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Native Persistence: Marriage, Social Structure, Political Leadership, and Intertribal Relations at Mission Dolores, 1777–1800

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Scholarship on California Indians prior to and during the Spanish colonial period suffers from a lack of understanding of the social structure of California Indians, especially in regards to social status. In this systematic analysis of the social structure of California Indians, I examine the relationships among marriage, social status, political leadership, and intertribal alliances during colonization. After incorporation into Mission Dolores, Spanish alterations to native life, such as Catholic marriage restrictions and the Spanish caste system, had only a minor impact upon native social structure. Indian elites continued to marry other elites and thereby preserved traditional status distinctions, political authority, and intertribal alliances after incorporation into Mission Dolores. As a result, California Indians at Mission Dolores maintained social and political continuity during Spanish colonization.

ON 27 DECEMBER 1778, FELIPE DE NEVE, the Governor of Alta California, wrote to the missionaries at the first five missions and requested that they proceed with the process of electing Indian officials in accordance with the Laws of the Indies (Geiger 1959:244).¹ The request coincided with the ongoing establishment of Indian pueblos,² an integral component of the Spanish colonial system. The Spanish intended to create self-governing Indian settlements in service of the crown, and as such the missions were to prepare the Indians to become obedient and useful citizens of Spain. Although some initially resisted Neve's request, the missionaries relied upon indigenous political leadership in order to fulfill the mandate. Indian officials would be utilized to facilitate social control over the natives in pursuit of a number of objectives, including Christianization, Hispanicization, and economic exploitation (Bolton 1917:43). While the use of Indian officials both benefitted and undermined missionary endeavors, the inevitable result of the retention of traditional Indian leadership was the preservation of native social structure.

Among the Ohlone³ of the San Francisco Bay area, status distinctions constituted an important dimension of the social structure and were maintained

by arranged marriages between children of tribal elites.⁴ Positions of political leadership and influence in tribal matters derived from the social status of the male head of the family, which was then conferred to family members. Marriages among children from high status families preserved intertribal alliances and thereby fostered political solidarity. Given the interdependent relationships among these variables, the critical concern for the contact situation involves the effect of Spanish colonization on indigenous marriage patterns, social structure, political leadership, and intertribal relations. Because Spanish missionaries sought to advance the primary objectives of acculturation by retaining traditional indigenous political leadership, the study of indigenous social structure becomes critical to attaining a more complete understanding of Spanish and Indian relations at the California missions.

INDIAN TRIBELET, NEOPHYTE VILLAGE, AND SPANISH MISSION

During Spanish colonization an Indian's social position depended in part upon his or her geographic location. While other areas, such as the presidio and the Spanish pueblo, existed within Spanish and Indian territories,

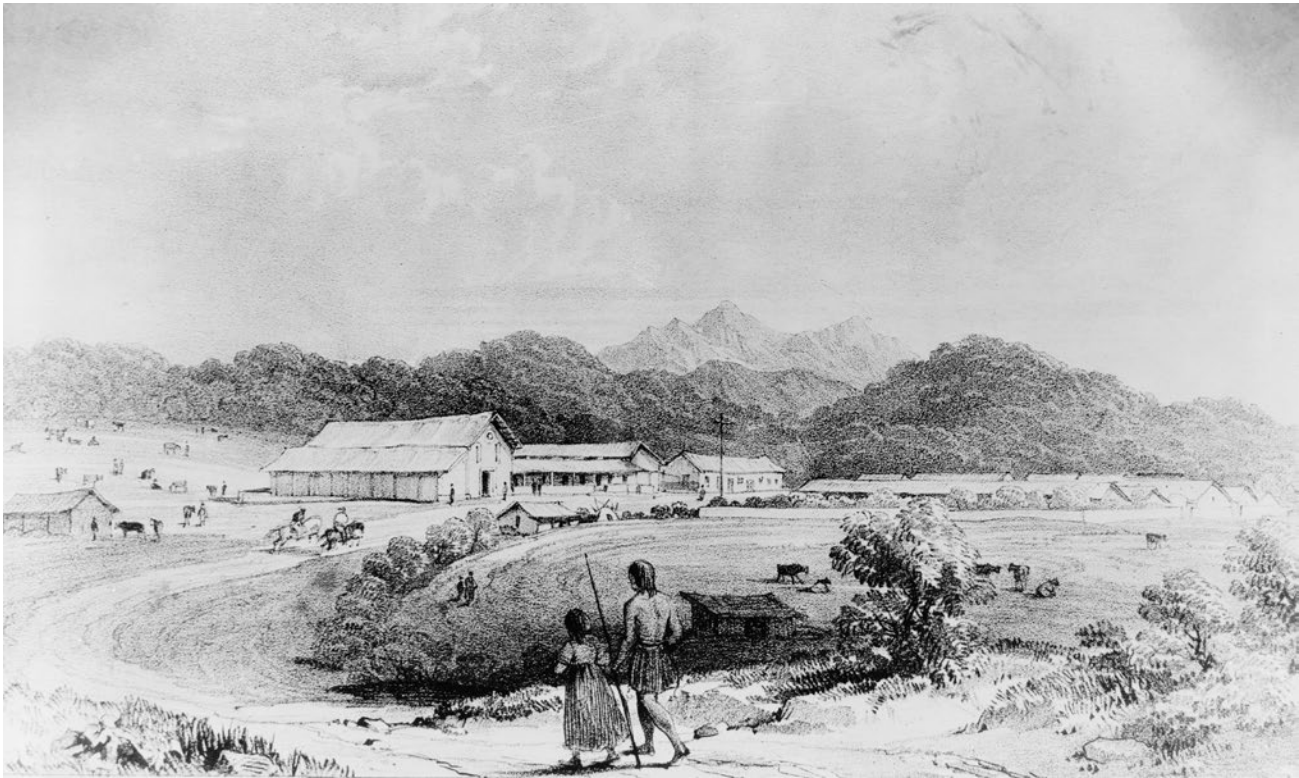


Figure 1. Mission San Francisco de Asis, 1816 by Louis Choris. The mission is the large building left of center. The adobes of the neophyte village are to the right (Choris 1822).

daily life for Indians primarily revolved around the Indian tribelet's villages that were situated within its territorial boundaries, the neophyte village adjacent to the mission building,⁵ and the Spanish mission, including the lands upon which the Indians labored. Within the Indian tribelet there was a corresponding Indian tribal structure; a plural tribal social structure developed at the neophyte village; and at the mission an occupational hierarchy overlapped with the Spanish caste system. (Fig. 1 shows Mission San Francisco de Asis, hereafter referred to as Mission Dolores, and the adjacent neophyte village with adobe structures in 1816.)

The Indian Tribelet

Alfred Kroeber (1955, 1972) used the term tribelet to characterize the existence of small independent tribes in California that occupied and controlled a geographic area defined by physiographic features (Levy 1978).⁶ For the Ohlone the tribelet was a multi-village community consisting of a number of seasonal and permanent villages, of which one or more served

as the principal village. As Milliken, Shoup, and Ortiz (2009:65) acknowledge, “[s]pecific village residence was flexible,” as indicated by siblings who were born at different villages. Tribal members defended territorial boundaries in order to protect such subsistence resources as game and seed-bearing plants, although requests to hunt or gather in another tribelet's territory were “usually granted” (Bocek 1992:272). Along with wife stealing, the transgression of boundaries was a primary cause of war, so territorial lines were well known and respected. According to Spanish explorer Juan Bautista de Anza, the natives who accompanied the explorers while in Yelamu territory refused to accompany them “a step outside of their respective territories, because of the enmity which was common among them [that is, between the Yelamu and the Ssalson]” (Bolton 1930:129). The fervent defense of territorial boundaries did not, however, inhibit intertribal marriages nor the movement of families across tribal boundaries.

In California, tribelets were politically autonomous entities (Kroeber 1955:308). The notion of political

autonomy refers to the exercise of political authority over tribal members independent of a centralized authority that governed a group of tribelets. For most local tribelets, male lineages formed the basis of political divisions (Kunkel 1974:10). Political organization was therefore patrilineal: status passed from father to son, although the “office of chief required the approval of the community” (Levy 1978:487). Familial organization within the tribelet revolved around the male head of the family. Similarly, most “Bay Area Indian groups reckoned kinship patrilineally, so families were constituted primarily by a relationship of descent from, or marriage to, the male head of the lineage” (Newell 2009:83). Households often contained not only the extended family of the male head but collateral, lineal, and affinal relatives as well. In other words, because membership in a tribelet did not depend upon descent from or marriage into the primary male lineage, tribelet social organization was based on “co-residence, not descent” (Kunkel 1974:11). Family size for high-status persons tended to be much larger than for commoners.

While social structure in many parts of pre-contact California is not well understood, a few studies show that California tribelets possessed a social structure based on class and status distinctions. According to Bean and Blackburn (1976:109), “a tripartite [class and/or status] system existed in most groups...characterized by elites or nobility, commoners, and the poor.” Social and political elites occupied the first tier of the social structure. Members of this group included headmen, shamans, and elders. Headmen controlled the economic and political dimensions of tribal life, including, for instance, the distribution of food and intertribal relations. Though primarily spiritual, religious, and medical functionaries, shamans exerted influence over critical decisions, as did elders. The elders who formed the headman’s council tended to be close relations who had acquired the wisdom afforded by age and its corresponding experience. In this study I will refer to shamans, elders, and other heads of high-status families as leaders because of their influence in tribal matters.

In California, marriages tended toward monogamy, especially for commoners and for the poor; however, polygyny existed in all classes. In some cases, a man would espouse “his wife’s sisters, daughters, or other relatives,” including in some cases his mother-in-law

(Kroeber 1972:469; Palou 1913:211).⁷ The Ohlone were no different. Polygyny was practiced with regularity, especially among high-status persons. Because the tribelets and villages of the San Francisco Peninsula tended to be small, some numbering as few as forty persons, exogamy was the general practice. Milliken et al. (2009:66) estimate an 80% rate of exogamous marriages for smaller tribelets and a 50% rate for larger ones. Proximity tended to influence intermarriage patterns: suitors sought partners from nearby villages and tribelets, and marriages tended to be at most within a two-tribelet distance from the home tribelet. Tribal residency was patrilocal—that is, a wife usually moved to her husband’s village after marriage.

Most importantly, Ohlone headmen and other leaders arranged marriages for their children in order to create and retain “alliances between lineages, villages, and tribal communities” (Newell 2009:86). Arranged marriages preserved class and status distinctions among elite families that intermarried at high rates. As a result, high-status families retained positions of political influence within and among tribelets. Interestingly, the preservation of status seems to have outweighed occasional political divisiveness, as infrequent warfare did not interfere with the creation and maintenance of social networks through intertribal marriage (Milliken et al. 2009:66)

The Neophyte Village

In order “to convert, to civilize, and to exploit” the native population, missionaries congregated and segregated the Indians in neophyte villages (Bolton 1917:43). The “planning of the [Indian] settlements was to proceed along the same general lines as that for [Spanish] pueblos as specified in the *Recopilacion*” of 1681 (Garr 1972:293). If the Indians “were wild, and scattered in the mountains and wildernesses” (Jones 1850:36), the policy directed officials to reduce them “into settlements” where they “were allowed to retain the lands and improvements which they may possess in the districts from which they shall remove” (White 1839:59). The California code for the development of Indian Pueblos was articulated in the *Reglamento Provisional* of 1773 (Chapman 1921:289). As future cities, the so-called Indian pueblos were to be constructed so that the houses were “built in line with wide streets and good market squares” (Donkin 1961:376).⁸

Such was the Spanish ideal, but in practice the Indian settlements varied and took the form of less formally organized neophyte villages. After baptism, Indians lived within the mission quadrangle at some missions, while at others Indians lived in Indian villages nearby yet outside mission boundaries. The Indians at Mission Dolores lived in various configurations of neophyte villages within the mission quadrangle; initially they were composed of thatched huts and later of adobes (Geiger 1967). Initially, the law forbade the co-residence of non-Indians at the neophyte villages and the sojourn of Spaniards for more than a day (Dwinelle 1863; Kubler 1942). For example, in 1786 and 1796, missionaries complained about the improper conduct of the Spanish toward the Indians (Guest 1978; Richman 1911:152). In California, however, the “instructions [to prevent social intercourse] were often ignored or proved impossible to execute” (Donkin 1961:376).

The *cabildo*, or town council, was the “model for the political organization of Indian communities” (Hackel 2005:239). *Regidores* (councilmen) and *alcaldes* (mayor-judges) comprised the primary officials of the *cabildo*. In 1779 Governor Felipe de Neve required that the missionaries provide the Indians with the capacity for self-governance by allowing them to elect their own officials—two *regidores* and two *alcaldes*—much to the distress of Junipero Serra (Engelhardt 1915:336–349). In a letter to Fray Fermin Lasuén, Serra suggested that one method of subverting Neve’s orders might be to manipulate elections in such a way as to least upset traditional Indian customs and least disrupt the established mission system—Indian headmen might be efficacious choices for Indian officials (Engelhardt 1915:339–340). Lasuén simply refused and argued that any new policy required the approval of the Father President (Lasuén and Kenneally 1965:75–76). In spite of the missionaries’ reluctance, the order was to be put into practice immediately, although the more recently established missions—San Francisco, Santa Clara, and San Gabriel—would be exempt for five years from their respective founding dates. These Indian officials formed the staff of leadership at the mission.

Aside from the charge that *alcaldes* “keep guard around their rancherías at night” (Tibesar 1956:407) and no doubt report any problems, little evidence exists for the extent of authority exercised by the *regidores*

and *alcaldes* over the Indians in the neophyte village independent of their routine responsibilities at the mission. In order to be elected as an Indian official, potential candidates required prior status within the indigenous society. As Haskett (1988:54) contends, the potential to govern other Indians ultimately derived from their “ability to link themselves with...an authentic Indian nobility.” With multiple tribelets and therefore multiple Indian leaders residing at the neophyte village, it makes little sense that Indian headmen from the various tribelets would relinquish authority to a single leader, even if elected by the Indians themselves and even if supported by the Spanish missionaries. Instead, it appears that a pluralistic leadership developed, as indicated by the perpetuation of arranged marriages among high-status families in a way that retained traditional marriage patterns.

The Spanish Mission

In Alta California, the Spanish caste (*casta*) system, as imprecise and variable as it may have been over time, positioned individuals within a social hierarchy based on social (and requisite religious) classification first and racial classification second. The primary social distinction differentiated “civilized” or *gente de razón* from “non-Hispanicized indigenous people from California” or gentiles (Guerrero 2010:13). Within the *gente de razón* category, a system of racial classification existed that hierarchically ordered people by race or racial admixture. From top to bottom, the basic categories were *español* (white or pure blood Spanish), *mestizo* (Spanish and Indian), *mulatto* (Spanish and African), *negro*, and *indio* (Indian). Two basic rules defined one’s positioning: (1) European ranked above non-European, and (2) “[t]he darker the *casta*, the lower the ranking” (Miranda 1988:266). Interestingly, Christianized *mulattos*, although darker, were ranked higher than Christianized Indians (or neophytes). Nonetheless, the caste system placed both neophyte and gentile Indians in the lowest position in the social structure. The opportunity to be placed in a higher category was possible through intermarriage or by an improvement in one’s occupational rank in Spanish society (Bancroft 1888:612–613).

At the mission, an occupational hierarchy dominated the social structure but incorporated the Spanish caste system. The missionaries occupied the

top of the hierarchy, the *gente de razón* managers of various sorts (such as the servants from New Spain and Baja California) populated the middle tier, and the local neophytes secured positions at the bottom as witnesses (*testigos*), interpreters (*ynterpretes*), pages (*pajes*), and *alcaldes* (Lightfoot 2006:70). The utilization of local Indians in Alta California differed from their use elsewhere. As Hackel (1997:360) indicates, in “Alta California, perhaps to a greater extent than elsewhere in the Spanish borderlands, Indian *alcaldes* and *regidores* serve as assistants to the missionaries.” At the mission, and to a limited extent in the neophyte village, an Indian official’s authority was “necessarily dependent on the missionaries,” who operated with “heavy-handed paternalism,” often administering “corporal punishment” without the fear of being held accountable (Hackel 1997:361). As Indian staff at the missions, the *alcaldes* ensured adherence to the daily routines established by the missionaries, enforced social and moral codes, doled out punishment when necessary, and monitored life at the neophyte village in the evening (Hackel 2005:241–242).

Other minor staff positions at the mission, such as those of witnesses and pages, were activated on an irregular basis depending upon fluctuations in baptisms and marriages. Catholic prescriptions for baptism and marriage required Indian staff as assistants and participants in religious ceremonies. One of the primary reasons for the inclusion of Indians was the language barrier. Indian staff, often those serving as witnesses, instructed potential converts (*catecúmenos*) in a basic catechism in preparation for baptism. With regard to pre-marital instruction, Indian staff assisted the missionaries in investigating canonical impediments to marriage. Catholic precepts allowed only monogamous as opposed to polygynous marriages, required prior approval of all marriages subject to the investigation of canonical impediments, and forbade the marriage of consanguineal or affinal kin. Catholic weddings required that spouses be baptized before marriage, that an individual entered into marriage of his or her free will, and that the parents provided consent. Aside from the requirement of baptism, the missionaries allowed for exceptions when enforcing the rules and requirements. Newell (2009:102–3) notes that the Franciscans sometimes granted dispensations for affinal kin and only occasionally sought the approval of the parents.

SAMPLE AND METHOD

Data for this study are derived from the vital records created by the Spanish missionaries at Mission Dolores between 1777 and 1800 involving eight tribelets from the San Francisco Peninsula (Fig. 2). The Ramaytush speakers, a linguistic designation for a dialect of the Costanoan language, occupied the San Francisco Peninsula and lived in eleven independent tribelets scattered along the eastern and western coasts of the peninsula (Milliken et al. 2009:33). Eight of these tribelets had a majority of their members incorporated into Mission Dolores (as opposed to Mission Santa Clara or Mission Santa Cruz). Four tribelets were aligned along the San Francisco Bay side of the peninsula—the Yelamu, Urebure, Ssalson, and Lamchin. The other four occupied the Pacific Coast of the peninsula—the Aramai, Chiguan, Cotegen, and Oljon.⁹ The total baptized population of these eight tribelets amounted to just over 750 persons.

This study significantly differs in methodological approach from prior studies. Unlike previous studies of social status among California Indians (Farris and Johnson 2005; Gies and Gies 2005; Hackel 1997, 2005; Newell 2005), I systematically recreate the social structure of the local California Indians, which enables the identification of all high-status families. With few exceptions, most prior research tended to use two primary indicators of high social status—having the position of headman and a position on the mission staff—thereby limiting the scope of social status, since not all high-status persons either married into the family of a headman or served on the mission staff. Furthermore, the studies often drew generalizations, sometimes inaccurately, based upon a few cases, whereas a systematic analysis provides sufficient evidence from which sound conclusions can be drawn.

In order to recreate the social structure of local California Indians, I first reconstructed the high-status families for the eight tribelets under study, which was accomplished using the database of the Huntington Library’s *Early California Population Project* and facsimiles of the original mission registers located at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. Children were linked to parents in order to create families, and then families were associated with villages and tribelets. Since the Ohlone typically practiced patrilineal residency, I deferred to the father’s origin, unless the mother had multiple spouses.

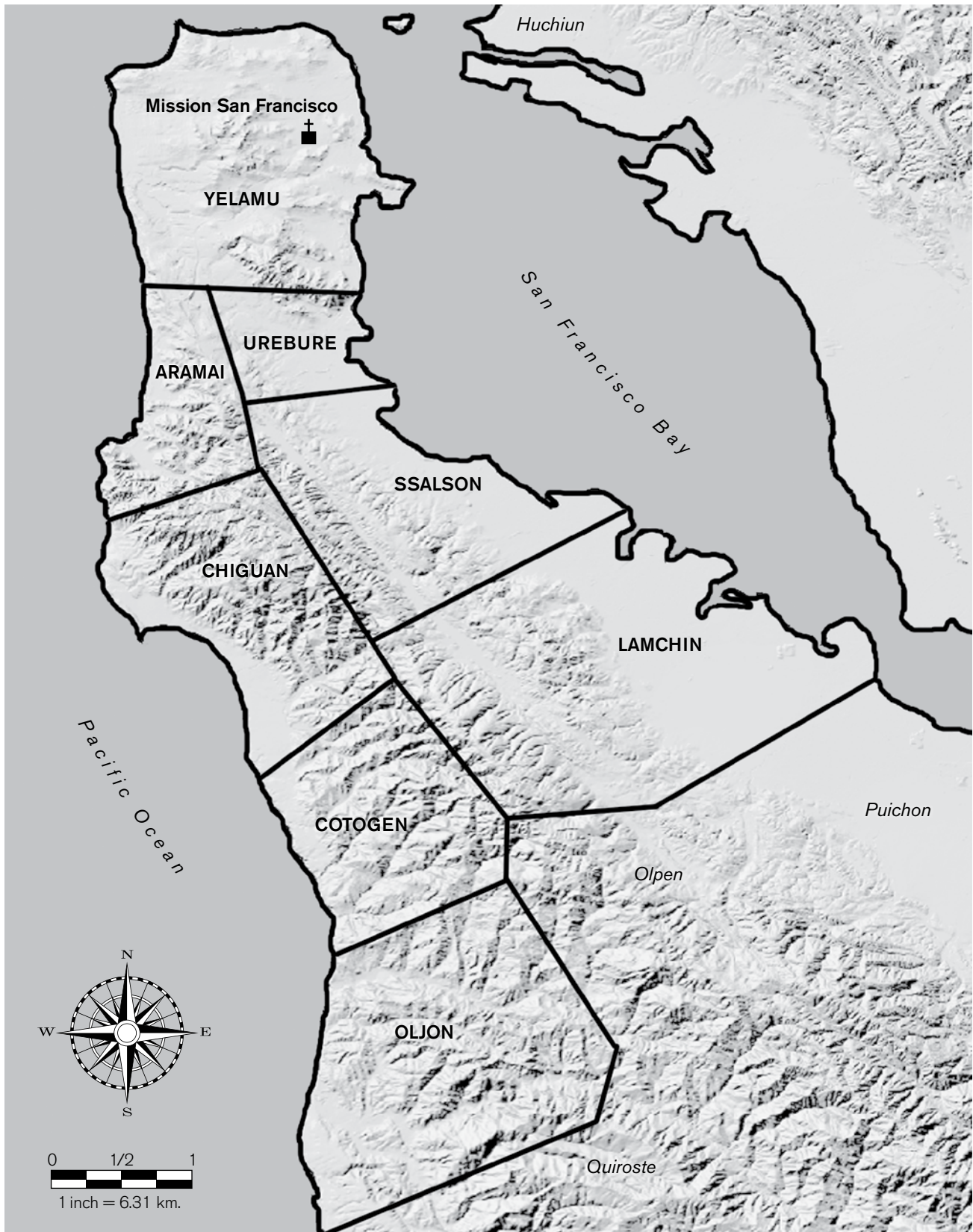


Figure 2. The eight tribelets of the San Francisco Peninsula. Neighboring tribelets are in italics.

Table 1
BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND WITNESSES AMONG HIGH STATUS FAMILIES
FOR THE EIGHT RAMAYTUSH TRIBELETS AT MISSION DOLORES, 1777–1800

Tribelet	Median Baptism Year	Median Marriage Year	Married High Status Children	High Status Marriages/ All Marriages ^a	Number of Witnesses ^b	Amount of Witnessing ^c	Baptized Population
Yelamu	1779	1782	49	64/71 (90%)	17	233 (36%)	135
Urebure	1782	1783	8	11/12 (92%)	2	14 (2%)	40
Aramai	1783	1784	20	31/32 (97%)	3	156 (24%)	47
Ssalson	1786	1786	36	43/52 (83%)	8	92 (13.5%)	173
Chiguan	1786	1787	12	12/14 (86%)	1	18 (3%)	44
Lamchin	1790	1791	22	34/36 (94%)	9	89 (13.5%)	171
Cotogen	1791	1791	8	7/10 (70%)	0	0	41
Oljon	1791	1792	9	8/12 (67%)	1	7 (1%)	115
Totals							
Eight Tribelets	1786	1787	164	210/239 (88%)	41	609 (93%)	766^d

^a“High Status Marriages” indicates the number of marriages among children from high status families, while “All Marriages” includes the other marriages of children from high status families. Also, “All Marriages” excludes marriages to spouses of unknown status, of which there were 29—Yelamu (7), Urebure (0), Aramai (7), Ssalson (5), Chiguan (3), Lamchin (3), Cotogen (1), Oljon (3). A good portion of the unknown may well have been high status.

^bA person qualifies as a witness by having witnessed five or more marriages. Using this definition, there were 46 witnesses between 1777 and 1800—41 from the eight tribelets and 5 altogether from the Puichon, Huimen, and Huchiun tribelets.

^c“Amount of Witnessing” refers to the collective amount of witnessing by a tribelet’s group of witnesses. For example, the Aramai’s three witnesses stood witness 156 times in total. Since two or more Indians may have stood witness at the same wedding, the amount of witnessing (609) exceeds the total number of marriages witnessed (275) by California Indians. The Ramaytush stood witness at 609 (or 93%) of 639 marriages at Mission Dolores between 1777 and 1800.

^dThe total baptized population of the Ramaytush between 1777 and the end of 1800 was 2,102 (Milliken et al. 2009:313).

In that case, I deferred to the mother’s most common place of origin, since children of separated couples tended to stay with the mother. In all instances, I deferred to the most frequent place of origin when determining the tribelet of origin, especially for leaders and their children. I made tribelet identifications for families with full knowledge of intertribal, residential flexibility. High-status families comprised on average approximately 30% of the total population of the eight tribelets.

In order to identify a person’s position in the social structure, I used the status of the father, especially since status was determined patrilineally. Fortunately, many of the headmen for the eight tribelets were indicated in the mission registers. The spouses of children from high-status families suggested other potential high-status families, and so I investigated each of the spouse’s families in order to determine if that family was also of high status. A high-status family was indicated by at least two first marriages of children into other high-status families. Interestingly, almost all high-status families had at least one child or an in-law who married into the family of a headman. Other potential indicators of high

social status included polygyny, multiple marriages to high-status persons, a comparatively large family, and positions on the mission staff.

The database created for the eight tribelets includes 53 families and 164 children who married 268 times (Table 1). The eight tribelets account for 79% (766) of the total Mission Dolores baptized population (974) of the San Francisco Peninsula and approximately three-eighths of the total baptized Indian population of just over 2,000 at Mission Dolores by the end of 1800. The population of the San Francisco Peninsula prior to contact is estimated to have been 1,400 persons.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTINUITY

The pre-mission marriage practices of the Ramaytush persisted after their incorporation into Mission Dolores. As a result, such marriages preserved the traditional social structure and the system of political leadership derived from status distinctions. The marriages of Ramaytush children in particular tended toward a regional exclusivity that enhanced solidarity by

preserving traditional tribal alliances and that assisted the local tribelets in collectively dominating social and political life at the neophyte village and Spanish mission. The persistence of traditional marriage patterns among Ramaytush high-status families therefore reinforced social and political continuity during colonization.

Marriage, Social Structure, and Intertribal Relations

Proximity and social status governed the pre-mission marriage patterns of the Ramaytush elite. Pre-mission marriage patterns were reconstructed from the marriages at Mission Dolores that were identified as renewals of indigenous marriages (*renovò el contrato matrimonial*). Children of tribal elites tended to marry into families from neighboring villages and contiguous tribelets, and most often married into prominent families. While the geographic isolation of the tribelets along the peninsula limited the likelihood and perhaps necessity of distant marriages, the Yelamu at the northern tip of the peninsula frequently acquired spouses from their Huimen neighbors to the north and Huchiun neighbors to the east across San Francisco Bay. The marriage of greatest distance (26 miles) occurred between the Yelamu and Cotegen, although average distances tended to be no more than eight to fourteen miles (Milliken et al. 2009:67). The practice of marrying spouses from neighboring tribelets was consistent with the pattern of marriage common among California Indians.

Spanish rules for marriage threatened to alter pre-mission indigenous marriage patterns and to disrupt native social and political life. Newell (2009:107), for example, contends that “[b]y replacing indigenous California kinship rules with Catholic ones, requiring that baptized Indians marry other baptized people, and reserving for themselves the right to approve of Indians’ marriage partners, the Franciscan priests at Mission San Francisco significantly altered the structure of many families in the Bay Area.” Newell (2009:107) adds that marriage restrictions “complicated the creation and maintenance of alliances,” dissolved Indian marriages, and “weakened Indian parents’ own authority over their children.” In the end, the Spanish imposed “a Catholic kinship system and priestly authority” that restructured Indian families and significantly altered the “economic, political, and social networks that bound people together throughout the San Francisco Bay Area” (2009:108).

On the contrary, Spanish marriage rules and priestly authority appear to have had only minimal impact on Indian families and on tribal networks. As will be shown below, Catholic rules and requirements for marriage appear to have had little effect in altering pre-mission marriage patterns, social structure, political leadership, and intertribal alliances. For example, the rule of monogamy certainly contradicted indigenous marital practices; however, the extraneous spouses of the few polygynous men usually married other high status men. A few spouses never remarried, which may indicate that polygyny endured even after the headman selected one spouse over others. Also, native elites continued to arrange marriages for their children without being inhibited by the approval or denial of the missionaries. Such facts weaken the assertion that Franciscan control over Indian marriages subsequently led to the dissolution of tribal networks.

The intrusion of the mission, particularly its geographic location, had a minor effect on marriage patterns. After the establishment of Mission Dolores, the Spanish missionaries began recruiting members of the tribelets of the San Francisco Peninsula, beginning with those closest in proximity and extending progressively south.¹⁰ The geographic location of the mission relative to Indian villages therefore limited the availability of marriage partners to the previously or newly baptized members of other tribelets as they became successively incorporated. The placement of Mission Dolores adjacent to a Yelamu village did alter the Yelamu’s relationship with at least one tribelet. During the period of Spanish exploration, the Yelamu and Ssalson were at war. As the Ssalson began to enter Mission Dolores, which was located within Yelamu territory, a series of marriages was arranged in order to alleviate the tension. Such marriages may not have been necessary without the insertion of Mission Dolores within Yelamu tribal boundaries.

As stated earlier, high-status families comprised approximately 30% of the Ramaytush population. The marriages between the children of headmen and other leaders may indicate the existence of a tiered political structure in which a primary headman ruled over a number of secondary and tertiary headmen. The head of a non-headman high-status family may in fact have been a secondary or tertiary headman. This type of political structure had been observed in the Huchiun

to the immediate east of the Ramaytush. When the *San Carlos* explored the East Bay in 1775 the ship's chaplain, Vicente Santa María, noted, "Their chieftain was called Sumu; the second chieftain, Jausos; the others, Supitacse (1); Tilacse (20); Mutuc (3); Logeacse (4); Guecpostole (5); Xacacse (6)" (Galvin 1971:69). In this passage Santa María identified the three-tiered structure of Huchiun political authority. It is possible that the heads of high-status families functioned as heads of their respective villages but were not identified as headmen in the mission records since that title belonged to the primary head of the tribelet.¹¹

Ramaytush elites practiced status exclusivity in arranging marriages for their children, which limited the opportunity for upward mobility for non-elites. First, children from high-status families married children from other high-status families at a high rate (Table 1). Out of all marriages of children from Ramaytush high-status families, 210 (88%) were with children from other high-status families. Of those 210 marriages, 175 (83%) were with other Ramaytush, 25 (12%) were with non-Ramaytush Indian families, and 10 (5%) were with non-Alta California Indian servants and Spanish soldiers. With regard to first marriages, 90% were between children from Ramaytush high-status families and 10% were between Ramaytush children and children from Huimen or Huchiun high-status families. A second contributor to Ramaytush status exclusivity included the exodus of potential spouses, which began in 1795 when recent converts from the Bay Miwok and Huchiun left the mission to protest, among other things, ill treatment and the abrupt deaths of family members (Milliken 1995:137-166).

Over time the percentage of marriages between children from high-status families gradually decreased as a low life expectancy limited the pool of spouses, particularly female Ramaytush spouses. Life expectancy after baptism gradually decreased for all Indians from fourteen years in 1777 to four years by 1800. Life expectancy for children declined from eight years prior to 1791 to two years by 1800, which—for later arriving groups—reduced the number of children who reached marriageable age. The epidemic of March 1795, believed to have been typhus, contributed to high mortality rates at Mission Dolores as well (Milliken 1995:138). Finally, life expectancy on the average was two years lower for

women than for men. As a result, 80% of female children from high-status families married only once, compared to 60% of male children.

In addition to intermarriages among the native elite, high-status families enhanced their privileged position in the social structure by accommodating the newly established Spanish social hierarchies. Between 1777 and 1800, a total of nine local Indian women, eight of whom came from Ramaytush high-status families, married mission Indian servants from New Spain and Baja California (Table 2). All three Spanish soldiers who married Indian women selected spouses from high-status families, a finding which at minimum qualifies the notion that Spanish soldiers selected spouses based on physical attractiveness (Langsdorff 1927:104; Newell 2009:121). By arranging marriages with non-Alta California Indian servants and Spanish soldiers, the indigenous elites enhanced their social status within their own communities and forged new alliances necessary to attain status at the mission.

The reliance of missionaries upon pre-existing tribal leadership indirectly encouraged the preservation of intertribal alliances in a regionally exclusive manner. The move to the neophyte village did not interrupt intertribal alliances because headmen and other leaders continued to seek out politically advantageous marriages with other elites for themselves and for their children. Prior to moving to the neophyte village, the Ramaytush were organized as territorially-bounded and politically autonomous units spread across the expanse of the San Francisco Peninsula. At the neophyte village, the pre-mission marriage patterns persisted, which reproduced the same pluralistic tribal configuration but condensed it in space. Ramaytush elites continued to practice regional exclusivity by preferring to marry and remarry other available high-status spouses from the San Francisco Peninsula, including the more established Huimen and Huchiun families who had migrated to the Peninsula prior to 1787.

The Staff of Indian Leadership

In order to maintain social order at the neophyte village and at the mission, Franciscan missionaries utilized the pre-established leadership of the local natives. Unlike at Mission San Carlos Borromeo where many headmen occupied various positions within the mission

Table 2
RAMAYTUSH MARRIAGES TO NON-ALTA CALIFORNIA INDIAN SERVANTS
AND SPANISH SOLDIERS AT MISSION DOLORES, 1777–1800

Name	Origin	Marriage Date	Spouse	Tribelet	Baptism Number
Indian Servants					
Raymundo Morante	Misión San José de Comondú, Baja California	25 April 1779	Maria Ynes	Yelamu	SFD:00077
		1 April 1793	Maria Antonia ^a	Lamchin	SFD:01222
		18 April 1797	Maria Serafina	Yelamu	SFD:00105
		14 April 1799	Luparia	Oljon	SFD:00880
Cipriano Agraz	Misión de Santa María, Baja California	25 April 1779	Maria Rosa de Viterbo ^b	Jalquin	SFD:00061
Joaquin Fabian	Misión San Borja, Baja California	18 May 1779	Ana Maria	Yelamu	SFD:00022
		22 July 1782	Manuela Maria	Yelamu	SFD:00055
		18 April 1784	Maria Petra	Ssalson	SFD:00267
Diego Olbera	Cadereyta, Querétaro, Mexico	8 April 1779	Josepha Maria	Yelamu	SFD:00063
Spanish Soldiers					
Joseph Ramos	Tulancingo, Hidalgo, Mexico	31 Oct 1783	Francisca Xaviera	Aramai	SFD:00095
Jose Manuel Valencia	Villa de Sinaloa, Sinaloa, Mexico	5 Jan 1786	Maria Rosa de Viterbo	Jalquin	SFD:00061
Ygnacio Higuera	Villa de Sinaloa, Sinaloa, Mexico	28 Jun 1795	Ma de la Soledad	Urebure	SFD:00102

^aNot from a known high status family.

^bMaria Rosa de Viterbo and Josepha Maria are sisters, most likely born to a Yelamu father and a Jalquin mother, and born in different tribelets.

staff, the sons and daughters of tribal headmen and leaders served on the mission staff at Mission Dolores (Hackel 2005:254). A ladder of leadership at the mission developed in which attaining a position of higher authority, such as that of *alcalde* or *regidor*, relied upon first serving in a subordinate position, such as being a godparent or witness. As the first regional group to be incorporated at Mission Dolores, the Ramaytush of the San Francisco Peninsula dominated leadership at the mission until the early 1800s, by which time the peninsula population had been severely diminished.

The conventional view of Indian leadership at the Spanish missions asserts that the missionaries in Alta California established a system of governance that (1) intentionally thwarted traditional Indian authority and (2) allowed for the upward mobility of subordinate Indians within a more egalitarian mission system. As James Sandos asserts, the conventional view purports that priests generally chose *alcaldes* in order to “deliberately...undermine traditional Indian village chiefly authority by choosing new men” (Sandos 2004:169). Hackel (1997:348 fn.) adds that these scholars “have maintained that the Indians who served as officials derived their authority solely from the Spaniards, not from their own people.” One such scholar, Robert

Hoover (1989:397), claims that “the traditional elite was replaced in the mission by a more fluid hierarchy in which anyone could advance who had the ability and was willing to cooperate with the Spanish regime.” While it may have been possible for a commoner to advance in position at some missions (Hackel 2005:252), it appears to have been a rare exception at Mission Dolores.

A number of more recent studies present an alternative view (Gies and Gies 2005; Hackel 1997, 2005; Newell 2009).¹² Instead of creating a system of leadership at the mission that undermined Indian authority, the Spanish missionaries encouraged the utilization of native elites in positions of leadership at the mission. Thus, high social standing in the Indian community became a prerequisite for a position of leadership at the mission. Additionally, these studies contradict the notion that commoners could enter the purportedly more democratic mission system, work to earn an official position, and become a leader of the neophyte Indians. Most scholars sharing this more recent view link Indians who held positions on the Indian staff of leadership at the mission to high-status positions in native society. Typically, these scholars use headmanship as the primary indicator of high social standing or deduce native status from the Indian’s mission staff position. None of these

studies, however, recreate the social structure of local California Indians in order to identify all persons of high social standing (not just headmen), many of whom served in positions of authority at the mission over and above the children of headmen.

In her study of Indian life at Mission Dolores, Quincy Newell (Newell 2009:128–129) examined the function of *compadrinazgo* among the neophytes. *Compadrinazgo*, the practice of having adult sponsors for converts, developed over time to obligate the godparent to a “spiritual kinship relationship,” one of the benefits of which was to extend kinship relations among families to advance or sustain status distinctions. At Mission Dolores between 1777 and 1800, except for the native spouses of mission servants whose duty it was to sponsor baptisms, local Indians sponsored less than ten percent¹³ of all indigenous baptisms, which suggests “that they stood as godparents by special request” (Newell 2009:130). The majority of godparents were in fact women, not men, from high-status families. The men who sponsored new converts, however, were with few exceptions the same men who served as witnesses, some of whom eventually became *alcaldes* and *regidores*. Newell (2009:133) correctly deduces that *compadrinazgo* “worked like intermarriage to create [or maintain] alliances between villages and tribal communities.”

In their study of the relationship between *alcaldes* and Franciscans at Mission Santa Barbara, Gies and Gies (2005:326) argue that “accommodation strategies between the Franciscans and the Chumash *alcaldes*... minimized conflicts and emphasized cooperation.” The Franciscan missionaries “chose candidates on the basis of their status in traditional Chumash society, generally sons of chiefs...in order to provide a stable and peaceful adjustment of the Chumash population into mission society” (2005:327). Chumash elites maintained pre-mission status distinctions through strategic marriages with other elites in order to preserve intertribal alliances, and they used mission staff positions to enhance their status within both Indian and Spanish society. From what can be discerned of their research method, Gies and Gies’s analysis used the title of headman or mission staff positions to indicate elite status.

In the most significant study of Indian leadership to date, Steven Hackel contends that “Indian officials [*alcaldes* and *regidores*] were likely to have been village

Table 3
INDIAN OFFICIALS AT MISSION DOLORES, 1777–1800^a

Spanish Name	Native Name	Baptism Number	Tribelet	Years Served
<i>Alcaldes</i>				
Valeriano	Tacsinte	SFD:00442	Lamchin	1795, 1797
Pascual Baylon	Uilmoxsi	SFD:00027	Yelamu	1797
Luis Ramon	Huetlics	SFD:00031	Aramai	1795, 1797
Jorge	Jojuis	SFD:00298	Aramai	1797
<i>Regidores</i>				
Acurso	Enchequis	SFD:00347	Aramai	1797
Fermin	Cacid	SFD:00624	Huchiun	1797

^aRecords for *alcaldes* and *regidores* exist only for the years 1795 and 1797. Most had likely been in the position for a number of years prior.

captains” (1997:368) in the early years, and later “gained promotion through the system” (2005:252). Working from a list of 46 Indian officials at Mission San Carlos, Hackel linked the officials to families of high social status, mostly headmen and their associates. Such men comprised half of the Indian staff. The other half could not be linked to such families nor to other less prominent positions, such as that of witness, and so Hackel surmised that the remaining 50% somehow earned positions of leadership at the mission. Most importantly, Hackel concluded that while Indian officials benefited the missionaries in a variety of ways, “the political system the Spanish relied upon to control the missions...fostered the preservation and [re]creation of native authority” (2005:271).

Ramaytush male children from high-status families dominated staff positions at Mission Dolores (Table 3). In addition to serving as godparents, children of elites sustained their status by performing the more significant function of witnessing. Between 1777 and 1800 a total of 639 Indian marriages were recorded at Mission Dolores. Spaniards and Indian servants from New Spain and Baja California witnessed 364 (57%) of the Indian weddings. Local Indians stood as witnesses at the remaining 275 (43%). Of those, the Ramaytush of the San Francisco Peninsula comprised 89% of the witnesses. Two of the non-Ramaytush witnesses had previously married Ramaytush high-status spouses, so the total influence of Ramaytush families was actually 94%. Furthermore, 93% of all witnessing (i.e., of all marriages witnessed)

was accomplished by children from high-status families, with the exception of Oljon headman Juan de Los Santos *Ysùu* (SFD-B:00734). Only two were women—Clara *Axpin* (SFD-B:00016) was the sibling of a male witness, and Josepha *Ubiomis* (SFD-B:00063) was married to an Indian servant from New Spain.

As expected, the larger tribelets contributed the greatest number of witnesses and performed a higher percentage of witnessing, with two exceptions (Table 1). The Yelamu, Ssalson, and Lamchin tribelets, with baptized populations of over 130, contributed approximately 74% of witnesses who participated in 63% of all marriage ceremonies. The Oljon, with a baptized population of over 115, contributed only one witness. By contrast, the Aramai, with less than 50 baptized members, produced 7% of all witnesses, yet witnessed 24% of all marriages. The persons who served as witnesses typically represented the home tribelet of new Ramaytush converts; however, during the mass baptisms and marriages of the Huchiun and Saclan from November 1794 to mid-April 1795, few members of the established or newly arrived families participated as witnesses in the ceremonies.

The Yelamu, who were located within the present boundaries of San Francisco County, were one of the first tribelets to be recruited to Mission Dolores, beginning in 1777. The Yelamu occupied six villages, including *Chutchui* at the site of Mission Dolores (Milliken 1995:260). Only two *capitânes* or headmen were identified by missionaries in the vital records: *Chutchui* village headman Romualdo *Xigmacse* (SFD-B:00365) and *Petlentuc* village headman Pio *Nopexcsé* (SFD-B:00346). The Yelamu occupied the tip of the San Francisco Peninsula, which placed them in a privileged position for economic exchange with the Huimen and Huchiun across San Francisco Bay. The Huimen and Huchiun had been intermarrying with the Yelamu prior to Spanish contact, and a number of families had positions of high status within Yelamu society. Because the Yelamu were the first tribelet members to be baptized in great numbers, they more quickly established high-status positions in the mission social hierarchy by marrying their daughters to non-Alta California Indian servants. All of the first marriages of the mission servants—Raymundo Morante, Cipriano Agraz, Joaquin Fabian, and Diego Olbera—were to Yelamu women (Table 2).

The tribelet with the most military influence appears to have been the Ssalson, who were the largest of the peninsula tribelets (Table 1). The five primary Ssalson villages were located along the San Andreas Rift Valley or near branches of San Mateo Creek (Brown 1973). Mission records identify only one headman of the Ssalson—Marcial *Keqecég* (SFD-B:00517) of the village at Uturbe—although quite a few large and influential families at the three primary villages were linked together through multiple intermarriages. Early Spanish explorers described skirmishes between the Lamchin and Ssalson and between the Ssalson and Yelamu. In 1776 Pedro Font (Bolton 1930:328) noted that one of the Lamchin had been “wounded in the leg by an arrow” from a Ssalson. In 1776 Francisco Palou (Palou et al. 1913:208) described a resounding victory by the Ssalson over the Yelamu. The Ssalson had a relatively high number of marriages witnessed (Table 1).

Located immediately to the south of the Ssalson, the Lamchin inhabited five villages. The primary village of *Chachanigtac* was located near present-day San Carlos (Brown 1973; Milliken 1995:246–247). Mission records identify four Lamchin headmen: Nicholas *Zapecsé* (SFD-B:01176), Patavio *Gimás* (SFD-B:01233), Juachin *Astale* (SFD-B:01173), and Juan Diego *Yunenís* (SFD-B:01180). Like the Ssalson, the children of Lamchin leaders witnessed a large portion of marriages. Juan Diego was the only Ramaytush headman to serve as a witness. Most importantly, Valeriano *Tacsinte* (SFD-B:00442), son of Lamchin leader Luquesio *Cholós* (SFD-B:01265), was an incredibly important and notorious figure. Valeriano worked his way up the ladder of leadership at Mission Dolores—he served as assistant to soldier Francisco Bernal, stood witness at more marriages than any other Lamchin, and inevitably became *alcalde*. As *alcalde*, Valeriano was noted for having abused his position of authority (Hackel 2005:242; Milliken 1995:300–301).

As indicated by the comparatively large percentage of high-status marriages, the Aramai appear to have had tremendous political influence among the peninsula tribelets. The Aramai had two primary villages—one in the San Pedro Valley along San Pedro Creek, and the other a short distance north at Calera Creek. The headman of the Aramai, Luciano Tiburcio *Yaguéche* (SFD-B:00319), was one of the first headmen to be baptized at Mission Dolores. Luciano *Yaguéche*'s

brother, Egidio *Cancégmne* (SFD-B:00345), was the headman of the Chiguan tribelet immediately to the south. Luciano *Yaguéche* in fact claimed one of the three Chiguan villages, *Ssatumnumo*, as his place of origin, which indicates that the two tribelets were at one time united under their father, *Ttusác* (SFD-B:00349). The children of Aramai headman Luciano *Yaguéche* and key leader Manuel *Liquítique* (SFD-B:00321) had the highest percentage of marriages to children of other headmen. In fact, Jorge *Jojuis* (SFD-B:00298), most likely a son or brother of Luciano *Yaguéche*, stood witness at more marriages than any other Ramaytush person and eventually became *alcalde*. One of Luciano *Yaguéche*'s sons, Manuel Conde *Jutquis* (SFD-B:00093), maintained his status at the mission until his death in 1830. Half of the six identified Indian officials (two *alcaldes* and one *regidor*) were from the Aramai (Table 3).

At Mission Dolores the important position of witness functioned as a prerequisite to higher staff positions, such as those of *alcalde* and *regidor*. In fact, all *alcaldes* and *regidores* elected by the natives served as witnesses first. This indicates the existence of a “ladder of leadership” at the missions, of which “serving as a marriage witness seems to have been an important rung” (Hackel 1997:369, 2005:254). The position of witness, it should be remembered, required prior elite status in native society, and so the ladder of leadership extended the political influence of high-status families.

At Mission San Carlos and at Mission San Diego the practice of electing headmen as *alcaldes* was common (Hackel 1997:359 fn.). At Mission Dolores, however, Indian headmen never served as *alcaldes* or *regidores* prior to 1800—all *alcaldes* were in fact sons of high-status families (Table 3). What, then, accounts for the differences in practice at Mission Dolores? Mission Dolores began electing *alcaldes* much later than the other missions (the exact date is unknown), and by that time some of the headmen were dead and others were perhaps too old to function in that capacity. That said, four children of headmen did serve as witnesses. Two were the eldest sons who served after their fathers' deaths, which most likely resulted in their becoming headmen. Nonetheless, headmen appear to have had little interest in acquiring positions of leadership at the mission, but their influence at the mission and certainly at the neophyte village remained active.

According to Jackson and Castillo (1995:38), headmen exerted “considerable influence forty years after the establishment of the missions.” At Mission San Carlos, for example, the padres reported the following in the 1813–1815 questionnaire: “Even today they [the Indians] show more respect and submission to their chiefs than to the *alcaldes* who have been placed over them as citizens. The chiefs remain known at all times as governors of their tribe” (Geiger and Meighan 1976:126–127). Shamans continued to function similarly, as was acknowledged by the missionaries at missions San Antonio and San Miguel (Jackson and Castillo 1995:38). Nothing suggests that Mission Dolores was any different. The strategic marriages of their children persisted even after the deaths of headmen and leaders, which clearly indicates the continuity of social status distinctions, the perpetuity of political leadership, and the endurance of the intertribal alliances forged by such marriages.

For the missionaries, the preservation of traditional patterns of leadership affected social control at the mission both positively and negatively. As Hackel (2005:257) contends, the “Franciscans would have found it difficult to incorporate and control Indians without assistance from native leaders who could effectively communicate” with their representative populations. Ignoring traditional patterns of leadership by excluding important leaders or by opening access to positions of authority might have provoked rebellion. The capacity of the Indian leadership to ensure social control was therefore critical to ensuring social order at the mission. The Indian *alcaldes* “maintained order and discipline among the neophytes, informed them about their job assignments, made sure they were not late for work or mass, judged their actions (and informed the padres accordingly), and punished those who transgressed mission rules” (Lightfoot 2006:71).

In other instances, headmen and other leaders instigated uprisings that upset the balance of power and solidarity at the mission. At Mission Dolores, a group of Huchiun ran away with Saclan leader Restituto *Potroy* (SFD-B:01765) and others to go “to a dance at the Chimenes *ranchería*” (Milliken 1995:139). Among the 280 runaways were several other headmen and leaders, particularly from the Huchiun, who—like Restituto *Potroy*—had been recently baptized. The Huchiun runaways complained about hunger, the death of family

members, and severe punishment at the mission. The exodus initiated a five-year period during which the number of conversions decreased radically and economic production no doubt suffered for a lack of laborers.

DISCUSSION

The Spanish encouraged the persistence of the indigenous social structure in order to facilitate social control at the missions, a necessary condition for colonization. Although occupying various positions of authority at the mission, Indian officials ultimately derived their authority from native society as a corollary of status. In spite of Spanish marriage rules and practices, Indian elites arranged strategic marriages between their children and thereby maintained the status distinctions necessary for the retention of the traditional social structure. As a result, pre-mission political authority and intertribal alliances persisted. Altogether, these factors indicate social and political continuity persisted during colonization at Mission Dolores.

If indigenous social structure and political authority persisted at Mission Dolores, then it is logical to contend at minimum that the (cultural) customs necessary to maintain such structures continued. Such persistence at the Spanish mission and neophyte village within a once dispersed but allied indigenous population indicates that the various tribelets reproduced a regional solidarity through arranged marriages among elites that in turn maintained social and political continuity in a plural tribal form of self-governance at the neophyte village. This conclusion runs contrary to the assertion made by the late Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (1987:200), who contended that the Indians “had no idea of a social compact, in the strongest sense of the word.” “The Indians,” he continued “had no sense of fidelity to each other...there was no spirit of loyalty. There was no spirit of commitment. You stayed together out of necessity rather than out of appreciation.” Also, this conclusion calls into question James Sandos’s (2004:181) assertion that the Indians at San Francisco “were overwhelmed by the mission experience and lost touch with their culture quickly.” The Indians at Mission Dolores, at least until the early 1800s, retained the social structure necessary to preserve their native culture.

A reconstruction of the social structure of local California Indians prior to and during contact with Spanish

missionaries offers a more complete understanding of the consequences of Spanish colonization. Reproduction of the social structure shows that political influence, especially in the tribelet and at the mission, was not the privilege only of headmen. Other individuals from high-status families occupied important positions of leadership. This conclusion encourages scholars who use the headmen (*capitánes*) and mission staff positions as indicators of status to embrace a broader notion of Indian leadership. This more systematic type of reconstruction, enhanced by other case and comparative studies, will no doubt expand our limited understanding of the social structure of California Indians both prior to and during Spanish colonization. Finally, this research encourages a further analysis of the relationship between culture and social structure, and the corresponding processes of acculturation and assimilation.

NOTES

- ¹The first five missions were San Diego de Alcalá (1769), San Carlos de Borromeo (1770), San Antonio de Padua (1771), San Gabriel Arcángel (1771), and San Luis Obispo de Tolosa (1772). Governor Neve’s order was enacted at the remaining missions “at the completion of [its first] five years” (Hackel 1997:359).
- ²The Spanish used the term Indian pueblo, but the phrase Indian pueblo was the ideal rather than the reality—it implies a more formally established town than was actually present at most missions. Many scholars prefer the terms mission rancheria or neophyte village, the latter of which will be used throughout this article.
- ³I use the term Ohlone because it appears to be the more common term used by descendants and affiliated professionals in the San Francisco Bay Area (e.g., Bean 1994); however, contemporary descendants refer to themselves as Costanoan, Ohlone, or Ohlone/Costanoan. Costanoan is a linguistic designation also used to identify the people who spoke a common language in the San Francisco Bay area south to Monterey. Ohlone, taken from the name of the Oljon tribe of the San Francisco Peninsula or perhaps from a Miwok word meaning “people of the west” (Margolin 2003:1), is used as a common term of identification for descendants of the original speakers of the Costanoan dialect.
- ⁴This study is based on the analysis of baptismal, marriage, and burial records from Mission Dolores. The person’s Spanish first name is listed first followed by their native name in italics. The source is identified by mission (SFD for Mission San Francisco de Asis, also known as Mission Dolores), then by baptism (B), marriage (M), or burial (D) number, and finally by record number; e.g., Manuel Conde *Jutquis* (SFD-B:00093). Unless otherwise stated, all records are derived from the *The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project Database, 2006*.

- ⁵Not all Indians incorporated into the mission system in California were relocated to neophyte villages at the mission site. At missions San Diego and San Luis Rey, for example, “only a portion of the neophyte population...[resided] onsite at any one time” (Lightfoot 2005:65).
- ⁶Milliken et al. (2009:63) use the term “local tribe” instead of tribelet to encapsulate the notion of multi-village groups.
- ⁷There were two Ramaytush men who espoused their respective mothers-in-law. The first was Lamchin leader Patricio *Chambreste*, who had children by both his spouse (SFD-B:00432) and his spouse’s mother (SFD-B:00431). He was killed by his Puichon neighbors for an unknown reason. The second was Urebure leader Nicolas de Bari *Puiéles* (SFD-B:00287), who was discussed by Francisco Palou (Palou et al. 1913:211). Nicolas de Bari’s mother-in-law-spouse was the only one of his wives who did not remarry.
- ⁸Geiger (1967) examines the construction of buildings at Mission Dolores.
- ⁹The three Ramaytush tribelets excluded from this study are the Olpen, Puichon, and Quiroste.
- ¹⁰The median baptism year and median marriage year for each tribelet indicates how proximity to Mission Dolores influenced recruitment patterns (Table 1).
- ¹¹The Salinan had a similar political system in which a regional headman dominated village headmen and districts. Pedro Fages observed of the Salinan that “[b]esides their chiefs of villages, they have in every district, another who commands four or five villages together, the village chiefs being his subordinate” (Priestly 1972:720). To R. O. Gibson this shows “that villages and districts were all inter-related in a hierarchical system” (1985:164).
- ¹²In their study of Indian housing at Mission La Purisima, Glenn Farris and John Johnson (1999:10) suggested that the most likely inhabitants of mission adobe housing were Indians who occupied staff positions at the mission. The authors use godparenting and witnessing as indicators of status and on that basis projected “the most probable inhabitants.”
- ¹³The figure of 10% is mine. Newell (2009:129–130) states that over 41% of godparents were “other baptized Indians,” which is misleading because that figure includes spouses of non-California Indian mission servants who were obligated to function in that capacity.

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