chronology, including the Pacific Coast,” <http://www.fortrossstatepark.org/chronology.htm> (accessed June 20, 2009).

<sup>8</sup> Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California, 2005), 127.

<sup>9</sup> For purchases and accountholders see: Kirill Khlebnikov, *The Khlebnikov Archive: Unpublished Journal (1800-1837) and Travel Notes (1820, 1822, and 1824)*, (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1990), throughout; W. Michael Mathes, *The Russian-Mexican Frontier: Mexican Documents Regarding the Russian Establishments in California, 1808-1842* (Jenner, CA: Fort Ross Interpretive Association, 2008).

Pursuant to Mexican Independence in 1821, the promulgation of new laws allowed for a quasi-free trade system in Alta California beginning in 1822. Unfortunately, as one might guess, “free” did not mean free. In fact, trade could be extremely costly. Governor Solá instituted “a tariff of twenty-five percent on imports and twelve percent on exports.” Additionally, regional commanders frequently levied their own stipulations for trade.<sup>10</sup> An effective example of this came in the 1823 agreement between the Mexicans and the Russians, wherein the local Mexicans required an equal share of any wildlife or commodity harvested and subsequently exported from the region.<sup>11</sup>

In 1833, the relationship between the two regions temporarily blossomed. Mariano Vallejo, then a captain and *Comandante* of the San Francisco Presidio, made a diplomatic visit to Fort Ross. Vallejo’s meeting with Manager Peter Kostromitinov was at the behest of Governor José Figueroa to initiate an alliance of sorts.<sup>12</sup> Currently there is insufficient information available to enable a full reconstruction of their meeting. We do know they exchanged gifts of appropriate honor and status. During his stay, Vallejo also purchased an assortment of merchandise.<sup>13</sup> Vallejo, who had a large library and was purportedly an avid reader, purchased several books during his visit. Given his fondness for books and the Church’s ban on a large number of books prior to secularization, Vallejo must have

---

<sup>10</sup> Mathes, *Russian-Mexican*, 32.

<sup>11</sup> Kyrill Khlebnikov, *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov’s Reports, 1817-1832*, Trans. by B. Dmytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughan, (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976), 110-111.

<sup>12</sup> Fort Ross State Historical, on-site placard (Fort Ross, CA, June 17, 2009). Scholars in Russia and Canada are currently translating many documents from the era. According to State Park personal, the documents will soon to be available in English in a book entitled *Russian California*.

<sup>13</sup> E. Breck Parkman, “Russian Silver in Mexican California” (September 23, 2006), [http://www.parks.ca.gov/?page\\_id=24474](http://www.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=24474) [accessed June 21, 2009]. For example, Vallejo evidently received a set of silver and possibly a large wooden chest.



been delighted with his finds. Vallejo also purchased clothing, cutlasses, guns, and saddles.<sup>14</sup>

### Changing Landscapes: Power, Place, and Space

Promotion was in Mariano Vallejo's future. Shortly after his return, Vallejo received another endorsement and promotion to *Comandante* at what was to be the new Sonoma presidio. In addition, he also received the title of Military Commander and Director of Colonization of the Northern Frontier, at the time he was merely twenty-seven years old. Beyond the new titles of authority Vallejo attained, he received a land grant of 44,000 acres in Petaluma and another grant on the Plaza at Sonoma where he established his first permanent home, *La Casa Grande*.<sup>15</sup> Much of the material for construction came from the piecemeal destruction of the Sonoma Mission with Indians serving as the primary source of cheap and/or free labor.<sup>16</sup> During this period, Vallejo implemented an adapted version of the outlawed *requerimiento* used by hacienda owners in Mexico prior to Mexican

---

<sup>14</sup> Alexander Hunter, *Vallejo: A California Legend* (CA: Sonoma State Historic Park, 1992), 18.

<sup>15</sup> Vallejo received 44,000 acres when he was promoted to Commandant General in 1834, and another 22,000 acres later for additional service, in total over the years he personally received 177,000 acres. Temporary building at the Petaluma Adobe existed in during the treaty period; however, the construction of the permanent building at the Petaluma rancho did not begin until April 1836. Sonoma State University Special Collections records that Vallejo "married Francisca Benicia Carrillo after waiting two years for official approval. They were to become the parents of 16 children and at least two adopted children." Many have suggested the adopted children were Vallejo's illegitimate children. California State Parks, "Vallejo," on-site video, Sonoma Barracks, CA (June 13, 2009). Dr. Platon Vallejo claimed Mariano Vallejo swore on his deathbed that the adopted children were not of his blood. In this same period, Mariano Vallejo received the ten-league grant and the four-league Rancho Suisun. He later acquired "Rancho Yulupa, Agua Caliente, Rancho Temelec, Entre Napa, Rancho Soscol, and an eight-league grant in Mendocino County. His land acreage (175,000 acres) was comprised of gifts, purchases, and awards for services or debts owned him" some of which were Mission properties. Dr. Platon M. G. Vallejo, *Memoirs of the Vallejos*, Sonoma Library, <http://library.sonoma.edu/regional/notables/vallejo.html> (accessed July 22, 2009).

<sup>16</sup> Charles L. Gebhardt, *Historic Archeology At The Site Of Vallejo's Casa Grande Sonoma, California – 1962* (Salinas, CA: Coyote [Facsimile Reprint]).

Independence that required Indians to work for the landowner.<sup>17</sup> California's isolation from central authority and the lack of oversight provided an environment for the continuance of prohibited systems such as the *requerimiento* and the persistence of entrenched ideologies like the *casta system*, which played a key role in regional development throughout California. Within this setting, Sonoma's remote geographic location, proximity to northern borderlands, and distance from regional powers intensified the possibility for corruption as well as providing a venue for increased native abuse.

That same year, construction began on the *El Cuartel de Sonoma*, the Sonoma Barracks. Once again, the majority of the building material came from the mission's buildings with Native Americans providing the bulk of the labor. Furnishing the equipment for the *cuartel* was quite a different matter. Vallejo made repeated requests to his superiors for guns, gunpowder, uniforms, and money to pay the soldiers. Yet often as not his requests were overlooked or denied. In all likelihood, this was due to the socioeconomic and political turmoil in Mexico that was ubiquitous to the era (see Appendix B, Mexico Timeline). Vallejo attained the majority of the goods from the Russians at Fort Ross. From 1834 to 1846, *El Cuartel de Sonoma* served as Vallejo's headquarters. During those years, "more than 100 military expeditions set out from Sonoma with the object of subduing the Wapos, Cainameros, or Satisfomis Indians who rose up more than once trying to throw off Mexican domination."<sup>18</sup> Some Indians stated that they would rather die than "be carried off" by soldiers who promised them gifts and

---

<sup>17</sup> In Mexico, when the *requerimiento* was legal, Indians work for a minimum of six weeks per year but in Sonoma, the landowner frequently made their own requirements

<sup>18</sup> California State Parks, "Sonoma State Historic Park," (Sonoma State Historic Park, 2002), 4.

subsequently turn them over to the missions, or in later years to landowners.<sup>19</sup>

In 1834, Governor José Figueroa ordered Vallejo to take charge of the Mission, establish a parish church, “free the Indian workers,” distribute the mission lands to the Indians and found the town of Sonoma. Theoretically, the “Indians best fitted for release” were to receive “small parcels of land, seeds, implements, [a] few cattle and horses, a year’s food, and other items.”<sup>20</sup> While Vallejo did give some portable goods to the Indians, the land was another story. 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,” which left Vallejo with their livestock and their land.<sup>21</sup> The 44,000 acres he owned in the Petaluma Valley apparently was not nearly enough to fulfill his desires.<sup>22</sup> For the most part, Vallejo simply gave and sold the mission lands to himself, family members, members of his circle of associates, and even as enticements for his sisters’ and daughters’ prospective suitors.<sup>23</sup>

The Sonoma Mission itself was placed in the hands of General Vallejo, who in turn

---

<sup>19</sup> Mathes, *Russian-Mexican*, doc. 83, 205.

<sup>20</sup> Governor Figueroa, “Previsiones provisionales para la emancipación de Indio reducidos” (July 15, 1833).

<sup>21</sup> Mrs. Fremont Older, *California Missions and Their Romances*. (New York: Tudor Publishing, 1945), 293.

<sup>22</sup> Athanasius, “Mission San Francisco Solano (Sonoma),” <http://www.athanasius.com/camission/sonoma.htm> (accessed April 2007); 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, CA: C. B. Veronda, 1973), throughout.

<sup>23</sup> Munro-Fraser, *History of Sonoma*. For a land map see, Robert S. Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission: San Francisco Solano de Sonoma: The Founding, Ruin and Restoration of California’s 21st Mission* (Fresno, CA: Valley Publishers, 1975), 139. The term *hombres de bien* literally translates to “the men of good” or “the good men.” However, the phrase implied men who were of good/high standing within the hierarchy of socio-economic community, a wealthy network of associates.

gave it to his younger brother, Salvador Vallejo then a twenty-year-old soldier and *mayordomo* (manager) Antonio Ortega.<sup>24</sup> During this period, Mexico began to push for increased colonization of Northern Frontier in the hope that the presence of colonists would help to secure the region from foreign encroachment. The colonists received promises of a better life, land, goods, and supplies for a new beginning. The Mexican government believed this would create homesteads and revenue to build towns surrounding the secularized missions. Thus, as Bolton suggested, the missions truly did serve as a means for colonization. It is important to recall that *de jure*, the mission lands were held in trust for the neophytes but in actuality the majority of the lands went to non-native people.

Beyond the normal havoc of secularization, the Sonoma Mission found itself besieged by colonists from the Híjar and Padrés party in 1834. The new colonists were from a different socioeconomic stratum than previous outsiders. Women came in greater numbers and rather than coming as wives and servants, they came for employment as seamstresses and teachers.<sup>25</sup> The male colonists consisted of blacksmiths, builders, carpenters, coopers, farmers and ranchers, shoemakers, saddlers, and so forth.<sup>26</sup> In other words, the colonists came for jobs previously promised to the Indians.

Mexican Vice President Farías had promised the colonists many temporalities

---

<sup>24</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works Of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vol. 1, 3, 4 (San Francisco: the History Company, 1890). Antonio Ortega had several names and there has been confusion between at least three persons: Ortega (Antonio), 1834, one of the H. and P. colony and another who was *mayordomo* at Sonoma in 1835-7 as well as the grantee of a rancho in 1840. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 354, 711, 719-720. The former was also referred to Don Guadalupe Antonio Ortega. And third was “Antonio Ortega was a “convict *settler of 1798.*” *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 606. Also see, *Bancroft’s Works*, vol. 4, 760.

<sup>25</sup> Virginia Marie Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2001), 77-78.

<sup>26</sup> Older, 293.

including land and official offices, but when they arrived they received virtually nothing.<sup>27</sup>

The lucky ones found themselves more or less camping out in and about the mission, but this violated the padre's rights under the laws and decrees of secularization. Consequently, his living space shrank considerably; the new mission administrators limited his guaranteed access to transportation, food and water, as well as limiting his ability to minister to the congregation. The remaining colonists inundated the proto-township awaiting their promised enticements.

In the interim, between the time the party left Mexico and arrived in California, Santa Anna had taken over as president and ordered Mariano Vallejo as Commandant of the Northern Frontier not to give the colonists anything because they supported Farías.<sup>28</sup> This caused tempers to flare. Salvador Vallejo discovered their plans for an uprising, he arrested the leaders, disarmed the settlers, and banished many from the region. While life might have become a little easier for the Vallejos because the discontent colonists were gone, Fray José Lorenzo de la Concepción Quíjas, the padre assigned to the mission, did not share that same sense of relief.

Fray Quíjas was a native of Ecuador and had previously been a muleteer, but none of his experience could help him deal with what he was about to face.<sup>29</sup> Secularization

---

<sup>27</sup> Haas, Lisbeth, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995), 35-36. According to Bouvier, each adult male colonist was to receive 100 square yards of land in town as well as land outside of town for crop and cattle. Beyond the aforementioned colonists were also to receive "four cows, two yokes of oxen or two bulls, two tame horses, four colts, four fillies, four head of sheep—two female and two male—as well as two plows ready to use." Bouvier, 77.

<sup>28</sup> Smilie, 53-54.

<sup>29</sup> Maynard J. Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848: A Biographical Dictionary*. (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1969), 200. José Lorenzo de la Concepción Quíjas joined the college of Guadalupe Zacatecas January 12, 1830. He was ordained on December 4, 1831 and assigned to the California missions on February 16, 1832.

allotted certain rights to the padres. But as Quijas quickly found, without the institutional protection of the church or the oversight of regional government, what was supposed to happen often did not. This was mainly due to the unrestrained power of Mariano Vallejo, Salvador Vallejo, and Antonio Ortega, which created an environment for elevated levels of brutality and abuse rarely found in other California missions.

In his correspondence to his superiors and Governor Figueroa in 1835, Quijas clearly objected to his living conditions and the mission's overseers but his primary grievance was the mistreatment of the Indians. In particular, Quijas detailed the various types of abuse the Indians suffered at the hands of the new administration. He complained that the Vallejos and Ortega hampered his ability to minister the congregation. Quijas grumbled that Indians were informed that they did not need to go to church anymore; rather, they needed to work. Even on Sundays and holidays, the Indians were forced to leave before mass ended.<sup>30</sup>

Quijas disapproved of Vallejo's use of Indian labor to build the barracks, his personal home and rancho, but even worse for Quijas was the mental, physical, and sexual abuse the Indians were forced to endure. Today the charges against Ortega would have included not only the violent rape and physical abuse of women and young girls, but also the physical and sexual abuse of men and perhaps even boys.<sup>31</sup> Quijas wrote that Antonio

---

<sup>30</sup> Francico Diego y Moreno García, O.F.M to Governor Figueroa, Santa Clara, August 4, 1835, California Mission Document Collection 3563, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, California (hereafter: CM+document number, SBMAL); García to Figueroa, contains a copy of Quijas' August 2, 1835 letter, Santa Clara, August 12, 1835 [CM3567, SBMAL].

<sup>31</sup> Quijas' letter, in García to Figueroa, [CM3567]. The Spanish language allows the astute reader to differentiate between male and female actors, however, it does not (in this case) indict whether the male victims were boys or men.

Ortega conducted his vile deeds in “an unbridled and barefaced manner,” which “has given free rein to the infamous vice of lust” in Sonoma. Ortega openly boasted of his sexual conquests to other soldiers and his fellow *paisanos*.<sup>32</sup> Fr. Quijas had tried to alert his superiors and Governor Figueroa to the problems developing at the mission, but his letters and verbal complaints to ecclesiastic, civil, and military authorities were of no avail.<sup>33</sup> Fray Quijas was desperate. He pleaded for help and even threatened to leave the mission if no one put a stop to “the abominable deeds of Ortega.”<sup>34</sup>

More than one hundred seventy years have elapsed since Fray Quijas officially exposed the crimes of Antonio Ortega. The padres were reluctant to discuss the sexual abuse of males because they felt that the act was an abomination and feared that even writing about such topics was sinful.<sup>35</sup> Historians and clergy who wrote in later eras also seem to have had issues with revealing the contents of Quijas’ letter.<sup>36</sup> Fr. Quijas’ actual written complaint was often vague, listing only the first names of the victims, and offering

---

<sup>32</sup> García, to Figueroa [CM3563, SBMAL]; Quijas’ letter, in García to Figueroa [CM3567, SBMAL]. In particular, he boasted to “Sergeant Pablo Pacheco, Ignacio Azevedo, Nicolas Higuera, [as well as] a number of carpenters and shoemakers.” Ibid., [CM3567].

<sup>33</sup> Gerald Joseph Geary, *The Secularization of the California Missions (1810-1846)* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1934), 158; García to Figueroa [CM3563, SBMAL]; also see next footnote.

<sup>34</sup> Quijas’ letter attached to García to Figueroa [CM3567, SBMAL]; García to Figueroa, Santa Clara, August 13, 1835 [CM3568, SBMAL].

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., [CM3567].

<sup>36</sup> Each cited various reasons for not providing the complete details of the letter: it was not proper, it was sinful, or they did not want to bring shame upon the victims or the illegitimate children that resulted from the rapes. Also see, Bancroft, *The Works*; Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Franciscans in California* (Harbor Springs, Michigan: Holy Childhood Indian School, 1897), and, *The Missions and Missionaries of California: San Francisco and San Francisco Dolores*, (Chicago, Ill: Franciscan Herald, 1924); Robert S. Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission: San Francisco Solano de Sonoma, The Founding, Ruin and Restoration of California’s 21st Mission* (Fresno, CA: Valley Pub., 1975).

few specific details regarding the offences, which undoubtedly contributed to the lack of action.

Quíjas wrote openly of the rape of Yoquila, the wife of Talai, who had been raped in a place that was so public that “many heathens and Christians witnessed” the act, causing the victim and her husband even greater dishonor.<sup>37</sup> The Mission’s *alcalde* reported he had seen Ortega “in the *posolera* [sic] in the act, of sinning with a new male convert named Tadeo,” adding that this was not the first time such a thing had happened.<sup>38</sup> Few dared to speak or report a male raping another male because most considered same-sex relations an abomination. In Hispanic cultures, generally speaking, the one who was penetrated was the greater sinner.<sup>39</sup> Although rape victims were supposed to be forgiven, entrenched ideologies frequently negated one’s innocence in the eyes of others; thus, discrimination, harassment, and the loss of one’s honor were the common outcome of sexual assault.

Not only were people afraid to discuss such abuses, many were afraid to resist. An Indian woman by the name of Samuela told Fr. Quíjas, and the visiting Fr. Pérez, that she did not resist Ortega because she greatly feared him and the violence he had so freely set upon others. Quíjas wrote that many other Indians complained about Ortega sexually abusing them, including “Prima, Fermina, Dolores, Escolastica, Garina, Samuela [a second one], Adjuta, Cecilia, Cesaria.”<sup>40</sup> Fr. Quíjas provided an array of names (witness and

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. The term “*posolera*” is a misspelling of “*pozolera*.”

<sup>39</sup> Martin Nesvig, “The Complicated Terrain of Latin American Homosexuality,” Special issue, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, no. 3-4 (August-November 2001): 689-729.

<sup>40</sup> Quijas, in García to Figueroa, [CM3567].



victim) but none were called to testify against Ortega. It seems that Fr. Quijas was to have neither quick legal nor divine intervention. Governor Figueroa did not respond to the padres' charges against Ortega. Rather Figueroa sent two letters. One was a reprimand to Pedro Castillo for his cruel punishment of the Indians, and the other, to Vallejo inquiring why he had not distributed the mission properties to the Indians.<sup>41</sup>

The most likely reason for lack of government action regarding Quijas' charges was Governor Figueroa's unexpected death in 1835 and the political turmoil that ensued, which precluded further action from that quarter. By the end of 1835, Fray Quijas had moved to San Rafael Arcangel to free himself from the "dark and vile acts" that were taking place at the Sonoma Mission.<sup>42</sup> According to Mission records, Sonoma did not have another resident padre until 1850 during the U.S. period.

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. Both Mariano and Salvador's names appeared along with Ortega's in the padre's letter of complaint.<sup>43</sup> In sum, with the help of Vallejo and his circle of *hombres de bien*, Ortega succeeded Vallejo as administrator until 1837, when further unacceptable behavior forced his resignation.<sup>44</sup> That Ortega was able to remain in office at all speaks loudly of the role that personal ambition, cronyism, and lack of governmental oversight played in the

---

<sup>41</sup> Mariano Vallejo, to Figueroa, Sonoma, October 12, 1835, [CM3577, SBMAL]. Vallejo replied that many Indians did not want the land, others did not know enough to care for the land and livestock, and because most would simply be swindled out of their land.

<sup>42</sup> Quijas, in García to Figueroa, [CM3567].

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 591.

development of the region and in the treatment of the native population.

Power struggles between temporal administrators and certain padres were common, however, at Sonoma there were complaints about every padre assigned to the mission, which usually came shortly after the padre charged the administrator with abusing the Indians. For instance, at nearly the same time that Fr. Quijas filed his complaint, the temporal administrators of the mission, the Vallejos and Ortega, filed a complaint against Quijas for trying to use his authority to control the now-free Indians and for his “unpriestly” behavior of drinking and womanizing.<sup>45</sup> Although Quijas was found not guilty of the charges, it is quite possible that he was guilty of alcohol abuse, given his reputation.<sup>46</sup>

The most damning evidence, which the court did not hear, came from his contemporaries.<sup>47</sup> Although most related that Quijas was generally a kind and good-natured person they also commented that he was frequently inebriated and given to erratic

---

<sup>45</sup> For Quijas response to complains see, Quijas, to R. Moreno, San Rafael, May 4, 1835 [CM3538, SBMAL]; Vallejo to Figueroa, Sonoma, October 12, 1835 [CM3577, SBMAL].

<sup>46</sup> Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M Senkewicz, trans, eds., *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2006), 415; Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries, 200-203*. In 1843, Fr. Quijas was appointed as *commissary prefect* but the bishop requested him not to exercise the powers of the office until the issue of his appointment could be resolved. Quijas, however, objected to his superiors’ request sending out a circular letter warning the friars “not to show the bishop the official book of the mission.” On July 2, 1844, a meeting was convened in Mexico to resolve the issues. Following Quijas’ departure, “the bishop asked Governor Figueroa to prevent the friar from entering California ports.” He also instructed the other friars of the region “not to allow him [Quijas] to function as a priest should he appear at any of the mission.” *Ibid.*, 201. Quijas remained in Mexico. In 1846, Quijas requested and was granted disaffiliation. By January of 1847, he had changed his mind and asked for reinstatement, but “his request was unanimously denied.” *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>47</sup> William Heath Davis, *Sixty Years in California: A History of Events and Life in California; Personal, Political and Military...*, (San Francisco, CA: A.J. Leary, 1889), 9; Andrew F. Rolle, *An American in California: The Biography of William Heath Davis, 1822-1909* (San Mariano, CA: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1956); Henry A. Peirce, quoted in Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries 202-203*; Faxon Dean Atherton and Juan Bautista Alvarado, in Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., ed., *The California diary of Faxon Dean Atherton, 1836-1839*, no. 39 (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1964), 163, n27.

behavior that ranged from violent and rueful to kindly and at times uninhibited. One charged that Quijas exchanged clothes with a sailor in public view and then danced the quadrille.<sup>48</sup> As late as 1841, George Simpson described Quijas as “one of those jovial souls” who was able to adhere only to his vow of poverty.<sup>49</sup> Simpson also noted that Vallejo had set a trap to catch Quijas as he illegally trade with the Russians to attain a bit of brandy.<sup>50</sup> Isidora Filomena, a former neophyte, mentioned that Quijas “would take communion with brandy and would take a swig to do Mass. He was always drunk.”<sup>51</sup> The evidence suggests that Quijas did indeed abuse alcohol. As for the charge of womanizing, observers were silent.

To lend insight into this unfolding narrative it is important to introduce Isidora Filomena (Princess Solano) and her husband Prince Solano, describe how they came to be in the mission system, and to illuminate the conditions of Filomena’s interview.<sup>52</sup> In 1874, Henry Cerruti, an associate of historian Hubert Bancroft, interviewed Isidora Filomena who was living in what he deemed feudalistic conditions behind the lavish home of

---

<sup>48</sup> José Arnaz, quoted in Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 203; also see previous footnote.

<sup>49</sup> Sir George Simpson, *An Overland Journey Round The World, During The Years 1841 and 1842* (Philadelphia, PA: Lea and Blanchard, 1847), 172. Simpson was the Governor-in-Chief of Rupert’s Land, as well as the administrative overseer of Columbia Department (Northwestern Territories) for the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC). Simpson left Fort Vancouver in late November 1841 and departed from California in January 1842.

<sup>50</sup> Simpson, 172. Despite Quijas’ attempt to “bribe the soldiers” by the next morning both of “the luckless wights were thrown...into the general’s [Vallejo’s] *calabozo* or dungeon.” Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Filomena, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 11 (“\*” footnote).

<sup>52</sup> The archival and print material I have investigate throughout the course of my research reveals that many different names for Isidora Filomena and Prince Solano, and the same can be said about the content of Filomena’s interview with Cerruti. For the purpose of clarity, I will mention their other names as necessitated; otherwise, I employ the names Isidora Filomena (Filomena) and Prince Solano (Solano) because they are the most commonly used.

Mariano Vallejo.<sup>53</sup> The interview came after substantial effort and with stipulations<sup>54</sup> Filomena's interview clearly reveals the power the Vallejos held and her fear of the new foreigners, Americans.<sup>55</sup> Cerruti noted that Filomena was afraid of speaking without the expressed permission of her benefactors, the Vallejos, and until they had filled her with brandy to reduce her inhibitions.<sup>56</sup>

Foreigners frequently capitalized on the power of alcohol to attain what they wanted from Native Americans and Filomena was no exception. By the end of the interview, Filomena was so intoxicated that Cerruti convinced her to relinquish her heirloom wedding outfit for a mere twenty-five dollars and the remaining brandy; previously she had refused to part with it because she planned to use it for burial. He later wrote that he departed that day "the happy possessor of a sacred relic of days gone by."<sup>57</sup> Cerruti's post-interview notes painted a stereotypical portrait of Indian weakness for alcohol.

The lives of Isidora Filomena and Prince Solano changed dramatically following foreign intrusion. In May of 1810, Spanish Officer Gabriel Moraga launched a punitive attack on the Suisun village. The survivors, mostly women and children ended up at

---

<sup>53</sup> See translated interviews in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*. Feudalistic conditions meant living on the lord's lands by his graces, in a hovel with a dirt floor that was devoid of all luxury.

<sup>54</sup> For example, one stipulation required Salvador Vallejo and Captain McLaughlin to attend. This prerequisite was likely because Isidora Filomena was the widow of one of Mariano Vallejo's closest allies (Prince Solano) and they wanted to monitor or influence her statements. Mr. Vooser introduced Cerruti to McLaughlin, "an officer of the United State Army and a good Indian fighter." Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 323. On January 28, 1864, McLaughlin was court marshaled "for having practiced frauds on the Quartermaster's department." He was found guilty and cashiered. *Stockton Daily Independent*, <http://www.newspaperabstracts.com/link.php?id=48958> (accessed February 8, 2008).

<sup>55</sup> Henry Cerruti, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 4-5.

<sup>56</sup> Cerruti, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 4. In a separate interview, her son discussed her overindulgence of alcohol.

<sup>57</sup> Cerruti, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 329.

Mission San Francisco. Among this group was Sem-Yeto who at the time was a ten-year-old boy. Within two months of his capture, the padres baptized and renamed him Francisco Solano.<sup>58</sup> Filomena's introduction to the missions came several years later when, she asserted, Solano stole her from her people. She recalled, "I belonged to Solano before I married him and even before I was baptized" and met Quíjas.<sup>59</sup> Her birth name was Chowi in the Wintun meaning "red bird." Her tribal affiliation was Churupto.<sup>60</sup>

Isidora Filomena had many recollections of Fray Quíjas, which encompassed both positive and negative aspects of his personality. Filomena mentioned that Quíjas cherished brandy and was a drunk, yet she also mentioned her fondness for him.<sup>61</sup> He had baptized and renamed her, moreover, Quíjas had personally taught her "how to be charitable toward the poor, very gentle with my husband, and very compassionate toward the prisoners."<sup>62</sup> Quíjas' teachings were the reason she attempted to stop her husband's implementation of traditional methods for dealing with prisoners, which entailed securing the "prisoners to

---

<sup>58</sup> Mission San Francisco Baptismal Registry 4024, in Randal Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena, 1995), 255.

<sup>59</sup> Filomena, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 11. In 1836, Francisco Solano was listed as the head of "an eighteen-person household and was recorded as widower. He married again in 1839" to the twelve-year-old María del Rosario Ullumole. Beebe, *Testimonios: Early*, 7. To date there is no known legal record of his marriage to Isidora Filomena. However, she was most like his wife just not a Christian wife because she continued to live under the graces of the Vallejos. Dr. Paton M. G. Vallejo, Vallejo's son, wrote that Isidora was Solano's wife and that Solano had fathered three of Isidora's children. *Memoirs of the Vallejos*, 44. Some reports suggest that Solano had eleven or more wives.

<sup>60</sup> Bouvier, 121.

<sup>61</sup> Filomena, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 11 (this information was in a "\*" footnote appended to the interview).

<sup>62</sup> Filomena, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 10-11.

trees and shoot[ing] arrows at them.”<sup>63</sup> Instead, they encouraged Solano to turn the prisoners over to Vallejo who would “make them work the land” for their transgressions.<sup>64</sup> Sometimes the punishments fostered Indian dependence that led to debt peonage. At other times, punishment provided the impetus to forge new alliances.

Such was the case with Mariano Vallejo and Prince Solano. Solano was somewhat forcibly allied with Vallejo following Solano’s arrest for kidnapping the Russian Princess Elena Rotchev, the wife of the manager at Fort Ross. As a reward, Vallejo received a chest of silver booty from Rotchev, but perhaps more importantly, Vallejo’s intervention tightened his alliance with Rotchev and gave him the opportunity to detain Solano, which ostensibly forged a relationship between Solano and Vallejo.<sup>65</sup> Vallejo forced Solano to work for him; in time, even Prince Solano’s followers took their commands from Vallejo. Previously Solano traded in both goods and humans to Vallejo and he had even “sold some Indian children to rancheros in the San Pablo area” but after his arrest, Solano worked exclusively for Vallejo, sharing his profits with Vallejo.<sup>66</sup> Thus, Mariano Vallejo knowingly played on the fears of the indigenous workers and employed the age-old tactic of capturing the *cacique* (leader) to form alliances with surrounding regions, which allowed him to acquire large amounts of property without a fight.<sup>67</sup> Solano, for example,

---

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Diane Spencer Pritchard, “Joint Tenants of the Frontier: Russian/Hispanic Interactions in Alta California, 1812-1841,” *The Californians* 9, no. 5 (1992): 30. Over the years, this led to many exchanges of gifts, in one instance Rotchev’s sent Vallejo a silver tea service and in another Vallejo sent the Rotchev a brand new carriage imported from Europe.

<sup>66</sup> Filomena, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 7-8.

<sup>67</sup> Vallejo employed the tradition Spanish method of capturing the *cacique* (the chief/leader) to gain

sold his land to Vallejo for an undisclosed amount and the title of *mayordomo*.<sup>68</sup>

Despite these changes in the sociocultural landscape, some indigenous customs and rituals did continue: take for instance Filomena and Solano's nuptials. While little is known about the actual marriage ceremony, we do know that they had a traditional marriage rather than a church or a line-style marriage. The Cadiz questionnaires and padres' personal correspondence conveyed the notion that marriage simply involved obtaining the consent of the bride's parents. This was often true, but not always the case. Filomena was stolen from her people, which was a common practice in the region, and in time, she became Solano's eleventh wife. Filomena and Solano chose to wear traditional garments. While there is little information on the groom's attire, the bride's wedding outfit consisted "of a shell belt, a row of bones strung together that she wrapped around the upper body all the way up to her neck" accented by a "tuft of feathers" on her forehead and likely a string of *adolorios* beads.<sup>69</sup>

Some even continued to employed traditional battle attire if it suited their need and circumstances. Prior to 1836, Prince Solano and his men frequently accompanied Vallejo into battle completely naked with only feathers on their heads; the color of the feather denoted each man's duty.<sup>70</sup> In this case, the Indians chose to incorporate some traditions

---

control lands and their inhabitants.

<sup>68</sup> Munro-Fraser, *History of Sonoma*.

<sup>69</sup> Cerruti, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 15, 13.

<sup>70</sup> Filomena, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 11. Isidora Filomena explained that the absence of clothing not only as traditional but as extremely advantageous because the opposition had nothing to grab, which allowed the Indian soldier to more easily free himself from his opponent. The feather symbolized the warriors placement within the group, for instance, chiefs like Solano wore black feathers, food carriers wore an ash-gray wild chicken feather, whereas warriors fighting with "lances and arrows [wore] white duck feathers," most if not all carried a flint dagger. *Ibid.*

in their new role as auxiliary soldiers rather than adopting European-style clothing. In 1836, Vallejo ordered all Indians “to dress like *gente de razón*.”<sup>71</sup> Isidora Filomena recalled that Solano’s dress began to resemble the Europeans after Vallejo privileged him with “a fine weapon and the missionaries gave him a hat and some boots.”<sup>72</sup>

Mrs. Frémont Older described the event from a slightly different point of view; it is worth noting that Mrs. Frémont Older’s prose tends to romanticize scenes and their trappings.<sup>73</sup> According to Frémont Older, Vallejo had privileged Solano with a “full dress parade” with a guard of Suisun and Napajo dressed in “uniforms, short jacket, linen cloak, cap, trousers, blanket, and saddlebag.” As part of a treaty of alliance, Solano received a horse and all its “fancy trappings, a silver watch, and riding boots.”<sup>74</sup> In return, Solano asked his followers to obey Vallejo. While it is likely that Frémont Older’s description of the scene and the gifts are slightly exaggerated, we do know that Vallejo and Solano had a somewhat forcible alliance that included a treaty, an exchange of gifts, and in time, Solano’s men did indeed receive orders from Vallejo. Over the years, Vallejo and Solano conducted a host of punitive campaigns against “hostile tribes.” The evidence suggests that fear and gift giving often played an integral role in the formation of alliances.

Despite Solano’s agreement with Vallejo and Vallejo’s order for the Indians to dress as *gente de razón*, some natives chose to continue to wear traditional forms of attire rather

---

<sup>71</sup> The term *gente de razón* generally refers to educated Christian Spaniards/Mexicans that held a respectable place within the existing hierarchy and followed the ways of the Church.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ronald L. Miller, “A California Romance in Perspective: the elopement, marriage and ecclesiastical trial of Henry D. Fitch and Josefa Carrillo,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 19, no. 2 (Spring 1973), <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/73spring/fitch.htm> (accessed March 25, 2010).

<sup>74</sup> Older, 294.



than follow Vallejo's order. Others continued the practice of ritual tattoos to fit their particular situation and views, which often included adaptation. Dorotea Valdez, a servant of Rosalía Vallejo, clearly revealed that in spite of Solano's agreement with Vallejo many of his followers continued to sport traditional attire. Valdez recalled that Solano was a tall "dark-colored savage" that dressed like the people of her "race;" here it is unclear if Valdez meant he dress like Mexicans or those of mixed heritage.<sup>75</sup> Many of his followers, however, "dressed like Indians" and continued to sport tattoos on "their wrists, arms, and legs."<sup>76</sup> Valdez's interviews clearly reveal that skin tone and attire continued to dictate one's status and placement in society, much like the *casta system* did. Observers in the 1840s noted that many Indians were now decorating themselves with "black and red tattoo-like stripes painted on their cheeks and chins" rather than actual tattoos, clearly revealing the adaptation of traditional practices in some groups.<sup>77</sup> This change in tattooing leaves one to wonder about the exact symbolism attached to the tattoo: for example, was it a ritual tattoo, a form of resistance, or perhaps it was a matter of peer pressure. It is likely that all of the aforementioned are possible given the diversity of the region and its inhabitants.

Other Native Americans chose to acculturate more fully. Frequently the exchange of

---

<sup>75</sup> Dorotea Valdez, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 36-37. Henry Cerruti conducted two interviews with Dorotea Valdez, June 27 and 28, 1874. Valdez spent most of her life as a domestic servant in prominent households in the Monterrey region. The evidence suggests that Dorotea Valdez was most likely of mixed heritage; allegedly, her father was Juan Bautista Valdez, a significant figure in the Southwest and California but she did not discuss her mother. The Vallejo servants, with the exception of their cooks, were Native Americans. Valdez was extremely aware of the social hierarchy, boasting on the deeds of her father yet fully understanding that she was left on the sidelines due to her ethnicity and the fact that as a woman she had little education or chance for social advancement. Valdez abhorred Vallejo and his arrogant behavior and orders, for example, making people salute his home in Monterey as they passed.

<sup>76</sup> Valdez, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 390-391.

<sup>77</sup> Edward Vischer and Erwin Gustav Gudde, "Edward Vischer's First Visit to California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (September 1940): 199.

gifts spurred the process. Vallejo truly understood the importance of giving gifts in forging alliances with native leaders, for example his alliance with Olompali leaders Aurelio and Camilo Ynitia.<sup>78</sup> Vallejo wanted Ynitia as an ally; in return, Ynitia wanted Vallejo's protection from the increasing number of outsiders entering the region. Camilo and perhaps his father Aurelio, asked Mariano Vallejo to build on, buy, or otherwise occupy the properties surrounding Olompali territory. In 1836, Camilo Ynitia and Vallejo signed a peace treaty that aligned the Olompali with the Mexicans. Camilo Ynitia was the last headman (*hoipu*) of the Coastal Miwok Olompali.<sup>79</sup> For his allegiance to Vallejo, Camilo Ynitia received a land grant of approximately 8,900 acres, *Rancho de Indios*, later renamed *Rancho Olompali*.<sup>80</sup> Ynitia was also one of only a few Native Americans to receive a large Mexican land grant that the U.S. government upheld; the other example was Prince Solano. Together Camilo Ynitia and Vallejo laid the foundations for new alliances. Ynitia's alliance with Vallejo also influenced the lives of his employees.

Camilo Ynitia not only acted as an arbitrator between the local Indians and the Mexicans, he also played an integral role in the Europeanization of the region, as did his

---

<sup>78</sup> Aurelio (native name—Inutia) was the Oye Chief of the Olompali, who were located near present day Sausalito, California. Camilo's mother was Aurelia (native name—Mineru), her tribal affiliation is unknown. Camilo (native name—Huemon) was baptized in January 1819 at Mission San Francisco. Pamela McGuire Carlson and E. Breck Parkman, "An Exceptional Adaptation: Camilo Ynitia, The Last Headman of the Olompalis," *California History Quarterly* 65 (December 1986): 238-247, 309-310; Dena Seif, "University of California Irvine Camillo Ynitia, Coast Miwok (1803-1856) - Catholic, Rancho Grant Owner" (2006), <https://eee.uci.edu/clients/tcthorne/notablecaliforniaindians/camilla.htm> (accessed June 20, 2009).

<sup>79</sup> Robert M Lynch, *The Sonoma Valley Story* (Sonoma, CA: Sonoma-Index Tribune, 1997), treaties 1836: (hereafter: 1836 Satiyomi Treaty).

<sup>80</sup> Maria Antonia and Maria Maximo (daughters of Camilo Ynitia), California State Historical Marker: Olompali Rancho, CA (June 20, 2009).

father.<sup>81</sup> In 1828, Aurelio Ynitia constructed the first private adobe building in the county.<sup>82</sup> An astute rancher and farmer, Camilo Ynitia sold his livestock and tallow to the Mexicans and later the Americans. He sold his agricultural surplus, namely wheat, to the Russians at Bodega Bay and Fort Ross.<sup>83</sup> The demand for tallow and hides increased exponentially with the advent of mechanized technology and the onset of the industrial revolution.<sup>84</sup> The growing demand for hides and tallow often created enormous waste and environmental degradation that frequently left Native Americans in what Randall Millikan referred to as “a time of little choice,” wherein many native inhabitants formed alliances and treaties with foreigners as a form of self preservation.

Some treaties and alliances required enlisting the help of foreigners, in this case, the Russians. A prime example of this was Vallejo’s 1836 treaty with Satiyomi Chief Succara, which mandated the return of “all the children of the Cainamero and Suison [Suisun] tribes” taken prisoner within the three previous years, as well as the return of all the stolen

---

<sup>81</sup> Burgess M. Shumway, *California Ranchos: Patented Private Land Grants Listed by County* (San Bernardino, CA: The Borgo, 1988), 39; Joan Reutinger, “Olompali Park Filled With History,” *The Coastal Post* (Sept. 1997), <http://coastalpost.com/97/9/13.htm> (accessed February 10, 2009). Mariano Vallejo suggested the land grant in 1843. Mexican governor Micheltorena approved it in 1843 and the United States acknowledged the grant in 1852, approval in 1857, and patent for the land grant came in 1862. Burgess M. Shumway, *California Ranchos: Patented Private Land Grants Listed by County* (San Bernardino, CA: The Borgo, 1988), 39; Joan Reutinger, “Olompali Park Filled With History,” *The Coastal Post* (Sept. 1997), <http://coastalpost.com/97/9/13.htm> (accessed February 10, 2009).

<sup>82</sup> Many scholars have suggested that Aurelio learned the art of making adobe bricks as a neophyte at Mission San Francisco. The Ynitia’s family history suggests that the first permanent physical signs of Europeanization on their land began when Camilo’s father constructed the first private adobe building in the county in 1828; Camilo Ynitia built the second adobe in 1837. Many scholars have suggested that Aurelio learned the art of making adobe bricks as a neophyte at Mission San Francisco.

<sup>83</sup> Ynitia was known for breeding sheep, cattle, and horses; the latter two comprised the majority of his trade transactions.

<sup>84</sup> Industrialization stimulated a growing need for belts, spacers, and grease for the machinery.

horses to officials at Sonoma or Fort Ross “within the space of one moon.”<sup>85</sup> According to historian George Tays, the treaty also required a periodic exchange of specific goods. Vallejo was to “deliver eight steers and two cows weekly to Chief Succara; Succara was to furnish two bears large enough to fight bulls, every new moon.”<sup>86</sup> They sealed the treaty by exchanging gifts and partaking in a feast, during which time some of the Indians performed traditional dances.

The treaty itself provides insight into native and non-native relations, including the Indian’s fear of the Mexicans (or perhaps just Vallejo) as well as a new level of interaction between the Mexicans and the Russians. Many Native Americans feared Mexican reprisal so a stipulation in the treaty allowed them to return captives and horses to the Russians at Fort Ross. As an incentive, Article 10 specified that “each prisoner turned over by Succar or his subalterns in the Plaza of Sonoma or at Fort Ross” would earn the person a “Succara ‘un caballo de falsa rienda’ (a horse not trained to the bit but led by a hackamore)” from the overseer of Vallejo’s Petaluma rancho.<sup>87</sup> Article 4 of the treaty provided the details for what was termed “a guarantee of the good faith.”<sup>88</sup> Wherein the brother of Chief Succara and his two sons would live “in the house of the Commandant General, during which time

---

<sup>85</sup> 1836 Satiyomi Treaty, Article 9.

<sup>86</sup> George Tays, “Mariano Vallejo and Sonoma: A Biography and a History,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (December 1937): 351, 371n20.

<sup>87</sup> 1836 Satiyomi Treaty, Article 10. See Glenn J. Farris, “The Russian Imprint on the Colonization of California,” in *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 1, edited by David Hurst Thomas (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1989): 486.

<sup>88</sup> 1836 Satiyomi Treaty, Article 4; Glenn J. Farris, “The Russian Imprint,” in *Columbian Consequences*, 486.

if they comport themselves well will be treated as if they were Russian officials.”<sup>89</sup>

Essentially the three were hostages.

The treaty did not mention which of Vallejo’s homes housed the hostages, *La Casa Grande* or his expansive *Rancho de Petaluma*, most likely *La Casa Grande*.<sup>90</sup> While one can only imagine how the hostages felt about the situation, by employing the works of previous scholars in juxtaposition with descriptions from contemporaries, one can create glimpses of material culture and everyday life that included the difference ethnicity played in one’s place and space in the new sociocultural stratum.

In many ways, the construction and internal workings of Vallejo’s home exemplify the monumental changes that occurred in Sonoma following secularization. Sonoma’s remote geographic location coupled with the lack of oversight from regional and central powers frequently permitted the personal ambitions of individual actors, like Vallejo, to monopolize power, labor, and local resources. The Sonoma Mission quickly fell prey to vandalism as Mariano and Salvador Vallejo, and undoubtedly others, began to strip the original mission building for materials to construct their homes. Former neophytes quickly found themselves—both voluntarily and involuntarily—working for Mariano Vallejo; of course, Vallejo was not the only one to take advantage of the Indians but he did have more Indian laborers than any other individual in the region, more power due to his official and military position, and he was the wealthiest.

---

<sup>89</sup> 1836 Satiyomi Treaty, Article 4.

<sup>90</sup> While it is possible that the hostages were detained at *Rancho de Petaluma*, it is more likely that they were held at *La Casa Grande* for several reasons. First, the rancho was still under construction. Secondly, while the Petaluma rancho was a secure and remote location, reinforcements should they be needed were at the barracks in Sonoma.

The main wing of Vallejo's first home overlooked the Sonoma Plaza. The second story allowed the viewer to see for miles in any given direction. By 1843, a three-story addition in the shape of a tower had been added to his home (see Fig. A6). The exterior was a mix of hand-hewn timber and adobe brick that for the most part had been stripped from the original mission buildings.<sup>91</sup> The interior sported a rich, elegant interior that allowed it to serve as "the center of social and diplomatic life north of San Francisco Bay."<sup>92</sup> Unlike the servants' quarters, the family's bedrooms displayed symbols of wealth and status such as real beds, dressers, chests, mirrors, paintings, and windows.

The two-story servants' quarters housed single servants on the first level and married employees on the second level. Those in the upper level generally held higher status. The single servants' quarters were a shotgun-style dormitory room, except instead of one door on each end of the building the doors were all on the same side of the building opening into a single, windowless room that was devoid of luxury with the exception of a table in the center of the room. Their beds were often no more than a straw-covered pallet on the floor. Usually on one end of the room, one would find a few roughly made chairs and musical instruments. Married servants generally had partitioned or small private rooms on the second floor that included a small window opposite the door. Their beds averaged four feet in length with a wood frame and perhaps even padding if they had enough extra clothing. Conceivably, they might also have a small rough wood chest, a small table and a chair or two (see Figs. A7-A12 for comparison views). The family's main cook was

---

<sup>91</sup> California State Parks, "Sonoma State," 4.

<sup>92</sup> California State Parks, "La Casa Grande," <http://www.napanet.net/~sshpa/lacasa.htm> (accessed July 22, 2009).

usually of European or Asian descent and he had his own quarters in a separate building, with several windows, better furnishings, and it was close to the focal wing of the main house.

Every member of the Vallejo family commanded several personal servants and, of course, there were various types of other domestic servants. There were seven or eight cooks, at least six servants to grind the corn for tortillas, several more washed the family's laundry, and a dozen additional servants worked to spin, weave, and sew the family's clothing. The Vallejos, however, did not pay their servants. Instead, they gave the servants and their children food and proper work clothes; the uniform depicted their duties and their status within the greater group clearly illuminating the disparity between class and race that is evocative of the *casta* system.<sup>93</sup> One can only imagine how the hostages viewed the scene.

In time, the hostages gained their release. For the most part, the treaty lasted through the year. Sometimes, treaties and the implied "obligations" in the gift-giving process were not honored, which frequently led to brutal punitive missions against the transgressor.<sup>94</sup> Occasionally the retaliatory attacks delivered unforeseen results. Such was the case when Lieutenant Pina and a contingent of Caimamero Indians soldiers went to quell the unrest by a group affiliated with Succara. The Caimamero infantry did not fight. Instead, they laid down and played dead. Apparently, Succara had struck a deal with the Caimamero

---

<sup>93</sup> Older, 292.

<sup>94</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. by Ian Cunnison (London: Cohen and West, 1970), 1.

who had previously been Vallejo's loyal allies.<sup>95</sup> Although the battle ended because of the arrangement, future punitive missions with other Indian troops proved more successful. General Vallejo not only used the neophytes and local Indians to fill his Indian auxiliary units and his labor needs, he also used them to fulfill his other diversionary activities and to promote trade.<sup>96</sup>

Trade played a decisive role in shaping relationships between native people and outsiders from the earliest days of contact. Much like the padres, Mariano Vallejo often encouraged natives to perform traditional dances to promote trade and entertain foreigners and locals alike.<sup>97</sup> Isidora Filomena remembered that the Indians frequently danced together on Sundays after Mass, and they even danced when the padre was there. Female dancers' outfits varied according to their group association.<sup>98</sup> They wore outfits that consisted of shell belts and rows of bones that covered the upper part of her body, "a crown of feathers on her head with a string of *adalorios* beads attached," and earrings made from the feathers and bills of waterfowl. Some of the Suysun [Suisun, Patwin] women had feathered sashes while the Chuructos painted themselves with "charcoal and red ochre."<sup>99</sup> The dance likely had a different meaning for each performer: for example, as an extension of the religious experience because it was after Sunday Mass, as a

---

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 350, 351, 355.

<sup>96</sup> Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California, 1976), 153.

<sup>97</sup> Cook, *Conflict Between*, 153.

<sup>98</sup> Filomena recalled both the pre- and post-contact attire for everyday life and for dancing; for example, women went from nudity or lightly clad to a skirt for modesty once the padres arrived.

<sup>99</sup> Filomena, quoted in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early*, 13.



continuation of traditional beliefs and customs, or as a form of resistance. Vallejo, like the padres, allowed the Indians to entertain the entrepreneurs to seal the deal and collect the trade goods.

Much like in the mission period, orders for trade commodities were usually filled on demand, for example, Auguste Dahuat-Cilly's order for deer tallow in 1827.<sup>100</sup> Consequently, when merchants arrived requesting goods there was a scurry to fill the order. This method of supplying commodities and goods frequently resulted in shocking waste, robbing the native people of their traditional foods as well as wreaking havoc on the environment. Hides, furs, and tallow came from deer, elk, bear, seals, otters, beaver, and bullocks; all but the latter were indigenous food sources. By the late 1830s, it was difficult to attain a license to hunt or trade in California because the Mexican government began reserving "the right to hunt for its own naturalized citizens" for two reasons.<sup>101</sup> First was their inability to control trade in the far reaches of the Northern Frontier. The second reason, according to Vallejo, was because the Russians, Americans, and Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) were overhunting the otters, beavers, and other creatures to the point of near extinction, leaving only enough wildlife to sustain the Mexican population.<sup>102</sup> He blamed the "foreigners" for leaving the coast, estuaries, and rivers of the region nearly devoid of wildlife. He did not consider the damage from Mexican exploitation or the

---

<sup>100</sup> Dahuat-Cilly placed his order and the neophytes went hunting to fill the order; they killed untold numbers of deer only to remove the fat and abandon the flesh to rot. For more information see chapter three or, Auguste Duhaut-Cilly, *A Voyage to California, the Sandwich Islands, & Around the World I the Years, 1826-1829*, trans. and ed. by August Frugéand Neal Harlow (Berkeley: University of California, 1999), 136-137.

<sup>101</sup> Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries*, 128.

<sup>102</sup> Mariano Vallejo, quoted in Richard Somerset Mackie *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793-1843* (Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press, 1997), 118-119.

hardships Native Americans faced due to environmental degradation.

Many Native Americans were inducted—forcibly and otherwise—into the “white man’s world.” Others were able to escape the grasp of foreigners and for the most part lived traditional lives. The French commander of the Southern Seas, Abel du Petit-Thouars, clearly illustrated in his journal that some “independent Indians” continued traditional lifestyles and hunting methods despite the reduction in natural resources. Petit-Thouars provides, perhaps unintentionally, a rich view of material culture and its adaptations, as well as the changing sociocultural fabric through his attention of detail. His ethical recording of his observations, differentiating between what he had personally witnessed and rumors, make his observations more credible although not always more correct.<sup>103</sup> He also had his biases. He had a lowly opinion of mission Indians compared to “independent Indians.” Petit-Thouars believed that missionized Indians were “dull and unintelligent,” and that “their state of idiocy” was likely a product of their “cloistered life and to the slavery to which they have been bound since infancy,” leaving them dependent on and at the mercy of the foreigners.<sup>104</sup> He characterized independent Indians who lived a great distance from the mission as intelligent and resourceful. Petit-Thouars did not reflect

---

<sup>103</sup> Ethical recording of a rumor that the Indians employed poison on arrows and other hunting tools, however, since he had never personally witness the act, he stressed it was only a rumor. Today we know it to be true. David Jones, a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Central Florida in Orlando, has clearly demonstrated in his book *Poison Arrows* many Native American groups in the region used neurotoxins for hunting. The Yorok, for example, used a form of *toxicodendron* on their arrows, while the Pomo had a “magical” arrow that was dipped in a poison made from “rattlesnake blood, pulped spiders, bees, ants, and scorpions.” For fishing, “*C. pomeridianum* was found in the arsenal of the Coastanoan, Cahuilla, Pomo, Yuki, Miwok, and Mendocino who also included *Marah oereganos* (Oregon Bigroot).” The Kashaya Pomo preferred Common Manroot for local rivers and in tidal pools. David E. Jones, *Poison Arrows: North American Indian Hunting and Warfare* (University of Texas, 2007), 75, 74.

<sup>104</sup> Abel Dupetit Petit-Thouars, *Voyage of the Venus: Sojourn in California*, Translated by Charles N. Rudkin (Los Angeles, CA: Glen Dawson, 1956), 77. His sojourn in California was between 1836 and 1839.

on the fact that some independent Indians could have been runaways; the Bay Area missions had the highest flight rate of the California missions.

Independent Indians continued to live in dispersed groups, each with their own language, and the groups continued to be extremely micropatriotic, as in the pre-contact period. Petit-Thouars noted due to dwindling natural resources that even independent Indians altered their garments and some even adapted their clothing, for example the addition of buttons. Materials with limited availability became a symbol of superiority within some groups.<sup>105</sup> Petit-Thouars wrote that “nowadays” deerskins were rare objects of luxury.<sup>106</sup> Women who could afford those luxuries also wore a reversible blanket woven from a variety of brilliantly colored feathers into picturesque symmetrical designs; those who possessed the rarest feathers held a higher status.<sup>107</sup> Thus, overhunting and environmental depletion changed everyday wear into an item of luxury and status among some Indians.

In his journal, Petit-Thouars also compared how missionized and non-missionized Indians provided for their own daily sustenance. Indians living near the mission tended to raise cattle and cultivate crops, such as potatoes, whereas independent tribes, according to Petit-Thouars subsisted on acorns, fishing and hunting.<sup>108</sup> During his stay, Petit-Thouars also witnessed a routine hunting expedition that employed traditional practices and

---

<sup>105</sup> Petit-Thouars, 79.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Petit-Thouars, 80.

weaponry.<sup>109</sup> When it came to disease, he believed that independent Indians were “less subject to disease” because they learned the efficacious use medicinal plants from their elders.<sup>110</sup> It is unlikely that this knowledge would have allowed them to survive the smallpox epidemics that decimated the region between 1837 and 1839.<sup>111</sup>

When the smallpox epidemic struck the Sonoma region, the majority of those not vaccinated and without immunity died. Doctor Platon Vallejo, the son of Mariano Vallejo, recorded the remembrances of Mariano Vallejo intermixed with his own memories and some analysis. Although Dr. Vallejo tended to romanticize his father’s role in the development of the region, when his discussion turned to disease he took on a more serious tone. He wrote that most of the “Spanish residents” who had been vaccinated were immune to the smallpox. The vast majority of the Indian population had quite a different experience.<sup>112</sup> Smallpox, according to Dr. Vallejo, “fell on the poor wild savages with the fury of a cloudburst.”<sup>113</sup>

Sonoma officials stressed cleanliness and applied a lime whitewash to the sides of Indian homes; those without vaccinations, however, rarely survived.<sup>114</sup> The native people, tortured with fever, “buried their bodies in a stream, cold as ice water, and at once the

---

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>110</sup> Petit-Thouars, 8.

<sup>111</sup> Sherburne F. Cook, *The Epidemic of 1830-1833 in California and Oregon* (Berkeley: University of California, 1955).

<sup>112</sup> Dr. Platon Vallejo, 29; Myrtle M. McKittrick, *Vallejo Son of California* (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1944), 140.

<sup>113</sup> Dr. Platon Vallejo, 29.

<sup>114</sup> McKittrick, 140.

infirmity struck home. It was not an infrequent case that out of a large Rancheria or village not a single survivor remained.” Indians with immunity received the enormous task of burying the dead and burning their homes and belongings.<sup>115</sup> Unfortunately, Mariano Vallejo’s business records and many of the public records that contained such information, went up in flames when *La Casa Grande* burn in 1867, leaving us uncertain of the exact number of smallpox-related deaths.<sup>116</sup>

The timing of the smallpox outbreak may have also stimulated the construction of the permanent buildings at Rancho de Petaluma as well as the destruction of the temporary buildings. If this is true, then archeologist Stephen W. Silliman’s analysis of the middens and trenches at the Petaluma rancho excavations are inaccurate, which in turn would mean his analysis of everyday life was also incorrect. Silliman claimed that the Indians who worked for Vallejo were well cared for and well fed, but this analysis does not hold up when one considers his finds from the Petaluma excavation in juxtaposition with other mitigating factors, writings from observers, as well as standard building methodologies.

Temporary structures usually served a dual purpose: first as a shelter from the elements and subsequently as storage areas. Apparently, this was not the case at Petaluma. Given the level of contamination from smallpox and the articles such as large-hewn

---

<sup>115</sup> Dr. Platon Vallejo, 29. Dr. Vallejo commented that as of late the plows of the farmer frequently unearthed these mass graves.

<sup>116</sup> Dr. Vallejo recalled his father and Solano discussing that the Southern Patwin population had dropped from forty thousand to a meager two hundred survivors following the first outbreak. U.S. Army officer Joseph Warren Revere suggested that twenty thousand in the Sonoma region lost their lives. Hubert Bancroft’s totals for the 1837 smallpox epidemic suggest nearly 70,000 souls were lost. *Ibid.*, 30; Joseph Warren Revere, quoted in Stephen W. Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California: Native Americans and the Archaeology of Rancho Petaluma* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2008), 60; Bancroft, vol. 4, 74 (respectively).

timbers found in the middens, it is likely that the temporary buildings and Indian village were razed to prevent future contamination. Thus, middens at Petaluma contained refuse from both native and non-native residence at the rancho rather than exclusively the waste products of the native populations as Silliman suggested. Many of the artifacts may have actually come from Vallejo's personal collection and/or the razed servant quarters and Indian village. Other artifacts that Silliman claimed were evidence of native adaption of European refuse, for example an incomplete bifacial arrow point made from glass bottles, were probably fashioned to pass the time waiting for the rubbish to burn. The aforementioned scenario would also better explain why Silliman was unable to locate the Indian village for the year round workers.<sup>117</sup> Given the lack of any other middens on the property, it is likely that all the residents—and not just Indians—utilized the middens.

Silliman claimed that the middens contained only Native American refuse. As a result, he deemed that the native population ate extremely well by the graces of Mariano Vallejo. This might be somewhat faulty thinking bearing in mind that to date no other middens have been found and the evidence suggests the middens were probably an early manufacturing/butchering (*matanza*) site.<sup>118</sup> Silliman failed to consider that if these remains truly represented only Native American refuse then they were also supplying a

---

<sup>117</sup> Living space was hierarchical with the favored living closest to the main complex (on the opposite side of the creek), while seasonal workers constructed temporary housing further from the creek.

<sup>118</sup> Silliman claimed that because no foundations or larger metal tools had been unearthed it was not a site for early manufacturing on the rancho. Early site would not have had foundations. The fragments from a thick-walled kettle and metal barrel hoops, in juxtaposition with the eleven complete carcasses whose bones were heavily processed and reveal signs of butchering with metal tools suggest that this location was an early or temporary manufacturing or *matanza* site. Moreover, Silliman did not consider during this period tools were extremely expensive and hard to come by thus it is logical that broken tools would have been salvaged and repaired at Fort Ross; Petaluma did not have a blacksmith during the early period.

good deal of their own daily sustenance, for example, the remains of deer, fish, rodents, birds, and shellfish.<sup>119</sup> Women and children traditionally gathered the latter three items, along with some of the flora findings. While this could reveal preference, as Silliman suggested, it could also depict hunger.

On the days the Indians worked, if supplies allowed, they received a fresh or dried strip of beef.<sup>120</sup> George Simpson noted during his visits that the Indians received and gladly ate “the worst bullock’s worst joints.”<sup>121</sup> Other observers from the period also noted that Vallejo’s Indian workers often lacked food and lived under the direst of conditions. If their observations are correct, then both men and women not only worked a full day at the rancho but they also needed to procure a major portion of the family’s daily sustenance simply to survive. Each passing year undoubtedly made attaining one’s daily food much harder, especially given the influx of foreigners and the environmental ruin that occurred due to massive immigration, overhunting, and the large-scale introduction of cattle.

Titian Ramsay Peale, an American artist and entomologist, noted the horrific waste that was an omnipresent part of the bullock trade when he visited Alexander Forbes’ rancho, an agent for the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC).<sup>122</sup> The rancho had a “bullock

---

<sup>119</sup> Silliman, *Lost Laborers*, 119. Unlike the finding at the Kasaya middens at Fort Ross, Silliman’s excavation revealed the presence of cattle and sheep remains, suggesting that both native and non-native persons used the refuse pile. For more information on the Kasaya see, Kent Lightfoot, et al., “The Native Alaskan Neighborhood: A Multiethnic Community at Colony Ross” *The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Fort Ross, California 2* (1997), Contribution of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility Number 55, Berkeley.

<sup>120</sup> Silliman, *Lost Laborers*, 160.

<sup>121</sup> Simpson, 177.

<sup>122</sup> Titian Ramsay Peale, *The Diary of Titian Ramsey Peale: Oregon to California, Overland Journey*,

skull” fence, which marked the passageway to Forbes’ home. Peale wrote in “all directions” the lands were “covered with carcasses in different stages of decomposition” with only “the hides & tallow...being preserved.”<sup>123</sup> The exploitation of native and non-native food supplies, coupled with environmental degradation left the native people in what Randall Milliken referred to as “a time of little choice.”<sup>124</sup> Without the missions to turn to for sanctuary, many found themselves forced to seek help and protection from foreigners who frequently forced the Native Americans into various forms of manual labor.

Although foreign intrusion had irreparably changed the region and pre-contact lifestyles for Native Americans, Sonoma’s remote location and geographic isolation, in many ways, left Spanish/Mexican values and beliefs frozen in time due to generational entrenchment of said ideas. This was especially true of entrenched ideologies associated with the *casta system*, as well as the illegal implementation of the *requerimiento* and *encomienda* labor systems, which entitled landowners to work native inhabitants without any form of compensation. In 1842, for example, “General Vallejo had 300 Indians in his employ at Yerba Buena,” as well as untold numbers at the mission, his many homes/ranchos, and a host of other business endeavors which exponentially increased the amount of Indians under his control.<sup>125</sup> Mariano Vallejo was of course not the only one to employ Indian labor. Some foreigners were tyrants while others, like Captain Sutter,

---

*September and October, 1841* (Los Angeles, CA: Glen Dawson, 1957), 72. Titian Ramsay Peale stated that Mr. Forbes was “an agent of the H B Company” he later refers to this company as the Hudson’s Bay Company. George Simpson with the HBC also discussed Mr. Forbes during his 1841 visit. *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> Peale, 73.

<sup>124</sup> Milliken, *Time of Little Choice*, title.

<sup>125</sup> Mackie, *Trading Beyond*, 293.



apparently treated his employees quite well. Titian Peale noted that the Indians working for Sutter always appeared to be “smiling and contented.”<sup>126</sup>

Similar comments were rarely heard when it came to describing Vallejo’s workers. George Simpson was a man of his times (in language), an experienced observer, and although his colorful descriptions of Vallejo’s workers are considered offensive today they tend to typify the comments from other observers. Simpson wrote that “General Vallejo’s Indians...[are] the most miserable of the race that I ever saw, excepting...the slave of the savages of the northwest coast. [E]very face bears the impress of poverty and wretchedness; and they are, moreover, a prey to several malignant diseases” including syphilis, which he deemed hereditary. Moreover, the Indians were “badly clothed, badly lodged and badly fed.” Simpson recalled that the law did not recognize their plight and that the Indians were “thralls in all but the name.”<sup>127</sup> While the letter of the law recognized Indians as equals, Simpson’s analysis (although colorful) was unfortunately quite correct in the case Vallejo’s workers. The generational entrenchment of innate superiority (over the Indians) and the continued use of the *encomienda* labor system left the majority of Mission Indians in various forms of servitude.

There were, of course, exceptions. Camilo Ynitia, as previously stated, was one of the few Native Americans in the Sonoma region to receive a land grant from the Mexican government, later upheld by the United States. Ynitia originally received the grant in exchange for his alliance with Mariano Vallejo. Under Spanish rule, there were only

---

<sup>126</sup> Peale, 65, 67.

<sup>127</sup> Simpson, 177.

twenty land grants in California. The Mexican government, by contrast, awarded over five hundred between 1821 and 1846: “during this period of ranch expansion, many Indians were captured and forced into enslavement as vaqueros, workers and servants.”<sup>128</sup> Ynitia’s land grant, at least for a short time, spared many native people from dependence on foreigners, which temporarily allowed them to form a quasi community.

The majority of Native Americans who resided on Ynitia’s land were his employees and their immediate families. The nature of their wages is unclear, leaving one to wonder if Ynitia, employed Vallejo’s *encomienda* system, Sutter’s method of paying in goods, or perhaps, he paid them in scrip. They lived in a separate village with traditional beehive dwellings about a quarter of a mile from Ynitia’s residence but it is unclear if they were a unified community. Over the years, Ynitia remained Vallejo’s loyal ally even during the 1846 Bear Flag Rebellion.

### Waning Mexican Dominance

The mid 1840s brought a myriad of changes to the region signaling the decline of Mexican dominance. Beyond missionaries, soldiers, Mexican colonists, fur traders and other entrepreneurs there were a growing number of Americans who in many ways exemplified the notion of Manifest Destiny; that is, a belief that Anglos had an inherent

---

<sup>128</sup> Helen McCarthy, William R Hildebrandt, and Laureen K. Swenson, “Ethnography and Prehistory of North Coast Range California,” in *Archaeological Research Report No. 8* (Davis: University of California, 1985), 77-78; John Lowell Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, “Western Pomo and Northwestern Pomo,” In *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C., 1978), 229. Helen McCarthy employees the term “enslavement” this, however, should not be considered the same kind of enslavement that African slaves endured. While it is true that Native Americans at times worked in chains, they were flogged, and even held/indentured without their consent, Native Americans did not face generational enslavement that African slaves did. Nor were they generally taken across the ocean to foreign lands (with the exception of a few groups, for example, indigenous Alaskans and Hawaiians) where kinship networks rarely existed. McCarthy, 77-78.

god given right to the land and its resources because of their innate racial superiority.

Unlike the Mexicans, who frequently differentiated people by race, ethnicity, and comportment, many Americans considered only two races. You were either white or you were not, and Mexicans, were not considered white.

The inhabitants of Sonoma faced a growing rabble of Anglo-American forces (Bear Flaggers) with their eyes set on California becoming the Bear Republic.<sup>129</sup> In Sonoma on June 14, 1846 Mariano Vallejo and many others became prisoners during the Bear Flag Revolt.<sup>130</sup> Many escaped during the commotion, including Prince Solano. Although U. S. Army Major John C. Frémont originally encouraged the Anglos to revolt, on June 23rd Frémont rode into Sonoma with sixty soldiers to quash the rebellion subsequently claiming the territory for the United States by raising the Stars and Stripes over Sonoma.

Frémont technically controlled Sonoma but the Bear Flaggers did not abandon their cause nor did the Mexicans. On June 24, 1846, twenty Bear Flaggers under the command of Henry Ford attacked Camilo Ynitia's rancho. Sheltered by the three-foot thick adobe walls, Joaquin de la Torre directed his fifty Mexican troops against American Bear Flaggers in the *Battle of Olompali*. De la Torre defeated the Bear Flaggers but Frémont

---

<sup>129</sup> According Dr. John Hussey, thirty-three or thirty-four Bear Flaggers attack Sonoma on June 14, 1846. William B. Ide, the newly elected leader the group, asked William L. Todd, cousin to Mary Todd Lincoln, to supply them a flag. Todd sketched and painted the first flag on a cotton cloth using homemade paint; the red paint for the start was created by mixing "blackberry juice, brick dust & oil." For more information see, Dr. John A. Hussey's "The California Bear Flag," in Milo M. Quaife, Melvin J. Weig, and Roy E. Appleman, *The History of the United States Flag* (Harper & Row, 1961), Chapter 17; Hussey, "New Light on the Original Bear Flag;" *California Historical Society Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (September 1952). According to Mrs. Frémont Older, the cloth used to make the flag came from a *manta*, a woman's skirt approximately three feet wide and five feet long. To this, they added a "stripe of red flannel from a man's shirt." She agrees that William L. Todd designed the flag but claims others did the work. Mrs. Frémont Older contended that Ezekiel Merritt led the Bear Flaggers in Sonoma. Older, 295.

<sup>130</sup> Linda Heidenreich, *"This Land was Mexican Once": Histories of Resistance from Northern California* (Austin: University of Texas, 2007), 77-87.

still held Sonoma and a slew of prisoners.<sup>131</sup> There was little hope that Mexico would send reinforcements due to their entanglement in the Mexican-American War. Suffice to say, Mexico was more interested in retaining control over Texas and Northern Mexico than their distant Northern Frontier in California.

When the prisoners were finally released, many were in poor health and most returned to their homes, ranchos and businesses only to find they had been ransacked. Mariano Vallejo remained Frémont's prisoner at Sutter's Fort until August 1, 1846. Vallejo and his companions received fair treatment until the arrival of Frémont. Frémont cut the prisoners' rations. It was during this period Vallejo contracted malaria. By the time of his release, the once-robust man weighed less than ninety-six pounds.<sup>132</sup> Vallejo returned home to find his warehouses looted, his employees scattered and a new flag flying over Sonoma.<sup>133</sup>

In sum, this chapter has discussed many reoccurring themes. Sonoma's distance from central and regional governing powers, its geographic isolation, personal ambitions, and the onset of secularization created an environment that allowed local officials, and many others, increased autonomy than regions closer to authority and oversight. This in turn played an integral role in the increased exploitation of Native Americans and exponentially increased the abuses they suffered both in the pre- and post-secularization periods, with the

---

<sup>131</sup> Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision: 1846* (Boston: Little Brown, 1943), 227; Josiah Royce, *California, from the conquest of 1846 to the second vigilance committee in San Francisco [1856] A study of American character* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2002 [New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1892]), 63; Seif, "University of California." Most accounts list the casualties as several wounded and one Mexican killed.

<sup>132</sup> Heidenreich, "*Land was Mexican Once:*" *Histories of Resistance*, 77-87.

<sup>133</sup> Because of the Mexican-American War and 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico ceded California to the United States; on September 9, 1850, California became the thirty-first state of the Union.

latter being the more abusive period. The abuses native people suffered at Sonoma were not only severe types of corporal punishment, but also rape, psychological abuse, labor exploitation and conscription, hunger, malnutrition, and of course, there was economic abuse in the form of land grabbing, debt peonage, and so on.

Increased foreign incursion commonly resulted in resource depletion and extreme forms of waste, noted by many observers such as Auguste Duhaut-Cilly and Titian Ramsay Peale. This in turn divested native peoples of their daily sustenance. Yet despite these harsh and often hostile conditions, the evidence presented here reveals that Native Americans did indeed retained limited forms of agency. Each chose his or her own method for coping with the changes that occurred with foreign incursion.

Some chose to continue traditional practices and others blended customs, rather than fully acculturating.<sup>134</sup> Isidora Filomena, for instance, was baptized a Catholic yet she had a traditional wedding and was likely a second or third wife to Prince Solano. She continued to live a traditional Native American lifestyle and planned to be buried in her wedding outfit until Henry Cerruti convinced the inebriated woman to relinquish it for a mere twenty-five dollars and some brandy. Prince Solano was one of the few survivors of a punitive mission led by Spanish soldiers in 1810 against his native village. His baptism occurred within two months of his capture. Although Solano did return to traditional life, in time, Mariano Vallejo forced Solano to work for him. Eventually, Solano led a contingent of Indian auxiliary soldiers in Sonoma. Yet he also chose to maintain

---

<sup>134</sup> James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (CA: Stanford University, 1992), 445; James Lockhart, ed., trans. *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993), 5.

traditional battle attire (until banned in 1836) and traditional marriage customs rather than fully acculturating Hispanic values; in any given period, Solano usually had one Christian wife and several country wives.

Camilo Ynitia, on the other hand, chose to acculturate to the Hispanic model and to ally with Mariano Vallejo. He was one of the few Native Americans to receive a Mexican land grant. He frequently served as an arbitrator between the Mexicans and local Native Americans. Ynitia's alliance with Vallejo also influenced the lives of his employees, mostly Olompali, who took refuge on his land from the outsiders. There can be little doubt that transcending the changing landscapes of Sonoma was an extremely difficult task, especially when one reflects on the abuse that occurred in the years following foreign intrusion.<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>135</sup> Sherburne F. Cook, *The Population of the California Indians, 1769-1970*, foreword by Woodrow Borah and Robert F. Heizer (Berkeley: University of California, 1976).

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

In the pre-contact period, California's diverse geographic makeup closely mirrored the diversity of the people that inhabited the various regions. There can be little doubt that this diversity also played a role in their vulnerability during foreign incursion because it inhibited their ability to form a large-scale resistance. A few of the key factors that contributed to their vulnerability include geographic dispersion and isolation, the multiplicity of languages, micropatriotic tendencies, multiple migrations, and unfamiliar gender roles that differentiated them as uncivilized "others" by the outsiders that inundated the region. The evidence suggests that indigenous people in this region were more sedentary than scholars have previously considered. It also indicates that women often played an integral role in leadership during the pre-contact period, a position they rarely enjoyed following the arrival of foreigners.

Each contingent of outsiders had their own reasons for coming to the region. By the early 1800s, outsiders pressed into California from all directions. Fur traders pushed westward across North America searching for pelts and skins. The Russians at Fort Ross found themselves sandwiched between the economic ventures of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and the Spanish/Mexicans. Americans and a host of other entrepreneurs also inundated the region after 1815.<sup>1</sup>

The frontier brought the padres the continued hope of converting and civilizing the

---

<sup>1</sup> The 1814 Treaty of Ghent ended the War of 1812 between the United States and Britain as well as proving a division of lands.

indigenous populations. In both the early period and the later period, gift giving played an integral role in attaining safe passage through a region, forging new alliances, fostering new relationships, securing perspective-building sites, as well as acquiring new baptisms and neophytes. The missions themselves provided the impetus and means for the Church to function as a bulwark of the frontier. Missions, then, also facilitated the development of a new political, social, and economic landscape for both native and non-native actors.

Despite these similarities, the Sonoma Mission was truly unique due to its unlawful founding in the Mexican period, its proximity to ports (San Francisco and Bodega Bay), as well as its distance from Mexico and regional authority. Isolation afforded local actors increased self-determination compared to regions with more oversight; the Sonoma Mission had only one padre. Moreover, Sonoma's location in the borderlands allowed for less oversight because they were further from regional authorities and the Russians were to their northern borders rather than a Mexican settlement. Distance not only played an integral role in the mission's founding but also allowed abuses to continue unchecked, which exponentially increased the mistreatment of native populations both before and after secularization, the latter being the more abusive period. For more than eleven years, Native Americans at the Sonoma Mission were the legal subjects of the missionaries. They were subject to the whims and punishments of the padre and the military, which often exceeded the letter of the law.

The letter of the law and the reality of its application (*de jure* verses *de facto*) were quite different in the far reaches of the Northern Frontier especially when it came to the missionization and secularization processes at Sonoma. The lack of oversight at Sonoma



created a venue where the despotic temperament of some padres allowed the missionization program to become extremely abusive. The increased abuse provided a setting where neophytes found themselves in dire circumstances, which resulted in two insurrections at the Sonoma Mission. Both insurrections resulted in the burning of major portions of the mission. The first uprising, previously unverified by scholars, occurred in 1824. Ironically, given the reason for founding the mission, Russian encroachment, Fray Altimira turned to the Russians at Fort Ross for help rather than his fellow Franciscans. Perhaps this was because his fellow Franciscans appeared to have little to no respect for him, or perhaps, he feared that his superiors would deem him unfit to administer the mission. The second rebellion in 1826 led to Altimira's flight to Mission San Raphael in fear of his life.

In the years following Altimira's flight, a host of padres attempted to minister the neophytes at the Sonoma Mission, but each had his own issues with the Mission, namely the power of the secular authorities, the Vallejos and later Antonio Ortega. With each new padre, the neophytes were forced to accept a new spiritual leader and new rules. Changing padres frequently resulted in a reshuffling of the mission's internal hierarchy as well as a greater presence of military personnel during the changeover.

Secularization of the Sonoma Mission might have been a good thing for the neophytes had it not been for the self-serving interests of the mission's administrators, greed of foreigners, depletion of natural resources, and entrenched ideologies of innate superiority over native populations, for example, the *casta system*. As a matter of law, emancipation of the neophytes and ending of the *casta system* was supposed to put

everyone on an equal footing. In actuality, native people faced increased discrimination, segregation, and abuse by the very foreigners who promised to protect them.

Mariano Vallejo controlled—both directly and indirectly—many aspects of military and civil authoritative command in the region both before and after secularization of the Sonoma Mission. The native inhabitants of the area had learned to obey orders because the consequences of disobedience commonly meant flogging. Consequently, native people repeatedly gave up everything they owned including their land if they thought it would protect them from further abuse.

In sum, there can be little doubt that the late founding of the Sonoma Mission, the political turmoil in Mexico, and Sonoma's distance from central government not only allowed for the founding of the "Outlaw Mission" but it also played a role in how the Mission developed. The increased independence in the region provided a venue for amplified levels of abuse and corruption. In the end, the Sonoma Mission served as a tool for the Church (for evangelizing) and the state (for securing territory and colonization), as well as providing a setting that permitted local officials, landowners, as well as various aspects of commerce to operate with autonomy.

Abuse, however, was also a part of a broader pattern of cultural encounter, conflict, adoption, and adaptation that ushered a myriad of other changes into the everyday lives of Native Americans. As increasing numbers of settlers inundated the region, the land was quickly divested of its resources. Native people were increasingly pressed to accept the lifestyles and the purported protection of the "whiteman" merely to survive.<sup>2</sup> Yet, as my

---

<sup>2</sup> Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena, 1995), title; Cook, *Conflict Between*, 153, 562-571;

research indicates, in many cases Native Americans did retain at least limited forms of agency. Camilo Ynitia, for instance, chose to acculturate to the Hispanic model while others opted to maintain traditional practices and lifestyles. Many Native Americans chose to adopt and blend a variety of concepts and material culture to fit their individual needs and circumstances.

#### Afterward

In the end, Mariano Vallejo sided with the Americans and convinced many affluent *Californios* to support American rule. He founded the town of Sonoma, owned its water and irrigation systems, as well as being the owner of numerous other properties and businesses. Vallejo was a member of the California Constitutional Convention. In 1850, he was elected as a member of California's first State Senate, shortly there after the cities of Benicia (after his wife) and Vallejo were founded (1850 and 1851, respectively); Benicia served as the State Capital from 1853 to 1856.

Isidora Filomena (Princess Solano), Prince Solano, and Camilo Ynitia each struggled in their own way to cope with the changes that ensued following the Bear Flag Rebellion and California's statehood. Camilo Ynitia, the last headman of the Olompali, for the most part appears to have intermingled or adopted a Hispanic lifestyle until at least 1852. During this year, Camilo Ynitia met with economic difficulties resulting in the sale of the majority of his land to James Black for a mere \$5,200.<sup>3</sup>

Prince Solano disappeared during the Bear Flag Rebellion. He was presumed dead.

---

Sherburne Cook, "Migration and Urbanization of The Indians in California," in *The California Indians: A Source Book*, eds. R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, (Berkeley: University of California, 1973), 551-561.

<sup>3</sup> Joan Reutinger, "Olompali Park Filled With History," *The Coastal Post* (September 1997), <http://coastalpost.com/97/9/13.htm> (accessed February 10, 2009).

Thus, when the U.S. government finally approved Solano's land grant of 10,000 acres, Mariano Vallejo was able to subsume the land. Solano, however, was not dead. During the Bear Flag Rebellion Solano witnessed, Vallejo's capture and assumed that Vallejo would be killed, so he headed further north. Solano returned to a native lifestyle and occasionally did some trapping for and trading with Americans and the HBC. In 1858, according to Dr. Platon Vallejo, he was sitting on the porch with his mother and father (Benicia and Mariano Vallejo) when they saw Solano walking up the driveway toward the house, an elegant Gothic American-Victorian home named *Lachryma Montis* (Latin for tears of the mountain).<sup>4</sup> Vallejo accepted Solano's offer to serve as a loyal ally. Solano, however, left after only a few days for the village of Cordelia to visit friends and family. He died shortly thereafter.<sup>5</sup>

Isidora Filomena continued to live under the protection of Mariano Vallejo, residing in a traditional-style dwelling that Henry Cerruti described as a hut located a distance behind the cook's quarters. From my examination of the site, Filomena's dwelling would have been between ¼ to ½ mile behind the cook's housing. She remained, according to her son Prince Bill, a "decided worshipper of Bacchus" lost in days gone by.<sup>6</sup> Cerruti characterized Prince Bill as an "intelligent" thirty year old, well versed in "reading and writing, [and] tolerably well versed in the mysteries of the Catholic Church." Cerruti

---

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Platon M. G. Vallejo, *Memoirs of the Vallejos*, Sonoma Library, <http://library.sonoma.edu/regional/notables/vallejo.html> (accessed July 22, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Cerruti paraphrasing Prince Bill, quoted in Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M Senkewicz, trans, eds. *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2006), 329.

seemed extremely impressed that Prince Bill had managed to save “a few thousand dollars,” which he kept in the bank (an action of a “civilized” man).<sup>7</sup> Here one can clearly see the generational differences that arose as well as the difference between acculturation and enculturation of Catholicism, first and second generations respectively.

In the end, independent Indians tended to retain traditional customs to a greater degree than missionized Native Americans did. On the other hand, neophytes had a better chance of finding work due in to the skills they had attained during missionization. The result of mission teachings and acculturation varied greatly in the years that followed secularization. Camilo Ynitia’s acculturation was more complete, whereas Prince Solano was caught between two worlds. Isidora Filomena, Princess Solano, nominally accepted some European customs but, for the most part, seemed to prefer a traditional Native American lifestyle. Apparently, at least in the case of Prince Bill and Filomena, the padres were right to consider children the most promising when it came to successful acculturation and Christianization.

Over the years, the Mission itself entered into a state of decline and disrepair mainly due to vandalism, which began with Vallejo’s use of the material to build his home on the Plaza in Sonoma and for parts of the barracks. Vallejo, of course, was not the only one to exploit the mission for building materials. Despoilment of the mission and its continued decline continued into the U.S. period. Following U.S. possession of the region, the barracks and surrounding area served as a kind of training ground for many notable U. S Civil War Generals, including John C. Frémont, Ulysses S. Grant, Joseph Hooker, and

---

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

William Tecumseh Sherman.

The Mission's land remained a highly disputed topic until May of 1862 when the United States Government patented 14.2 acres to the Sonoma Mission. The Sonoma Mission went from owning/holding thousands of acres before secularization, to only the ground the church sat on during secularization to 14.2 acres during the U.S. period.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **Abbreviations**

CM            California Mission Documents Collection

SBMAL        Santa Barbra Mission Archive-Library

### **Bibliographic Practices**

For unpublished manuscripts, I employ the following methodology for known information:

Correspondence is listed by author; multiple documents by the same author are subsequently chronologically to match the flow of archival numbers. Citation method is as follows:

(author, to receiver. Mission, date, document collection+number, repository.)

Example: Altimira to Señán. San Francisco, July 10, 1823, CM2450, SBMAL.

*Informes*: (year+informe. author, mission, repository.)

Example: 1823 *informe*. José Altimira, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL

### **Archival Sources**

#### **Correspondence**

Altimira, José. *Diario de la expedición con el objeto del territorio de examen para el nuevo planta de la misión en N .P .S. ..Alta Califa...25 de Junio de 1823 de la Alta Califa*. June 25 to July 22, 1823, CM2453, SBMAL.

\_\_\_\_\_, to Señán. San Francisco, July 10, 1823, CM2450, SBMAL.

\_\_\_\_\_, to Argüello. San Francisco Solano, July 22, 1823, CM2454, SBMAL.

\_\_\_\_\_, to Argüello. San Francisco Solano, August 23, 1823, CM2471, SBMAL.

- \_\_\_\_\_, to Argüello. San Francisco Solano, August 31, 1823, CM2474, SBMAL.
- \_\_\_\_\_, to Argüello. P.N., October 4, 1823, CM2496, SBMAL.
- \_\_\_\_\_, to Argüello. San Francisco Solano, March 29, 1824, CM2595, SBMAL.
- de Sarría, Vincente, to Altimira. San Juan Bautista, August 23, 1823, CM2472, SBMAL.
- \_\_\_\_\_, to Luis Argüello. San Carlos, October 18, 1823, CM2506, SBMAL.
- Durán, Narciso, to Argüello. San Jose, July 12, 1823, CM2451, SBMAL.
- Fortuny, Buenaventura, to J. Sánchez. San Francisco Solano, January 2, 1831, CM3317, SBMAL.
- García, Francico Diego y Moreno, to gobernador Figueroa. Santa Clara, June 30, 1833, CM3434, SBMAL.
- \_\_\_\_\_, to Figueroa. Santa Clara, June 30, 1833, CM3435, SBMAL.
- \_\_\_\_\_, to the all Alta California Missionaries. Santa Clara, July 4, 1833, CM3437, SBMAL.
- \_\_\_\_\_, to Figueroa. Santa Clara, August 4, 1835, CM3563, SBMAL.
- \_\_\_\_\_, to Figueroa and enclosed copy of Quijas' letter dated August 2, 1835. Santa Clara, August 12, 1835, CM3567, SBMAL.
- \_\_\_\_\_, to Figueroa on complaints against the missionary of San Francisco. Santa Clara, August 13, 1835, CM3568, SBMAL.
- Gutiérrez, José de Jesus María, to [Mariano Vallejo] Commandant General of California. San Francisco Solano, June 16, 1833, CM3427, SBMAL.
- Moreno, R. Letter from R. Moreno to Figueroa on the removal of the neophyte, Angel, from the mission. , Santa Clara, August 16, 1835, CM3569, SBMAL.
- Quijas, Lorenzo, to R. Moreno. San Rafael, May 4, 1835, CM3538, SBMAL.
- \_\_\_\_\_, to Mariano Vallejo on a proposed mission for Santa Rosa. San Rafael, August 21, 1839, CM3713, SBMAL.
- San Buenaventura Mission. Statement on the flight of José Altimira. San Buenaventura, January 23, 1828, CM3127, SBMAL.



Tápis, Estévan, to Argüello on the unwillingness of the neophytes to work outside the mission. San Juan Bautista, July 13, 1823, C 2452, SBMAL.

Vallejo, Mariano, to Figueroa. San Francisco, May 5, 1833, CM3414, SBMAL.

\_\_\_\_\_, to Figueroa. Sonoma, October 12, 1835, CM3577, SBMAL.

\_\_\_\_\_, to the governor concerning the revolt of a company of infantry. Sonoma, April 12, 1840, CM3752, SBMAL.

Informes (annual mission reports)

1823 *informe*. José Altimira, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL.

1824 *informe*. José Altimira, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL.

1825 *informe*. José Altimira, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL.

1826 *informe*. José Altimira, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL.

1827 *informe*. Buenaventura Fortuny, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL.

1831 *informe*. Buenaventura Fortuny, San Francisco Solano, SBMAL.

1832 Annual Missions Report, California Mission Documents, SBMAL.

**Printed Primary Sources**

Asisara, Lorenzo. "The assassination of Padre Andres Quintana by the Indians of Mission Santa Cruz in 1812: The narrative of Llorenzo Asisara." Translated, edited, and introduced by Edward D. Castillo. *California History* 68, no. 3 (Fall 1989): 116-125.

Bringas y Encinas, Diego Miguel. *Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain, 1796-97*. Translated and edited by Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977.

Cerruti, Henry. In Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848*. Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 2006.

- Choris, Louis. *The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816*. Stanford University Press, [1816] 1932.
- de Sahagún, Bernardino Fray. *Tree of Death, Tree of Life: A Lesson About the Cross from The Psalmody Christiana* (Christian Psalmody). Translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson. Salt Lake: University of Utah Press, 1993.
- Diaz, Bernal. *The Conquest Of New Spain*. Translated by J.M. Cohen. New York: Penguin Books, 1978.
- DuFour, John Clarence. "The Russian Withdrawal from California." Reprinted from *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* 7, no. 3 (September 1933): 240-276.
- Dunne, Peter Masten, S.J. *Black Robes in Lower California*. Translated Herbert Eugene Bolton. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952.
- Duhaut-Cilly, Auguste. *A Voyage to California, the Sandwich Islands, & Around the World I the Years, 1826-1829*. Translated and edited by August Frugéand Neal Harlow. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Fages, Pedro. *Expedition to San Francisco bay in 1770, diary of Pedro Fages*. Edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton. University of California, Berkeley, 1911.
- Figueroa, Governor. Decree, "Prevencones provisionales pora la emancipación de Indio reducidos." California, July 15, 1833.
- Filomena, Isidora. Quoted in, Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, trans., eds., *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848*. Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 2006.
- Font, Fr. Pedro *Font's Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition*. Edited by Herbert E. Bolton. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1978.
- Geiger, Maynard and Clement W. Meighan, eds. *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815*. California: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1976.
- Heath, William. *Sixty Years in California: A History of Events and Life in California; Personal, Political and Military...* San Francisco, CA: A.J. Leary, 1889 (reissued: *Seventy-five Years in California: A History of Events and Life in California...* Edited by Douglas S. Watson. San Francisco, CA: John Howell, 1929.
- Hittell, John. *History of the City of San Francisco and Incidentally of the State of California*. San Francisco, 1878.

Janitin. Quoted in Robert H. Jackson, *From Savages To Subjects: Missions in the History of the American Southwest*. Armonk; New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2000.

Khlebnikov, Kirill. *The Khlebnikov Archive: Unpublished Journal (1800-1837) and Travel Notes (1820, 1822, and 1824)*. Edited and notes by Leonid Shur, translated by John Bisk. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1990.

Khlebnikov, Kyrill. *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832*. Translated by B. Dmytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughan. Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976.

Kuskov, Ivan. Quoted in Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Laperouse, Jean-Francois de Galaup. *The First French Expedition to California: Laperouse in 1786*. Translated with introduction and notes by Charles N. Rudkin. Los Angeles, California: Glen Dawson, 1959.

Maclachlan, Morag, ed. *The Fort Langley Journals, 1827-30*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993.

Matiushkin, F. F. "A Journal of a Round-the-World Voyage on the Sloop Kamchatka, under the Command of Captain Golovin." Translated by Stephen Watrous. *Fort Ross Interpretive Association Newsletter* (September-October 1996): 5-6.

\_\_\_\_\_. Quoted in Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Lasuen, Fermin Francisco. Quoted in Francis F. Guest, *Fermin Francisco De Lasuen (1736-1803): A Biography*. Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1973.

Osio, Antonio María. *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California*. Translated, edited, and annotated by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996.

Palou, Fray Francisco. *Noticias de la Nueva California*. Translated and Edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966 [c1926].

\_\_\_\_\_. *La Vida de Junípero Serra*. Ann Arbor; Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966.

- Peale, Titian Ramsay. *Diary of Titian Ramsey Peale; Oregon to California, overland journey, September and October, 1841*. Introduction by Clifford Merrill Drury, bibliography by Carl S. Dentzel. Los Angeles, California: Glen Dawson, 1957.
- Pérez, Eulalia. Quoted in Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848*. Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 2006.
- Peirce, Henry A. Quoted in Maynard J. Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848: A Biographical Dictionary*. San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1969.
- Petit-Thouars, Abel du [Dupetit]. *Voyage of the Venus: Sojourn in California*. Translated by Charles N. Rudkin. Los Angeles, California: Glen Dawson, 1956.
- Revere, Joseph Warren. Quoted in Stephen W. Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California: Native Americans and the Archaeology of Rancho Petaluma*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008.
- Sales, Luis O.P. *Observations On California, 1772-1790*. Translated by Charles N. Rudkin. Los Angeles, California: Dawson's Book Shop, 1956.
- Simpson, George Sir. *An Overland Journey Round The World, During The Years 1841 and 1842*. Philadelphia, PA: Lea and Blanchard, 1847.
- Spain. Council of War and Royal Treasury Decree (May 6, 1773).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Las Siete partidas del sabio rey don Alonso el IX, glosados por el Lic. Gregorio López*. 1767 [1265]. Valencia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The new laws of the Indies for the good treatment and preservation of the Indians, promulgated by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, 1542-1543: a facsimile reprint of the original Spanish edition, together with a literal translation into the English language / to which is prefixed an historical introduction by the late Henry Stevens of Vermont and Fred W. Lucas*. New York : AMS Press, 1971.
- Valdez, Dorotea. Quoted in Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848*. Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 2006.
- Vancouver, George. *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.

Vallejo, Mariano. Quoted in Richard Somerset Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793-1843*. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press, 1997.

Platon M. G. Vallejo, *Memoirs of the Vallejos: New Light on the History, before and after the 'Gringos' Came*. James D. Stevenson and the Napa County Historical Society, 1994.

Vischer, Edward and Erwin Gustav Gudde, "Edward Vischer's First Visit to California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (September 1940): 193-216.

Von Lansdorff. George H. *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World during the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1807*. Part 2. London: Henry Colburn.

### Secondary Sources

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 2006.

Baily, Gauvin. *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*. BC: University of Toronto, 2001.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Works Of Hubert Howe Bancroft*. 6 vols. San Francisco: the History Company, 1888-1890.

Baumhoff, Martin A. and Robert I. Orlins. *An Archaeological Assay on Dry Creek, Sonoma County, California* 40. Berkeley, University of California: Department of Anthropology, 1979.

Bean, John Lowell. *California Indian Shamanism*. Ballena Press Anthropological Papers, no. 39, 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_, and Dorothea Theodoratus. "Western Pomo and Northwestern Pomo." In Robert F. Heizer, edited, *Handbook of North American Indians*. Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C., 1978.

Beebe, Rose Marie and Robert M Senkewicz, trans, eds. *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848*. Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 2006.

Berger, John A. *The Franciscan Missions of California*. New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1941.

- Bolton, Herbert E. *Anza's California Expeditions*. Vol. 1-5. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands*. Edited and introduction by John Francis Bannon. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Fray Juan Crespi, missionary explorer on the Pacific coast, 1769-1774*. New York, AMS Press, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Thomas Maitland Marshall. *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783*. New York: MacMillan Company, 1920.
- Bouvier, Virginia Marie. *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001.
- Boyer, Richard and Geoffrey Spurling. *Colonial Lives: Documents on Latin American History*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Burkhart, Louise M. *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. Tucson, Arizona: the University of Arizona Press, 1989.
- Burkholder, Mark A. & Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, eds. 5. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Burns, Bradford E. *The Poverty of Progress: Latin America in the Nineteenth Century*. Los Angeles; California: University of California Press, 1983.
- California State Parks. *Sonoma State Historic Park*. California: Sonoma State Historic Park Association, 2002.
- Chapman, Charles E., PhD. *A History of California: The Spanish Period*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1936.
- Cook, Sherburne F. *The Aboriginal Population of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties*. California. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Epidemic of 1830-1833 in California and Oregon*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Migration and Urbanization of The Indians in California." In, *The California Indians: A Source Book*. Edited by R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: university of California Press, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Population of the California Indians, 1769-1970*. Foreword by Woodrow Borah and Robert F. Heizer. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Population Trends Among the California Mission Indians*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940.
- Costo, Rupert and Jeannette Henry Costo. *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*. San Francisco, California: Indian Historian Press, 1987.
- Crosby, Alfred. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, 225. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1972.
- Curtis, Edward. *The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing The Indians of the United States, The Dominion of Canada, and Alaska* 14. Norwood, Massachusetts: Plimpton Press, 1924.
- DeVoto, Bernard. *The Year of Decision: 1846*. Boston: Little Brown, 1943.
- Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 2005).
- Diel, Lori Boornzian. *The Tira de Tepechpan: Negotiating Place Under Aztec and Spanish Rule*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.
- Engelhardt, Zephyrin. *The Franciscans in California*. Harbor Springs, Michigan: Holy Childhood Indian School, 1897.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Missions and Missionaries of California: Upper California*. Vols. 1-4. San Francisco; California: James H. Barry Company, 1908-1916.
- Farris, Glenn J. "The Russian Imprint on the Colonization of California." In *Columbian Consequences*, vol.1. Edited by David Hurst Thomas. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1989.
- Farriss, Nancy M. *Crown And Clergy In Colonial Mexico, 1759-1821: The Crisis Of Ecclesiastical Privilege*. London: Athlone Press, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The collective Enterprise of Survival*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984.

- Gardner, June Ericson. *Olompali: In The Beginning*. Fort Bragg, California: Cypress House Press, 1995.
- Geary, Gerald Joseph. *The Secularization of the California Missions (1810-1846)*. Washington, D.C.: the Catholics University of America, 1934.
- Gebhardt, Charles L. *Historic Archeology At The Site Of Vallejo's Casa Grande Sonoma, California – 1962*. Salinas, California: Coyote Press (Facsimile Reprint).
- Geiger, Maynard J. *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848: A Biographical Dictionary*. San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1969.
- Gibson, J. R. "The Maritime Trade of the North Pacific Coast," in *Handbook of North American Indians: History of Indian-White Relations*, vol 4, ed. W. E. Washburn (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988).
- Guest, Francis F. *Fermin Franciso De Lasuen (1736-1803): A Biography*. Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Hispanic California Revisited*. California: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1996.
- Haas, Lisbeth. *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Hackel, Steven. *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2005.
- Hecht, Tobias. *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin American History and Society*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.
- Heidenreich, Linda. *"This Land was Mexican Once:" Histories of Resistance from Northern California*. Austin: University of Texas, 2007.
- Heizer, Robert. *Handbook of North American Indians* 8. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and M.A. Whipple. *The California Indians: A Source Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- Hudson, William Henry. *The Famous Missions of California*. New York: Dodge Publishing Company, 1901.



- Hunter, Alexander. *Vallejo: A California Legend*. Sonoma, California: Sonoma State Historic Park Association, 1992.
- Hussey, John A. Dr. "The California Bear Flag." In Milo M. Quaife, Melvin J. Weig, and Roy E. Appleman, *The History of the United States Flag*. Harper & Row, 1961: Chapter 17.
- Jackson, Robert H. *From Savages To Subjects: Missions in the History of the American Southwest*. Armonk; New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687-1840*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *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.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Race, Caste, And Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Edward Castillo. *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.
- Jennings, Jesse D. ed. *Ancient North Americans*. New York: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1983.
- Jones, David E. *Poison Arrows: North American Indian Hunting and Warfare*. University of Texas Press, 2007.
- Kelly, Isabel. "Coast Miwok" in *Handbook of North American Indians* 8. Edited by Robert Heizer. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1978.
- Kicza, John E. *Resilient Cultures: America's Native Peoples confront European Colonization, 1500-1800*. Upper Saddle River; New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2003.
- Kroeber, A. L. *Handbook of the Indians of California*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, 1925.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Indian Myths of South Central California* 4, no. 6. University of California Publications American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Religion of the Indians of California* 4, no. 4. University of California Publications American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1907.

- Langer, Erick D. and Robert H. Jackson. *The New Latin American Mission History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- Lightfoot, Kent G. *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Lipsett-Rivera, Sonya. "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.
- Lockhart, James, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford University Press, California, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. and trans. *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Lynch, Robert M. *The Sonoma Valley Story*. California: Sonoma-Index Tribune, 1997.
- Mackie, Richard Somerset. *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793-1843*. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press, 1997.
- Mathes, Michael W. *The Russian-Mexican Frontier: Mexican Documents Regarding the Russian Establishments in California, 1808-1842*. Jenner, California: Fort Ross Interpretive Association, 2008.
- Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, translated by Ian Cunnison. London: Cohen and West, 1970.
- McCarthy, Helen, William R Hildebrandt and Lauren K. Swenson. "Ethnography and Prehistory of North Coast Range California." In *Archaeological Research Report No. 8*. Davis: University of California, 1985.
- McKittrick, Myrtle M. *Vallejo Son of California*. Portland, OR: Binfords and Mort, 1944.
- Milanich, Jerald. *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1999.
- Milliken, Randall. *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810*. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1995.

- Munro-Fraser, J. P. *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.
- Norris, Jim. *After "The Year Eighty": The Demise of Franciscan Power in Spanish New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2000.
- Older, Fremont Mrs. *California Missions and Their Romances*. New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1945.
- Politi, Leo. *The Mission Bell*. New York: Scribner, 1953.
- Premo, Bianca. "Minor." In Tobias Hecht, *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin American History and Society*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.
- Radding, Cynthia Murrieta. *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Ray, Arthur J. "The Hudson's Bay Company and Native People." In Robert Hiezer, *Handbook of North American Indians* 8. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1978.
- Reff, Dainiel T. *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991.
- Restall, Matthew, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano. *Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Robinson, W. W. *Land in California: The Story of Mission Lands, Ranchos, Squatters, Mining Claims, Railroad Grants, Land Scrip, Homesteads*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948 (reprinted 1979).
- Rolle, Andrew F. *An American in California: The Biography of William Heath Davis, 1822-1909*. San Mariano, California: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1956.
- Royce, Josiah. *California, from the conquest of 1846 to the second vigilance committee in San Francisco [1856] A study of American character*. Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2002 [New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1892].
- Ruscin, Terry. *Mission Memoirs*. San Diego, California: Sunbelt Publications, 1999.
- James Saeger *The Chaco Mission Frontier: The Guaycuran Experience*. Tucson: University of Arizona, 2000.

- Sandos, James A. *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Schroeder, Susan, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett. *Indian Women of Early Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.
- Schwartz, Stuart B. *The Victors Vanquished: Spanish and Nahua Views of the Conquest of Mexico*. New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000.
- Shumway, Burgess M. *California Ranchos: Patented Private Land Grants Listed by County*. San Bernardino, California: Borgo Press, 1988.
- Silliman, Stephen W. *Lost Laborers in Colonial California: Native Americans and the Archaeology of Rancho Petaluma*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008.
- Smilie, Robert S. *The Sonoma Mission: San Francisco Solano de Sonoma: The Founding, Ruin and Restoration of California's 21st Mission*. Fresno, California: Valley Publishers, 1975.
- Sonoma County. *Sonoma Country Inn Draft: EIR*. [5.9 Cultural Resources], California.
- Soustelle, Jacques. *Daily Life Of The Aztecs: On The Eve Of The Spanish Conquest*. Translated by Patrick O'Brian. California: Stanford University Press, California, 1976.
- Sweet, David. "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History." In Erick D Langer and Robert H. Jackson, *The New Latin American Mission History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- Thomas, Robert C. *Drake at Olompali*. California: Apala Press, 1979.
- Wise, Winifred Esther. *Fray Junípero Serra and the California Conquest*. New York: Scribner, 1967.
- Wood, Stephanie. *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico*. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.

### Articles

- Antal, G. M., S. A. Lukehart, A. Z. Meheus. "The endemic treponematoses." *Microbes Infect* 4, no. 1 (January 2002): 83-94.
- Herbert Eugene. "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies." *The American Historical Review* 23, no. 1 (October 1917): 42-61.

- Broadbent, Sylvia. "Conflict at Monterey: Indian Horse Raiding 1820-1850." *Journal of California Anthropology* 1, no 1 (1794): 86-101.
- Bollaert, W.M. "On the Alleged Introduction of Syphilis from the New World. Also Some Noted from the Local and Imported Diseases into America." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London* 2 (1864): cclvi-cclxix.
- Carlson, Pamela McGuire and E. Breck Parkman. "An Exceptional Adaptation: Camilo Ynitia, The Last Headman of the Olompalis." *California History Quarterly* 65 (December 1986): 238-310.
- Geiger, Maynard F. "Mission San Gabriel in 1814." *Southern California Quarterly*, 53:3 (Sept. 1971): 199-234.
- Gentilcore, R. Louis. "Missions and Mission Lands of Alta California." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51, no. 1 (March 1961): 46-72.
- Guest, F. Frances. "Cultural Perspectives on California Mission Life." *Southern California Quarterly*, 65:1 (Spring 1983): 1-65.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "An Examination of the Thesis of S.F. Cook on the Forced Conversion of the Indians in the California Missions." *Southern California Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (1979): 1-77.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Indian Policy under Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, California's Second Father President." *California Historical Society Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (1966): 195-224.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "An Inquiry into the Role of the Discipline in California Mission Life." *Southern California Quarterly* 71.1 (1989): 1-68.
- Hackel, Steven W. "Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California." *California History* 76, no. 2 (1997): 111-146.
- Hurtado, Albert L. "California Indian Demography, Sherburne F. Cook, and the Revision of American History." *Pacific Historical Review* 58, no. 3 (August 1989): 323-343.
- Hutchinson, C. Alan. "The Mexican Government and the Mission Indians of Upper California, 1821-1835." *The Americas* 21, no. 4 (April 1965): 335-362.
- Hussey, John A. Dr. "New Light on the Original Bear Flag." *California Historical Society Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (September 1952): 205-217.

- Jackson, Robert H. "The Dynamic of Demographic Collapse in the San Francisco Bay Missions, Alta California." *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 141-156.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Gentile Recruitment and Population Movements in the San Francisco Bay Area Missions." *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 6, no. 2 (1984): 225-239.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Impact of Liberal Policy on Mexico's Northern Frontier: Mission Secularization and the Development of Alta California, 1812-1846." *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 2, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 195-255.
- Kardulias, P. N. "Fur Production as a Specialized Activity in a World System: Indians in the North American Fur Trade." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 14, no. 1 (1990): 25-60.
- Kicza, John. "Native American, African, and Hispanic Communities during the Middle Period in the Colonial Americas." *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 1 (1997): 9-17.
- Langer, Erick D and Robert H Jackson. "Colonial and Republican Missions Compared: The Cases of Alta California and Southeastern Bolivia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 2. (April 1988): 286-311.
- Lightfoot, Kent, Ann M. Schiff, and Thomas A. Wake. "The Native Alaskan Neighborhood: A Multiethnic Community at Colony Ross." *The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Fort Ross, California*, 2 (1997): 1-16. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility Number 55, Berkeley.
- Miller, Ronald L. "A California Romance in Perspective: the elopement, marriage and ecclesiastical trial of Henry D. Fitch and Josefa Carrillo." *The Journal of San Diego History* 19, no. 2 (Spring 1973).  
<https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/73spring/fitch.htm> (accessed March 25, 2010).
- Nesvig, Martin "The Complicated Terrain of Latin American Homosexuality." Special issue. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, no. 3-4 (August-November 2001): 689-729.
- Pauley, Kenneth. "Weights & Measurements in California's Mission Period: Part I – Linear Measurements." *California Mission Studies Assn. Articles*. [www.ca-missions.org/](http://www.ca-missions.org/) (accessed April 14, 2007).

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Weights & Measurements in California's Mission Period: Part 2 – Area Measurements." *California Mission Studies Assn. Articles*. [www.ca-missions.org/](http://www.ca-missions.org/) (accessed April 14, 2007).
- Powers, Robert. "Drake's Landing in California: A Case for San Francisco Bay." *California Historical Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (1974): 101-130.
- Pritchard, Diane Spencer. "Joint Tenants of the Frontier: Russian/Hispanic Interactions in Alta California, 1812-1841." *The Californians* 9, no. 5 (1992): 19-31.
- Reutinger, Joan. "Olompali Park Filled With History." *The Coastal Post* (September, 1997). <http://coastalpost.com/97/9/13.htm> (accessed February 10, 2009).
- Schneider, J. K. "Transcending the Spiritual Conquest: From Tenochtitlan to Mission San Francisco Solano," *McNair Research Journal: University of Oregon* (2008): 139-184.
- Shipek, Florence C. "California Indian Reactions to the Franciscans." *The Americas* 41, no. 4 (April 1985): 480-492.
- Taylor & Francis, Ltd. "Russian Sources for the Writing of Pacific History." *The Journal of Pacific History* 17, no. 4 (Oct., 1982): 218-221.
- Tays, George. "Mariano Vallejo and Sonoma: A Biography and a History." *California Historical Society Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (December 1937): 348-372.
- White, Richard. "The Gold Rush: Consequences and Contingencies." *California History* 77, no. 1 (1998): 42-55.
- Wood, Stephanie. "The Cosmic Conquest: Late-Colonial Views of the Sword and Cross in Central Mexican Títulos." *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 2 (Spring, 1991): 176-195.

#### **Unpublished Printed Scholarly Works**

- Silliman, Stephen W. "Colonial world, Indigenous Practices: The Archaeology of Labor on a 19th –Century California Rancho," PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2000.
- Thigpen, Jennifer. "Obligations of Gratitude: Gender, Interaction, and Exchange in the Nineteenth-Century Hawaiian Islands." PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2007.

**Other Printed Material (Magazines, Newspapers, Pamphlets)**

Sonoma State Historical Park Association, *Seven Flags Over Sonoma*. Sonoma, California: Sonoma State Historical Park Association, 2009.

*Stockton Daily Independent*. "A Captain And Lieutenant Cashiered." Stockton, San Joaquin Co., California (January 28, 1864). *New Paper Abstracts*, <http://www.newspaperabstracts.com/link.php?id=48958> (accessed February 8, 2008).

Vallejo, Guadalupe. "Ranch and Mission Days." *Century Magazine*, 41 (December 1890): 183-192.

**Lectures and Presentations**

Fountain, Steven M. "The Republic of Hell: Raiding Beyond Nineteenth-Century California's False Front," lecture, University of Washington, Pullman, October 2, 2008.

Haskett, Robert. "The California Mission Frontier," lecture, University of Oregon, Eugene, January 19, 2006.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Changing Socio-political Landscape in Late-Colonial Spanish America," lecture, University of Oregon, Eugene, January 12, 2006.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Class, Caste, and Culture," lecture, University of Oregon, Eugene, January 4, 2006.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The First Human Societies," lecture, University of Oregon, Eugene, September 29, 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Forging 'Civilizations,'" lecture, University of Oregon, Eugene, October 4, 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Missions," lecture, University of Oregon, Eugene, May 16, 2007.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Society and Culture in the Nineteenth Century," lecture, University of Oregon, Eugene, February 16, 2006.

**Film / Videos**

California State Parks. On-site video, Sonoma Barracks, California (June 13, 2009).

Howser, Huell. "*California Missions*." VHS 108. California Public Broadcasting Systems, 2000.



### Historical Markers

Fort Ross State Historical Park. On-site placard. Fort Ross, Jenner, California (June 17, 2009).

Ynitia, Maria Antonia and Maria Maximo. California State Historical Marker. Olompali Rancho, California (June 20, 2009).

### Websites

Athanasius Schaefer Multimedia. "Mission San Francisco Solano (Sonoma)." <http://www.athanasius.com/camission/sonoma.htm> (accessed April 5, 2007).

California Missions Website. "San Francisco Solano." <http://mission.bgmm.com/sanfran.htm> (accessed March 7, 2007).

California Native American Heritage Commission. Native California Languages and Tribes." <http://ceres.ca.gov/nahc/lanuage.html> (accessed June 1, 2009)

California State Parks. "La Casa Grande." <http://www.napanet.net/~sshpa/lacasa.htm> (accessed July 22, 2009).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Olompali SHP" Historic No. 172. [http://search.parks.ca.gov/cgi-bin/MsmGo.exe?grab\\_id=193&EXTRA\\_ARG=&CFGNAME=MssFind%2Ecfg&host\\_id=42&page\\_id=1966848&query=olompali&hiword=olompali+](http://search.parks.ca.gov/cgi-bin/MsmGo.exe?grab_id=193&EXTRA_ARG=&CFGNAME=MssFind%2Ecfg&host_id=42&page_id=1966848&query=olompali&hiword=olompali+) (accessed April 12, 2007).

Emory College. "Mestizaje." <http://www.college.emory.edu/culpeper/BAKEWELL/type.html> (accessed February 17, 2006).

Fischer, Edward. *Mission San Francisco Solano*. Pencil drawing, 1832. Honnold/Mudd Library Special Collections. <http://libraries.claremont.edu/sc> (accessed January 13, 2010).

Haskett, Robert. Lecture, Latin American History. University of Oregon, Eugene. <https://blackboard.uoregon.edu/webapps/portal/frameset.jsp> (accessed February 16, 2006).

Fort Ross State Historical. "Fort Ross Chronology, including the Pacific Coast." <http://www.fortrossstatepark.org/chronology.htm> (accessed June 20, 2009).

Parkman, Breck E. "Russian Silver in Mexican California" (September 23, 2006). [http://www.parks.ca.gov/?page\\_id=24474](http://www.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=24474) (accessed June 21, 2009).

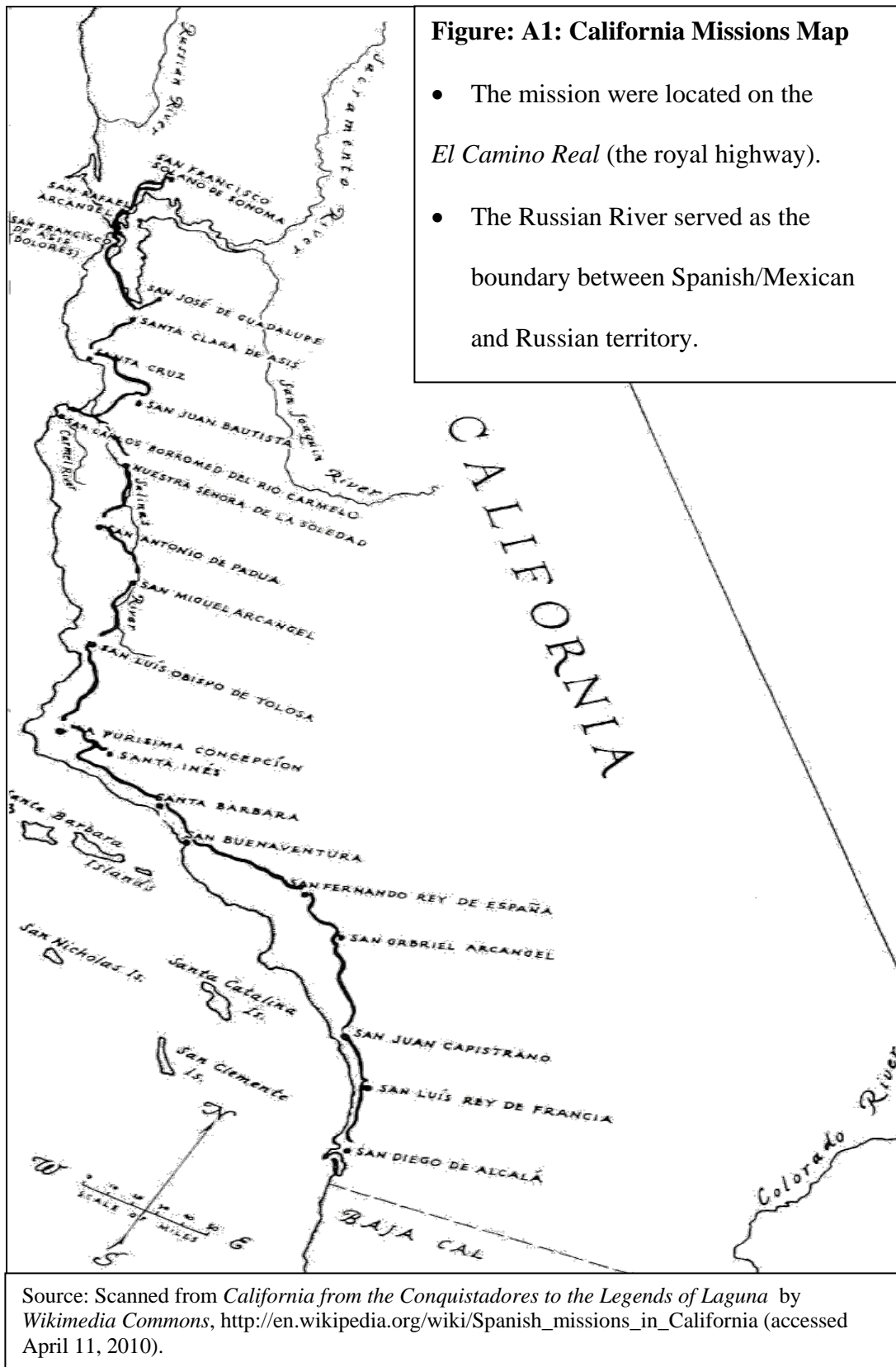
Seif, Dena. "University of California Irvine Camillo Ynitia, Coast Miwok (1803-1856) - Catholic, Rancho Grant Owner" (2006),  
<https://eee.uci.edu/clients/tcthorne/notablecaliforniaindians/camilla.htm> (accessed June 20, 2009).

Simondi, Thomas E. "A Virtual Tour of the California Missions: Mission Materials."  
<http://missiontour.org/related/adobe.htm> (accessed June 4, 2008).

Sonoma State Historic Park. Website: "Mission San Francisco Solano."  
<http://www.napanet.net?7Esshpa/mission.htm> (accessed February 10, 2007).

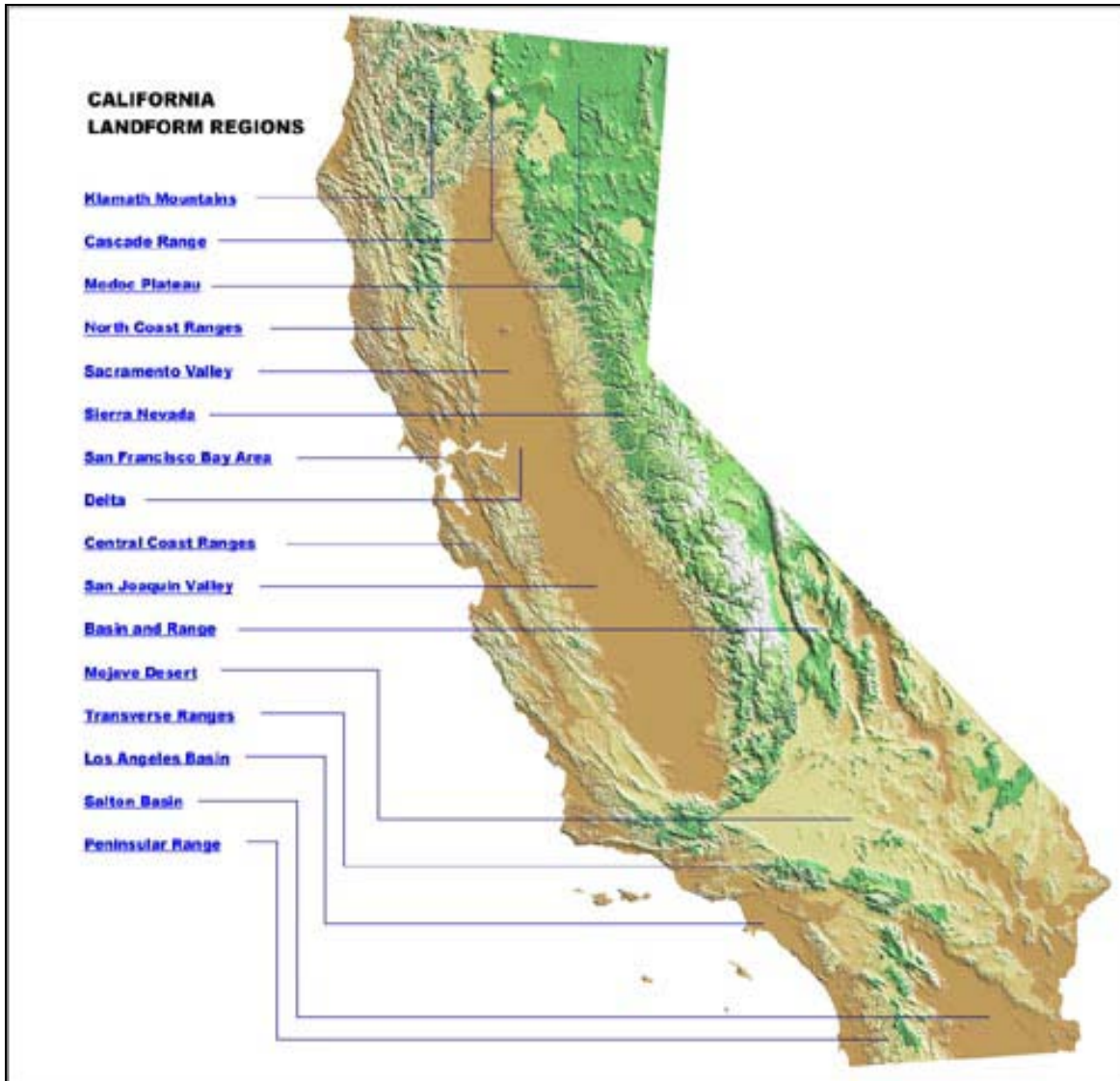
Vallejo, Platon M. G. Dr. *Memoirs of the Vallejos*. Sonoma Public Library,  
<http://library.sonoma.edu/regional/notables/vallejo.html> (accessed July 22, 2009).

## **APPENDIX A**



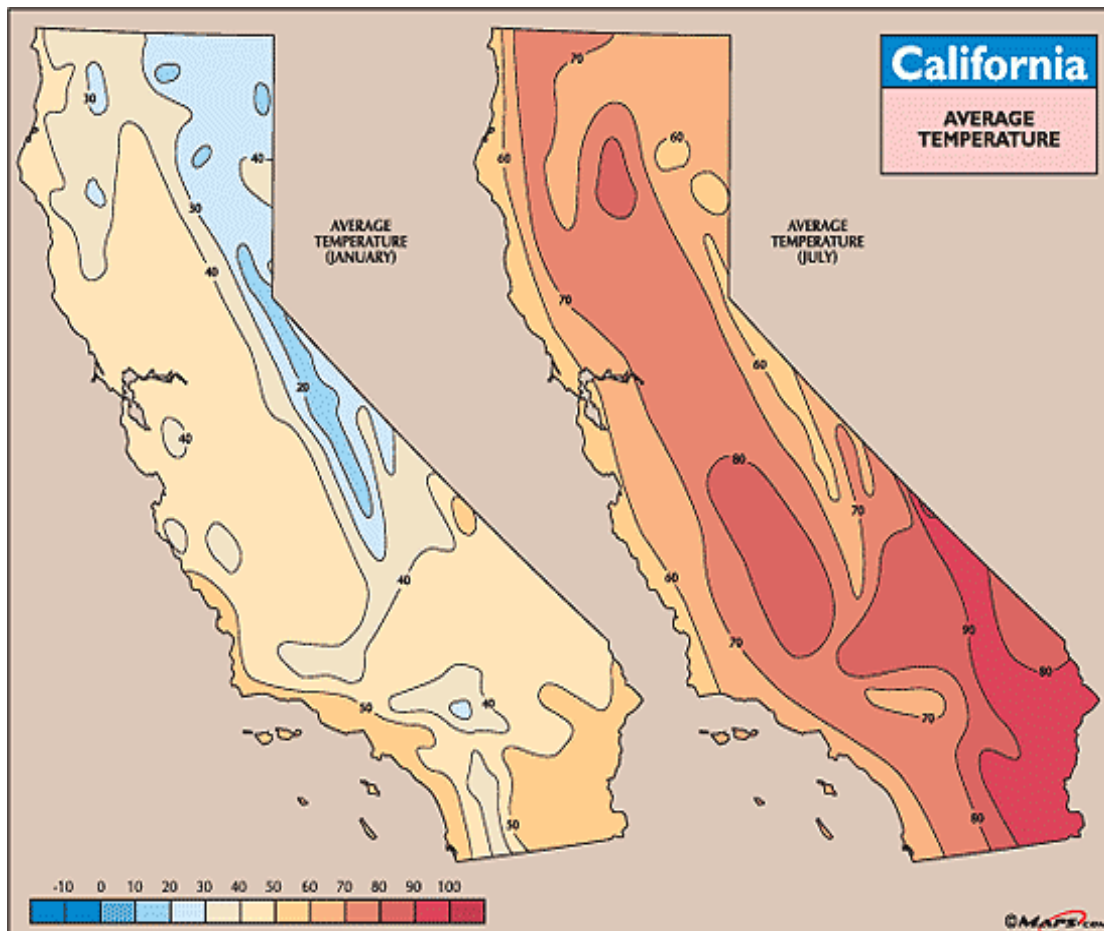
- 1769 Mission San Diego de Alcalá
- 1770 Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo
- 1771 Mission San Antonio de Padua
- 1771 Mission San Gabriel Arcángel
- 1772 Mission San Luis Obispo de Tolosa
- 1776 Mission San Francisco de Asís (Dolores Mission)
- 1776 Mission San Juan Capistrano
- 1777 Mission Santa Clara de Asís
- 1782 Mission San Buenaventura
- 1786 Mission Santa Barbara
- 1787 Mission La Purísima Concepción
- 1791 Mission Santa Cruz
- 1791 Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad
- 1797 Mission San José
- 1797 Mission San Juan Bautista
- 1797 Mission San Miguel Arcángel
- 1797 Mission San Fernando Rey de España
- 1798 Mission San Luis Rey de Francia
- 1804 Mission Santa Inés
- 1817 Mission San Rafael Arcángel— originally, an *asistencia*
- 1823 Mission San Francisco Solano de Sonoma (Sonoma Mission)

**Figure A2: California Franciscan Establishments, 1769-1823**



**Figure A3: California Topographical Relief and Landform Regions Map**

Source: Map by William A. Bowen, Ph.D. "California Atlas of Panoramic Aerial Images." Department of Geography and the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences at California State University, Northridge, [http://130.166.124.2/ca\\_panorama\\_atlas/index.html](http://130.166.124.2/ca_panorama_atlas/index.html) (accessed April 19, 2010). Reprinted by permission of William A. Bowen.



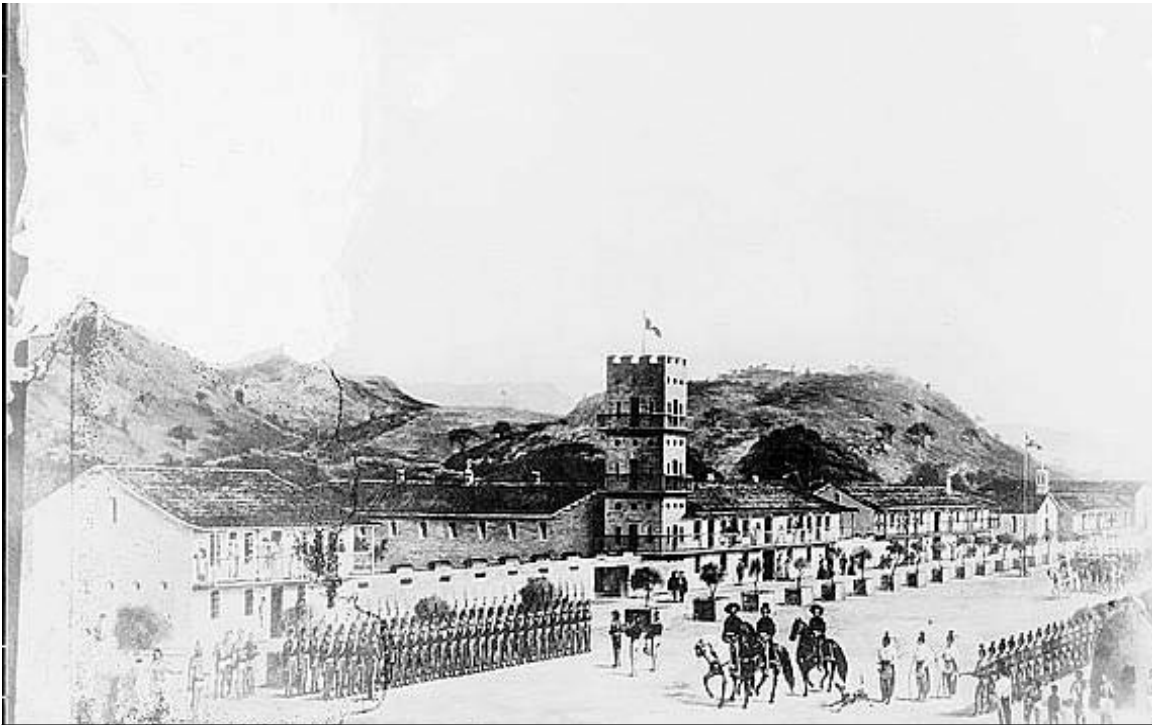
**Figure A4: “California Average Temperature Map for January/July”**

Source: Maps.com. [http://www.maps.com/ref\\_map.aspx?pid=11658](http://www.maps.com/ref_map.aspx?pid=11658) (accessed January 30, 2010).  
Reprinted by permission of Maps.com.



**Figure A5: Mission San Francisco Solano in 1834**





**Figure A6: Sonoma c.1846**

The drawing provides a general view of the Sonoma Mission (right), the barracks (to left of mission), General Vallejo's residence (center, with tower), Mexican troops (lower left) and indigenous auxiliary troops (lower right).

Source: Photocopy of drawing (from California Historical Society, San Francisco, California, Sherman, artist, before 1846). From: The Library of Congress. "American Memory: Historic Building Survey/Historic American Engineering Record." HABS CAL,49-SONO,2-8. Library of Congress, <http://memory.loc.gov/> (accessed March 10, 2010).



**Figure A7: Single Servants' Quarters at Rancho Petaluma**

**Figure A8: Musical Instruments in Single Servants' Quarters**





**Figure A9: Partitioned Married Servants' Quarters at Rancho Petaluma**

**Figure A10: *Mayordomo* Quarters (Manager's Quarters)**





**Figure A8: Vallejo Bedroom at Rancho Petaluma**

**Figure A9: Mrs. Mariano Vallejo's Bedroom at *Lachryma Montis* (Latin for tears of the mountain) located just outside of Sonoma**



## **APPENDIX B**

Father-Presidents of the Alta California Mission System<sup>1</sup>

Father Junípero Serra (1769–1784)

Father Francisco Palóu (presidente pro tempore) (1784–1785)

Father Fermín Francisco de Lasuén (1785–1803)

Father Pedro Estévan Tápis (1803–1812)

Father José Francisco de Paula Señan (1812–1815)

Father Mariano Payéras (1815–1820)

Father José Francisco de Paula Señan (1820–1823)

Father Vicente Francisco de Sarría (1823–1824)

Father Narciso Durán (1824–1827)

Father José Bernardo Sánchez (1827–1831)

Father Narciso Durán (1831–1838)

Father José Joaquin Jimeno (1838–1844)

Father Narciso Durán (1844–1846)

The *father-presidente* served as the head of the Catholic missions in both Alta and Baja California. Until 1812, *father-presidentes* received their appointment from the College of San Fernando de Mexico. After 1812, the title became *commissary prefect* with appointment by the Commissary General of the Indies (in Spain). The formal division of Alta and Baja California occurred in 1831, then called Upper and Lower California. This change required two separate *commissary prefects*, who were elected rather than appointed.

---

<sup>1</sup> Terry Ruscin, *Mission Memoirs* (San Diego, CA: Sunbelt Publications, 1999), 196.

Governors in Alta/Upper California, 1822-1846

California's Mexican era spanned from 1821 to 1846. The raising of the Bear Flag on June 14, 1846 at *El Cuartel de Sonoma* (the Sonoma Barracks) formally ended the Mexican period and provided the impetus for U. S. intervention; the Bear Republic survived for twenty-three days before the United States Army formally intervened. During the Mexican period, scholars generally recognized twelve governors and fifteen separate periods of governance, which mirrored the political and economic turmoil in Mexico during the same period. The Spanish period from 1769 to 1821, a span of fifty-two years, had only twelve governors and two splits in governance. In reality, Alta/Upper California had more than twelve governors during the Mexican period simply due to the precarious nature of communication during the era. The following list contains the governors most frequently given by scholars for the Mexican period.

1822 (Apr-Nov): Pablo Vicente de Sola (1761-1826) [actual term 1815-1822]

1822-1825: Luís Antonio Argüello (1784-1830)

1825-1831: José María de Eschendía (*i*-1855)

1831 (Jan-Dec): Manuel Victoria (*i*-1833)

1831-1832 (20 days): Pio de Jesus Pico

1832-1833: Agustín V. Zamorano (1798-1842) [Upper California]

José María de Eschendía [Lower California]<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> The year of 1831 formally marked the division between Upper and Lower California; subsequently each region had its own governor.

Alta/Upper California Governors

1833-1835: José Figueroa (1792-1843)

1835 (Oct): José Castro (1810-1860)

1835-1836 (Oct-Jan): Nicolas Gutierrez

1836 (Jan-May): Mariano Chico (1796-1850)

1836 (May-July): Nicolas Gutierrez

1836-1842: Juan Batista Alvarado (1800-1882) [Mariano Vallejo's nephew ]

1842-1845: Manuel Micheltorena (¿-1852)

1845-1846: Pio de Jesus Pico



Timeline: México

1810	Father Miguel Hidalgo delivered the <i>Grito de Dolores</i> in Dolores.
1821	Independence
1822-23	Emperor Agustín I (Iturbide)
1824	Paríán Riot (Mexico City)
1829	Presidency of Vicente Guerrero
1829	Spain attempts reconquest
1929	Outlaws Slavery
1830-32	Presidency of Anastasio Bustamante
1830	Banned on Immigration
1833	First Presidency of Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna (11 presidencies)
1833	Presidency of Valentín Gómez Farías
1836	Constitution (Centralist)
1836	Texas War
1838	Pastry War (France)
1845	Annexation of Texas by the United States
1846-48	War with the United States
1853	Treaty of Mesilla (Gadsden Purchase)