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Indigenous Artists, Ingenuity, and Resistance at the California Missions After 1769

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History

by

Yve Barthelemy Chavez

2017

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2017

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Indigenous Artists, Ingenuity, and Resistance at the California Missions After 1769

by

Yve Barthelemy Chavez

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Charlene Villaseñor Black, Chair

This dissertation aims to place California Indian agency and artistry at the forefront of California mission art studies through close analysis of Chumash and Tongva practices at four of Southern California's missions: San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, and Santa Inés. Although the mission churches and their decorations reflect European stylistic influences, all twenty-one mission sites are the products of California Indian ingenuity and resistance. By examining primary accounts and ethnographic sources, this dissertation presents an Indigenous reading of Chumash and Tongva dances, stone sculpting, basket weaving, and painting carried out under great adversity at the missions. After entering the missions, California Indians continued to practice their ancestors' traditions that pre-dated the Franciscan friars' 1769 arrival. California Indian artists also combined local materials with European and Mexican styles, which gave their art and the mission buildings a unique appearance. This dissertation draws upon decolonizing methodologies, rooted in interdisciplinary studies, to deconstruct Eurocentric biases in archival

sources and romanticized misunderstandings in historical scholarship about mission art and California Indian contributions. The traditional art historical tools of formal analysis and iconography bring to light the artistic talents of California's first peoples and dignify Indigenous art on its own terms. No end date is given in this dissertation's title because California Indian art survived and the descendants of the people who built the missions are continuing their legacy today. Readers will find a new perspective on the missions that seeks to honor the California Indian people who bravely expressed their beliefs and traditions through art in these contested spaces.

The dissertation of Yve Barthelemy Chavez is approved.

Stella Nair

Dell Upton

Benjamin Madley

Charlene Villaseñor Black, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2017

DEDICATION

In loving memory of my grandmother Vivian Barthelemy who taught me to appreciate our Tongva culture and to always remember our ancestors from the San Gabriel Mission.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Figures	vii-xii
Acknowledgements	xiii-xiv
Vita/Biographical Sketch	xv-xvi
Introduction: Indigenous California and the European Invasion	1
Chapter 1: California’s First Peoples	40
Chapter 2: An Indigenous Sense of Place within the Alta California Missions	67
Chapter 3: Chumash Basketry at Mission San Buenaventura	96
Chapter 4: Chumash Innovations in Sculpture and Architecture	126
Chapter 5: California Indian Identity and Mission Paintings	161
Chapter 6: Conclusion and Future Studies.....	195
Figures	214
Appendix A: Photographs of the Old Church at Mission Santa Inés	288
Bibliography	294

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1. <i>California missions, forts, and towns, 1769-1823</i>	214
Figure 2. <i>California Indian tribes and language groups</i>	215
Figure 3. <i>Tabernacle</i> , late eighteenth century. Shell, mirrors, wood, pigment, W 28 x H 36 x D 24 in. (71 x 91.5 x 61cm).....	216
Figure 4. Attributed to Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash), <i>Hope, St. Barbara and Charity</i> , reproductions of the originals sculpted in the early nineteenth century. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.....	217
Figure 5. Attributed to Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash), <i>Bear waterspout</i> , 1815-1820. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.....	218
Figure 6a. <i>First station: Christ is condemned to death, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	219
Figure 6b. <i>Second station: Christ receives the cross, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	220
Figure 6c. <i>Third Station: Christ falls for the first time, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	221
Figure 6d. <i>Fourth station: Christ meets his mother, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	222
Figure 6e. <i>Fifth station: Simon of Cyrene helps Christ carry the cross, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	223
Figure 6f. <i>Sixth station: Veronica wipes the face of Christ, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	224
Figure 6g. <i>Seventh station: Christ falls for the second time, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	225
Figure 6h. <i>Eighth station: Christ meets the women of Jerusalem, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	226
Figure 6i. <i>Ninth station: Christ falls for the third time, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	227

Figure 6j. <i>Tenth station: Christ is stripped of his garments, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	228
Figure 6k. <i>Eleventh station: Christ is nailed to the cross, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	229
Figure 6l. <i>Twelfth station: Christ dies on the cross, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	230
Figure 6m. <i>Thirteenth station: Christ's body is taken down from the cross, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	231
Figure 6n. <i>Fourteenth station: Christ's body is laid in the tomb, Stations of the Cross</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California.....	232
Figure 7. Chumash, <i>Padre's hat made of grass</i> , late eighteenth century. Sedge root, bulrush root, H 2.76 x D 16.3 in. (7 x 40 cm). Collected by George Goodman Hewett, The British Museum, London, United Kingdom, Am,VAN.196.....	233
Figure 8. Tongva, <i>Kiys (thatched hut)</i> , early twenty-first century. Tule. Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden, Claremont, California.....	234
Figure 9. Chumash, <i>Carved wooden bowl with shell inlay</i> , ca. 1760s. Oak, shell, maximum D 5.9 in. (15 cm). Collected in the Santa Ynez Valley in 1878 by Léon de Cessac, Musée de l'Homme, Paris, France.....	235
Figure 10. Juana Maria (Tongva), <i>Twined water bottle</i> , 1840s or 1850s. Asphaltum, juncus (?)......	236
Figure 11. <i>Basket</i> , late eighteenth century (?). Grass (?), D 11.8 x H 2.8 in. (30 x h 7 cm). Collected by George Goodman Hewett, The British Museum, London, United Kingdom, Am,VAN.188.....	237
Figure 12. Chumash, <i>Bear effigy</i> , sixteenth-seventeenth century. Steatite, red cinnabar, shell, H 3.4 x W 2.25 x D 2.6 in. (8.6 x 5.7 x 6.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, 1979.206.397.....	238
Figure 13. Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, <i>An Indian Dance at the Mission of San Jose, in New California</i> , 1806. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California.....	239
Figure 14. Campbell Grant, <i>Plan of the Hutash Fiesta on San Miguel Day</i>	240
Figure 15. Taos Pueblo, <i>San Gerónimo Church</i> , built after 1847, photographed May 1939. Taos Pueblo, New Mexico.....	241

Figure 16. María Marta Zaputimeu (Chumash), <i>Basket bowl</i> , early nineteenth century. Juncus, sumac, approximately D 16.25 x H 6.5 in. (41.3 x 16.5 cm). Phoebe Hearst Museum, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California, 1-22478.....	242
Figure 17. María Sebastiana Suatimehue (Chumash), <i>Basket</i> , early nineteenth century. Juncus, sumac, flicker-feather quills, approximately D 15 x H 4.5 in. (38 x 11.4 cm). Private collection.....	243
Figure 18. Juana Basilia Sitmelelene (Chumash), <i>Basket tray</i> , ca. 1820. Juncus, deergrass, sumac, approximately D 24 x H 4 in. (61 x 10.2 cm). Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, Santa Barbara, California, NA-CA-CH-4F-3.....	244
Figure 19. Juana Basilia Sitmelelene (Chumash), <i>Basket tray</i> , ca. 1820. Juncus, dye, L 22.6 x W 18.4 x D 3.1 in. (57.5 x 46.8 x 7.8 cm). National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 25/1.....	245
Figure 20. Juana Basilia Sitmelelene (Chumash), <i>Basket tray</i> , ca. 1825. Juncus, sumac, dye, D 19 x H 3.25 in. (48.26 x 8.26 cm). National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 23/132.....	246
Figure 21a. <i>Pillar Dollar</i> (obverse), 1771.....	247
Figure 21b. <i>Pillar Dollar</i> (reverse), 1771.....	248
Figure 22. Chumash, <i>Basket</i> , early nineteenth century. Juncus, sumac, approximately D 12.25 x H 4 in. (31.1 x 10.2 cm). Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico City, Mexico, GCE 0001.....	249
Figure 23. Chumash, <i>Basket</i> , early nineteenth century. Juncus, sumac, approximately D 19.5 x H 7 in. (47 x 17.8 cm). Private collection.....	250
Figure 24. <i>Lavandería bear waterspout</i> , reproduction of the original sculpted by Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash) between 1815 and 1820, twentieth century. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.....	251
Figure 25. <i>Mountain lion fountainhead</i> , reproduction of the original sculpted by Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash) between 1815 and 1820, twentieth century. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.....	252
Figure 26. Chumash, <i>Church facade</i> , originally constructed beginning 1815. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.....	253
Figure 27. Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash), <i>Mountain lion fountainhead</i> , early nineteenth century, and <i>Hope</i> and <i>St. Barbara</i> , (both reproductions of the originals sculpted by Paciano Guilajahicet [Chumash] in the early nineteenth century). Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.....	254

Figure 28. <i>Church pediment and statues</i> . Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.....	255
Figure 29. C. C. Pierce, <i>Mission Santa Barbara</i> , 1898. Photograph. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, photCL Pierce 03364.....	256
Figure 30. <i>Hope</i> , reproduction of the original sculpted by Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash) in the early nineteenth century. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.....	257
Figure 31. <i>St. Barbara and Charity</i> , reproductions of the originals sculpted by Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash) in the early nineteenth century. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.....	258
Figure 32. Chumash (?), <i>effigy</i> , pre-1769 (?), collected before 1940. Steatite, H 3.25 x D 1.25 x L 5 in. (8.3 x 3.2 x 12.7 cm). Southwest Museum of the American Indian Collection, The Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California, 149.G.90.....	259
Figure 33. <i>Dolphin-like effigy from Eel Point</i> , pre-1769 (?). L 1.5 x W 0.6 in. (3.8 x 1.4 cm).....	260
Figure 34. <i>Saint Barbara</i> , late eighteenth century. Paint, wood. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.....	261
Figure 35. <i>Church ceiling decoration</i> , early nineteenth century. Paint, wood. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.....	262
Figure 36. Vitruvio Polion, <i>Large representation of the same rays</i> , first century BC.....	263
Figure 37. <i>Tabernacle and Table</i> , late eighteenth century. Shell, mirrors, wood, pigment, canvas. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.....	264
Figure 38. Chumash, <i>Ceremonial Wand</i> , pre-1769. Whale bone, asphaltum, shell. The Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California, Southwest Museum of the American Indian, P.21267.....	265
Figure 39. Chumash (?), <i>Steatite cup with shell inlay</i> , pre-1769 (?). Steatite, shell. The Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California, Southwest Museum of the American Indian, P.21278.....	266
Figure 40. <i>Saint Raphael Archangel</i> , early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission Santa Inés, Solvang, California.....	267
Figure 41. Louis Choris, <i>Danse des habitants de Californie à la mission de San Francisco</i> , 1816. Drawing. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California.....	268

Figure 42. Léon de Cessac, <i>Rafael Solares</i> (Chumash), 1878. Photograph. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California.....	269
Figure 43. Chumash, <i>Chumash painted cave</i> , pre-1769. Stone, pigment. Canaliño SB-21.....	270
Figure 44. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, <i>St. Raphael/San Rafael Arcángel</i> , 1780. Retablo, gesso and oil on wood, H 49.2 x W 23.6 in. (125 x 60 cm). Museum of Spanish Colonial Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1954.077.....	271
Figure 45. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, <i>Saint Michael</i> , ca. 1774-1776. Wood, gesso, paint, gilding, H 40.9 in x W 20 in. (104 x 51.8 cm). Zuni Pueblo Visitor's Center, Zuni, New Mexico.....	272
Figure 46. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, <i>Saint Raphael</i> , ca. 1774-1776. Wood, gesso, paint, gilding, H 42 x W 20 in. (107 x 50.8 cm). Made for the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Zuni Pueblo, Zuni, New Mexico.....	273
Figure 47. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, <i>Altar Screen dedicated to Our Lady of Light</i> , 1761. Volcanic stone, paint. Cristo Rey Church, Santa Fe, New Mexico.....	274
Figure 48. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, <i>Saint Joseph and the Christ Child</i> , detail from Altar Screen dedicated to Our Lady of Light, 1761. Volcanic stone, paint. Cristo Rey Church, Santa Fe, New Mexico.....	275
Figure 49. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, <i>Saint Francis Solano</i> , detail from Altar Screen dedicated to Our Lady of Light, 1761. Volcanic stone, paint. Cristo Rey Church, Santa Fe, New Mexico.....	276
Figure 50. Laguna Santero, <i>Altar Screen</i> , ca. 1800-1809. Gesso and water-based paint on wood, plastered side walls, leather ceiling canopy. San José de Gracia Mission Church, Laguna Pueblo, Laguna, New Mexico.....	277
Figure 51. Laguna Santero, <i>Saint Joseph and Christ Child</i> , detail from altar screen, ca. 1800-1809. San José de Gracia Mission Church, Laguna Pueblo, Laguna, New Mexico.....	278
Figure 52. <i>Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Santa María la Redonda</i> , eighteenth century. Fred Harvey Collection of the International Folk Art Foundation at the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico.....	279
Figure 53. C. C. Pierce, <i>Interior view of the Mission San Gabriel Arcángel, looking down the center aisle towards the altar</i> , San Gabriel, ca. 1900. Photograph. California Historical Society Collection, University of Southern California Libraries Special Collections, CHS-5567.....	280
Figure 54. <i>Sixth Station</i> , ca. 1817. Oil on canvas. Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, Soledad, California.....	281

Figure 55. Mexican, *Our Lady Refuge of Sinners*, late nineteenth century. Oil on tinplate. New Mexico State University Art Gallery, Las Cruces, New Mexico..... 282

Figure 56. *Map of Otumba and nearby communities, Mexico*, 1590. Color on European paper. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Mexico..... 283

Figure 57. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, *Map of Nuevo México*, ca. 1758. Oil on canvas, 42.5 x 39 in. (108 x 99 cm). New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, New Mexico..... 284

Figure 58. Dugan Aguilar (Maidu/Pit River/Northern Paiute), *Tima with her basket at Heyday*, 2012. Photograph..... 285

Figure 59. L. Frank (Tongva/Acjachemen), *no really, please take my wife*, 2012. Acrylic on board..... 286

Figure 60. L. Frank (Tongva/Acjachemen), *stop the dance*, 1999. Drawing..... 287

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American Indian Culture and Research Journal 40:3 (2016): 141-143.

Co-author with Cynthia Neri Lewis, and John Macias. "Imagery, Materiality, and Evolving
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Association* 31:1 (2015): 88-102.

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Indians, and the Transformation of a Missionary* (Norman: University of Oklahoma
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"Finding a Common Language at the California Missions," *Imagining the New World,
Imaginations, Stories, and Histories: Invited Program Notes*, UCLA Early Music
Ensemble, University of California, Los Angeles, March 7, 2015.

"Maintaining Cultural Knowledge Through the Arts," The Autry Blog, November 20, 2014,
<http://blog.theautry.org/2014/11/maintaining-cultural-knowledge-through-the-arts/>

CONFERENCE PAPERS/ LECTURES

"Indigenizing Alta California Mission Spaces Through Basket Weaving," American Society for
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"Indigenous Artistic Ingenuity and Asian Imports in the California Missions," Lecture, UCLA,
Los Angeles, CA, June 2, 2015

"Eighteenth-Century Accounts of Indigenous Art and Culture at the Alta California Missions,"
American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Conference, Los Angeles, CA, March
20, 2015

- “Indigenous Art and Devotion in Nineteenth-Century Northern New Spain,” University of California, Riverside Objects of Devotion/*Objetos de Devoción* Conference, Riverside, CA, December 13, 2014
- “California Mission Art in the Historical Record,” Fowler Museum Sarah E. Gilfillan Award Lecture, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, April 30, 2014
- “Junípero Serra and Mission San Gabriel’s Painting Collection,” San Gabriel Mission History Forum, San Gabriel, CA, October 12, 2013
- “Indigenizing Southern California Indian Basket Studies: Unpacking Issues of ‘Mission’ and ‘Tradition’,” Native American Graduate Research Symposium, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, November 14, 2012
- “Constructing a Colonial Identity: Eighteenth-Century Paintings of Indigenous Families in New Spain,” The Graduate Students of Art History at the University of Washington Symposium, Seattle, WA, April 12, 2012
- “Revitalizing Cultural Knowledge: California ‘Mission’ Indian Basket Weaving,” Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture Graduate Symposium, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, November 4, 2011
- “Surviving Through Art: California ‘Mission’ Indian Basket Weaving in the Past and Present,” Annual Native American Students in Advanced Academia Symposium, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, May 13, 2011

INTRODUCTION

Indigenous California and the European Invasion

This dissertation raises new questions and considers alternative possibilities regarding the roles California Indian artists played in Southern California's missions. These missions are typically associated with the Spanish influence brought to California in 1769, despite the fact that California Indians built these historical structures. While California's first peoples left evidence of their culture in the form of baskets, sculpture, rock paintings, and regalia, these materials have not been seriously considered as primary sources in research on the missions. A close study of artworks in the missions illuminates California Indian resistance to assimilation, as well as their appropriation of foreign ideas. Therefore, this dissertation suggests that we look at the missions as sites of acculturation, in which California Indians selectively borrowed Catholic ideas and European practices, which they incorporated into their existing traditions. Examples from the missions in the Chumash and Tongva regions are highlighted to exemplify Indigenous ingenuity.

This approach yields a number of new questions. Why did Chumash dancers perform traditional dances on Catholic feast days? Why did Chumash weavers at Mission San Buenaventura weave their names into baskets? Is there a connection between sculptures made at Mission Santa Barbara and pre-1769 Chumash stone charms? Is style a reflection of an artist's ethnicity? These questions guide this dissertation which argues that California Indian artists pursued new artistic avenues and that they responded to current artistic trends in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century New Spain. This study aims to place Indigenous agency and artistry at the forefront of California mission art studies. This dissertation provides the first close study

of Southern California's mission art from a California Indian perspective and it shows that mission art and architecture is rooted in the heritage of California's first peoples. It brings together the traditional art historical tools of formal analysis and iconography with decolonizing methodologies in its study of California Indian art.

The twenty-one Franciscan missions impacted the lives of hundreds of thousands of California Indians. This dissertation does not attempt to cover all the tribes or missions in California. A project of such magnitude would not do justice to California's diverse Native populations. Therefore, I chose to focus on the missions within my ancestors' Tongva homeland as well as that of their Chumash neighbors. North of the Tongva homeland that encompasses present-day Los Angeles County and parts of northern Orange County, the Chumash peoples of what is now Santa Barbara County were instrumental in the construction of Mission San Buenaventura (Ventura, CA), Mission Santa Barbara (Santa Barbara, CA), and Mission Santa Inés (Solvang, CA) (Figures 1-2). I focus on these missions not only because of their rich artistic collections, but also because the Chumash are some of the most culturally relatable groups to the Tongva in California. The Chumash, Tongva, and their Acjachemen neighbors of Orange County believed that their primary deity, Chinigchinich, originated at the village of Puvungna in present-day Long Beach, CA.¹ They traded natural resources, including the shell beads they used as currency; they painted and carved pictographs and petroglyphs in local caves, and they wove baskets as gifts and for daily use.

As a California Indian (Gabrielino/Tongva) scholar I seek to change the study of California mission art and Native American cultures by contributing my Indigenous perspective.

¹ William McCawley, *The First Angelinos: The Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles* (Banning: Malki Museum Press, 1996), 143; and Victor Golla, *California Indian Languages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), 179-180.

I employ the first-person voice because of my deep personal connection to the California missions, specifically the San Gabriel Mission where my Tongva ancestors were baptized beginning in the late eighteenth century. My ancestors, like California Indians throughout the current-day state of California, endured forced labor, violence, and cultural genocide at the missions. My goal is to honor my ancestors and other California Indians who were brave enough to express their views and traditions within the contested spaces of the Franciscan missions. Until now, no Native American art historians have written about the artistic traditions of California's first peoples who lived during the Spanish incursion. I hope that my dissertation will initiate new, and much needed dialogue regarding California Indians' artistic reactions to foreign ideas at the missions. Thus, I try my best to make it clear whenever possible that I am expressing my own views by engaging the first-person voice. As Indigenous studies scholar Margaret Kovach (Plains Cree and Saulteaux) has written of her own work, using the first-person "has the additional benefit of keeping me grounded ... Using the first person honours the experiential while engaging the abstract and theoretical."² I draw from my experience as a member of the Gabrielino/Tongva community and descendant of Mission San Gabriel survivors to write about mission art as the embodiment of resistance.

Historian Devon Mihesuah (Choctaw) has pointed out that there is not one American Indian voice or perspective.³ Even within Native American communities individuals have unique views of their culture and history. The descendants of the California mission Indians have vastly

² Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=TqyVJ2xc6E0C&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PT33.w.2.1.2>.

³ Devon A. Mihesuah, *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 3.

different views of the missions, Spanish colonization, and Catholicism. Publications by California Indian scholars such as English professor and poet Deborah Miranda (Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation), anthropologist Deana Dartt (Chumash), Native American Studies professor Edward Castillo (Luiseño-Cahuilla), archaeologist Tsim Schneider (Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria), sociologist Jonathan Cordero (Ohlone), and activist Rupert Costo (Cahuilla) reveal a spectrum of attitudes towards the missions.⁴ Ethnic Studies scholar Olivia Chilcote (Payómkowishum) and assistant curator of Mission Dolores, Vincent Medina (Chochenyo Ohlone) have also written and spoken out about California Indian identity in connection to the missions.⁵ Our ancestors who lived during the invasion that occurred almost 250 years ago also had differing perspectives. Yet, their insight offers valuable information

⁴ These scholars have published a range of studies on the missions and the California Indian experience. Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley: Heyday, 2012); Deana Dartt, “California’s Sites of Conscience: An Analysis of the State’s Historic Mission Museums,” *Museum Anthropology* 34:2 (2011): 97-108; Deana Dartt, “Negotiating the Master Narrative: Museums and the Indian/Californio Community of California’s Central Coast” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 2009); Deana Dartt-Newton and Jon Erlandson, “Little Choice for the Chumash: Colonialism, Cattle, and Coercion in the Mission Period California,” *American Indian Quarterly* 30:3/4 (Summer/Fall 2006): 416-430; Edward D. Castillo, “An Indian Account of the Decline and Collapse of Mexico’s Hegemony over the Missionized Indians of California,” *The American Indian Quarterly* 13:4 (1989): 391-408; Edward D. Castillo, “Blood Came from Their Mouths: Tongva and Chumash Responses to the Pandemic of 1801,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 23:3 (1999): 47-61; Edward D. Castillo, “The Native Response to the Colonization of Alta California (1989),” in *Native American Perspectives on the Hispanic Colonization of Alta California. Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, 26, ed. Edward D. Castillo, 423-440 (New York: Garland, 1991); Tsim Schneider, “Envisioning Colonial Landscapes Using Mission Registers, Radiocarbon, and Stable Isotopes: An Experimental Approach from San Francisco Bay,” *American Antiquity* 80:3 (2015): 511-529; Lee M. Panich and Tsim D. Schneider, “Expanding mission archaeology: A landscape approach to indigenous autonomy in colonial California,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 40 (2015): 48-58; Lee M. Panich and Tsim D. Schneider, *Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014); Jonathan Cordero, “Missionized California Indian Futures,” *News from Native California* (Winter 2014/2015): 63; and Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: Published by The Indian Historian Press for the American Indian Historical Society, 1987).

⁵ Olivia Chilcote, “Education as Self-Determination,” *News from Native California* 27:2 (Winter 2013/2014): 22; and Vincent Medina, “In Our Languages. Voices on Missions,” *News from Native California blog*. January 28, 2015. <http://newsfromnativecalifornia.com/blog/in-our-languages-missions/>.

regarding California Indian rituals, basket weaving, stone carving, and identity formation that occurred after the missionaries' arrival. I also engage the theoretical frameworks of Indigenous and decolonizing methodologies to emphasize that these were traditional California Indian practices.

Methodology

This dissertation is the product of focused research in international and local archives, investigations of museum collections, long drives up and down the coast of California visiting the missions (often multiple times), attendance at conferences and exhibitions related to California mission studies, conversations with colleagues about the missions and Native American art, and close reading of artworks. My master's thesis research on coastal Southern California Indian basketry also laid the foundation for the chapter on baskets at Mission San Buenaventura. My interviews with basket weavers and scholars were immensely insightful and I am grateful for the knowledge they shared with me.

As an art historian with training in Native American and Latin American art, I diligently read what my scholarly predecessors have written about California Indian art before and after 1769 as well as art from the missions of New Spain. I studied historical texts with vastly different portrayals of California history and consulted anthropological studies of California. I turned to interdisciplinary writings on decolonizing and Indigenous methodologies and sought out examples of their use in art historical scholarship. I found that these methods are not typically used in art history, and when they do appear, scholars use them to explain twentieth-century and contemporary artistic practices.⁶ Scholarship that engages decolonial and Indigenous

⁶ Kency Cornejo, "'Does That Come with a Hyphen? A Space?' The Question of Central American – Americans in Latino Art and Pedagogy," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 40:1 (Spring 2015): 189-210; Nancy Marie Mithlo, *Manifestations: New Native Art Criticism* (Santa Fe: Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, 2012); and Jarrett Martineau and Eric Ritskes, "Fugitive indigeneity:

methods has been extremely useful as I strive to determine a methodology that works for this study of California Indian art. I am one of the first people to use this methodology in art history, especially on the art of the missions. Drawing inspiration from my predecessors, I define my method as a scholarly approach that deconstructs primitivizing narratives about Native American art and illuminates Indigenous agency through close study of art within the context of established Native American practices and ways of thinking. My historiographical critique is a decolonizing method because I assess Eurocentric biases in the scholarship on California mission art. This dissertation represents the ingenuity of artists working in different mediums and subject matters beyond what is typically associated with the missions. My work is original because it incorporates other art forms into the discussion of the missions, particularly regalia and dance. I look at other sources that record these California Indian practices, such as anthropological studies and ethnographic accounts, whereas other art historians have focused on European sources.

Decolonizing and Indigenizing methodologies support the argument that Native art-making at the California missions was subversive. Indigenous studies scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Maori) argued that, “decolonization is a process which engages with imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels.”⁷ Borrowing from Smith’s approach, I critically analyze the oppressive impacts Spanish and later Mexican colonization had on California’s first peoples. I also draw inspiration from the work of Botswanan educational research scholar Bagele Chilisa, who argued that decolonizing research makes the voices of marginalized peoples heard on their

Reclaiming the terrain of decolonial struggle through Indigenous art,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 3:1 (2014): i-xii.

⁷ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999), 20.

own terms.⁸ My research focuses on the years of Spanish incursion in California beginning in 1769 through California's 1850 statehood, which is why I seek to subvert imperial narratives and liberate the oppressed voices of California Indians. The few publications that discuss Indigenous artists and art from the California missions use pejorative language to describe Native-made works as "primitive" or "crude."⁹ Such an approach dismisses the skills and artistic training California Indian men and women underwent before Spanish colonists landed on California's coast. Moreover, it sustains the outdated notion that European art is the standard by which all other art should be judged. Rather than attempting to equate California Indian art with art of the so-called west, I strive to bring Native American art from the California missions to visibility and to dignify it on its own terms.

I am not simply advocating for the inclusion of California Indian art in the fine art canon. Rather, I am pushing to increase the visibility of California Indian artworks, mainly from the Chumash and Tongva communities of coastal Southern California, as the embodiment of Indigenous worldviews and artistic creativity. The work of artist, activist, and scholar Dylan A. T. Miner (Wiisaakodewinini) on contemporary Native American visual culture is particularly helpful in articulating my analysis of Indigenous art from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century California. He called for an approach rooted in Indigenous ideologies and academic theoretical frameworks. He has stated, "To fully comprehend any creative expression, one must

⁸ Bagele Chilisa, *Indigenous Research Methodologies* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2012), 14.

⁹ When describing California Indian art, Swiss art historian Kurt Baer stated that "their arts were unusually primitive." Kurt Baer, "California Indian Art," *The Americas* 16:1 (July 1959): 23. American independent scholar Mamie Goulet Abbot described the painting of Saint Raphael at Mission Santa Inés as "a very crude painting done by an early Mission Indian." See Mamie Goulet Abbot, *Santa Inés Hermosa* (Santa Barbara: The Sunwise Press, 1951), 67. Mary Gordon Holway also used "crude" throughout her discussion of California Indian mission art in Mary Gordon Holway, *Art of the Old World in New Spain and the Mission Days of Alta California* (San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1922).

contextualize its production within correct cultural parameters.”¹⁰ Like Miner, I seek to acknowledge Chumash and Tongva visual and material culture on its own terms. I also strive to underscore the ingenuity of California Indian artists whose lives were turned upside down in the face of European imperialism.

Artist and educator America Meredith (Cherokee Nation) traced the marginalization of Native American art to the late eighteenth century. She has written, “‘Art for art’s sake’ -- that visual art should have no utilitarian purpose -- was proposed by Prussian philosopher Immanuel Kant in his 1790 *Critique of Judgment* and echoed by many others in the following century.”¹¹ Meredith pointed out that European Americans familiar with this concept typically devalued non-western objects, such as those made by Native Americans, by calling it “craft.” Art historian Nancy Marie Mithlo (Chiricahua Apache) has explained that ethnic, or Native American artists’ work is rarely taken seriously in the fine arts world. She argued, “In the Native American arts market, these tensions may be described as the fine arts/crafts divide. Native American crafts are assumed to be communally based, historically accurate, and tribally specific. If Native American artists wish to exhibit under fine arts imperatives, they must become white by rejection of their tribal status (‘I’m an artist first, an Indian second’).”¹² “Indigenous Arts, Ingenuity, and Resistance” challenges this assumption -- that the innate Native American-ness of the artists’ work made it a craft, thus excluding it from canon of the fine arts. On the contrary, as Mithlo has shown in her study of contemporary Native American art, it is counterproductive to separate the

¹⁰ Dylan A. T. Miner, “When They Awaken”: Indigeneity, Miscegenation, and Anticolonial Visuality,” in *Rhetorics of the Americas: 3114 BCE to 2012 CE*, ed. Damián Baca and Victor Villanueva (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 178.

¹¹ America Meredith, “Editor’s Greetings,” *First American Art* 11 (Summer 2016): 10.

¹² Nancy Marie Mithlo, “*Our Indian Princess*”: *Subverting the Stereotype* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research, 2008), 76.

artist's identity from his or her art all for the sake of meeting the fine arts criteria. The objects examined here are linked to the California Indian communities from which their makers came. The communities recognized these artists and treated their art with high regard. At the missions, California Indian artists appropriated foreign ideas into their art. So, why not appropriate the foreign (western) canon of fine art to include Native American art? Before doing so, other factors need to be considered. Meredith has insisted: "Let us define our art on our own terms."¹³ This approach is also challenging especially for communities that lack pre-existing terminology for art.

In her *Art Journal* article, "The Trouble with (the Term) Art," art historian Carolyn Dean questioned the meaning of the word *art* in non-European contexts. She suggested that scholars use Indigenous terms that are like *art* when describing the creative output of non-European (originally, non-English speaking) peoples.¹⁴ Individuals from multiple communities lived at each mission settlement, so it would not be fair to choose one group's language for this study. Mithlo, however, has pointed out that the act of not providing an alternative word for art is also problematic. "It also fosters a dangerous and inaccurate belief that Native artists are unreflective about their own art production or that they lack clear aesthetic criteria."¹⁵ We may never know which terms late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century California Indian artists used to describe their work. Yet, late nineteenth-century California Indian accounts provide some insights regarding the terms their ancestors used to name objects and ceremonies. Ethnographic studies can thus help to situate Chumash and Tongva artistic practices within an Indigenous

¹³ Meredith, "Editor's Greetings," 10.

¹⁴ Carolyn Dean, "The Trouble with (the Term) Art," *Art Journal* (2006): 31-32.

¹⁵ Nancy Marie Mithlo, "No Word for Art in Our Language?: Old Questions, New Paradigms," *Wicazo Sa Review* 27:1 (Spring 2012): 115.

framework. California Indian artists were not simply bowing to the commands of mission leaders. They actively subverted an oppressive power structure by creating art that embodied sacred traditional beliefs. Thus, the following chapters treat the dances, regalia, baskets, sculpture, architecture and paintings examined as art. Chumash and Tongva artists made objects and performed in Native spaces where they practiced traditional beliefs and values.

Spain attempted to acculturate and control Indigenous populations in the Americas, but Native American peoples continued to make art. As Mithlo has pointed out, western policies aimed at destroying Native American cultures failed. She cited art historian Margaret Archuleta (Tewa) and legal historian Rennard Strickland (Osage and Cherokee) who attributed the failed policies of cultural genocide in America to the power of Native art. They argued that “the determined effort to destroy Indian culture and break Indian pride. And art – The Native American Fine Art Movement – was one of the reasons for the failure of this cultural genocide.”¹⁶ By 1846 when the United States invaded California and effectively took it from Mexico, California’s first peoples had spent seventy-seven years resisting Spanish, Mexican, and Russian policies, not including Spain’s sojourn in the sixteenth century. California Indians decolonized sites of contact, mainly the missions, by performing traditional art practices within these contested spaces. I use the term ‘contested’ to subvert the one-sided narrative of the Spanish conquest.

California Indians comprised much of the population at each mission, and they constructed and decorated most of the buildings. The California Indian laborers built edifices using local materials often within the boundaries of pre-existing aboriginal villages.

¹⁶ Mithlo, “No Word for Art in Our Language?” 111; and Margaret Archuleta and Rennard Strickland, *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century* (New York: The New Press, 1991), 8.

Before the Spanish invasion, California Indians relied upon environmental markers such as mountains and water to designate space. They also used local materials such as tule (a native rush) to build their homes. Place was not just defined by where people slept at night, but also by the physical landscape they inhabited. When the Spaniards arrived in California and other parts of the Americas, they asserted that American Indian land was available for them to claim as their own. Ethnoecologist M. Kat Anderson has pointed out colonists exploited the land that California Indians actively cultivated. “Through twelve thousand or more years of existence in what is now California, humans knit themselves to nature through their vast knowledge base and practical experience. In the process, they maintained, enhanced, and in part created a fertility that was eventually to be exploited by European and Asian farmers, ranchers, and entrepreneurs, who imagined themselves to have built civilization out of an unpeopled wilderness.”¹⁷ Unlike Europeans who decimated natural resources, California Indians engaged in land management activities that stimulated new growth and resources. The groves of trees and fields of wildflowers that colonists saw were the product of California Indian stewardship, not simply unattended land. Yi Fu Tuan argued that open space “is like a blank sheet on which meaning may be imposed.”¹⁸ The Spaniards treated California’s landscape as wild, undeveloped space that they quickly exploited through the introduction of foreign plants and livestock. These foreign invaders compromised California Indian lifestyles and decimated the resources upon which they depended for food, currency, basketry materials, and body coverings. California Indians reacted by continuing to make baskets, sculpture, shell beads, and regalia in their villages and at the

¹⁷ M. Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California’s Natural Resources* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 2.

¹⁸ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 54.

missions. They also led revolts, ran away, refused to work, and sought leadership roles all while suffering from disease and starvation.

Hybridity

The few studies on the Indigenous-made art of the California missions focus on works that reflect the intersection of California Indian and European ideas and materials. In colonial Latin American studies, scholars have proposed multiple terms to describe these types of artworks, including *mestizo*, *tequitqui*, Indo-Christian, and hybrid. Art historian Charlene Villaseñor Black's thought-provoking essay on "Race and the Historiography of Colonial Art" called for a shift away from using these words to describe colonial-period art.¹⁹ Similarly, this dissertation explains why race-based terms are challenging and proposes alternative approaches to discussing Native-made art.

In 1942, Mexican art scholar José Moreno Villa first used the Nahuatl term *tequitqui* to describe colonial architecture and sculpture in Mexico. He argued that the proportions of *tequitqui* sculpture are primitive because of their Native influences.²⁰ Thus, *tequitqui* implies that European art was superior to the Native arts of Mexico. *Tequitqui* is also inadequate because it dismisses the cultural diversity of Mexico's Indigenous populations, which spoke other languages beside the Aztec language, Nahuatl. While current-day scholars rarely use *tequitqui*, with a few important exceptions, that are discussed shortly, some continue to use the equally problematic term *mestizo*.

¹⁹ Charlene Villaseñor Black, "Race and the Historiography of Colonial Art," in *Envisioning Others: Race, Color, and the Visual in Iberia and Latin America*, ed. Pamela A. Patton (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 310.

²⁰ José Moreno Villa, *La escultura colonial mexicana* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1942).

Historically, *mestizo* referred to people of mixed racial ancestry in Latin America. However, by the twentieth-century art historians Alfred Neumeyer and George Kubler used *mestizo* in their descriptions of sixteenth-century architecture and ornament in New Spain. According to Neumeyer, the *mestizo* style of architecture was characterized by flattened ornamentation. Neumeyer asserted that Indigenous craftsmen denigrated European architecture by adding flat and reductive ornamentation to Baroque and Renaissance-style churches. Neumeyer acknowledged the presence of Native influences in sixteenth-century architecture, but he did not categorize it as Indigenous art. Instead, he saw it as the intersection of two cultural styles, which he labeled “Mestizo or Criollo or Indio-Hispanic.”²¹ In his work on Mexican colonial architecture, George Kubler pushed this idea further by arguing that European styles replaced Indigenous designs.

Kubler would be one of the first art historians to question the utility of these terms, specifically, *mestizo*, in his 1959 study of colonial Latin American art. He suggested using the term ‘provincial highland’ to describe architecture.²² Though not a racially based concept, “provincial highland” does not encompass all the groups that *mestizo* excludes, especially those outside the Andes. Thus, scholars proposed Indo-Christian as an alternative category.

In 1999, art historian José Manuel Aguilar Moreno briefly addressed the concept of Indo-Christian *mestizo* art, which he described as the “product of a new rising identity based on the fusion of Indian and Spanish bloods.”²³ Aguilar Moreno based his definition on the concept that

²¹ Alfred Neumeyer, “The Indian Contribution to Architectural Decoration in Spanish Colonial America,” *Art Bulletin* 2 (June 1948): 104-121.

²² George Kubler, and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500 to 1800* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1959), 92.

²³ José Manuel Aguilar Moreno, “Tequitqui art of sixteenth-century Mexico: an expression of transculturation” (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1999), 113.

colonial art represents the artist's mixed identity rather than the meeting of two artistic styles. Mexican scholar Constantino Reyes-Valerio, however, suggested that Indo-Christian art represents the changes Indigenous art underwent after Christianity arrived in the Americas.²⁴ Moreno Villa argued that the presence of Native influence in sixteenth-century art was anachronistic, but Reyes-Valerio believed that it was natural for artists to include Indigenous elements. The term Indo-Christian references Indigenous agency and ingenuity, yet "Christian" reinforces European hegemony in the early modern Americas. In addition, some artworks that represent Native American materials and ideas, but which are not Christian, would not fit into the Indo-Christian category. Indo-Christian, like *tequitqui* and *mestizo* is a racialized term that, when used to describe art, implies that style reflects the artist's racial identity. This approach is problematic for it assumes that an artist's race dictated how his or her art would appear. Villaseñor Black has argued that using race-based terms to describe colonial art is "antiquated, prejudicial, and patronizing."²⁵ She criticized early scholars for "likening mestizo art to mestizo children," for doing so suggests that "colonial art history is the bastard child of the discipline."²⁶ By conflating art with racial mixings that resulted from colonial intermarriage perpetuates racist hierarchies in which pureblooded Europeans ranked at the top. Scholars have questioned the implications of hybrid and hybridity for similar reasons.

In 2006 art historians Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn highlighted the problematic nature of hybridity, which perpetuates a hegemonic relationship between European colonizers

²⁴ Constantino Reyes-Valerio, *Arte indocristiano: escultura del siglo XVI en México* (Mexico City: Escuela Nacional de Conservación, Restauración y Museografía, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1978).

²⁵ Villaseñor Black, "Race and the Historiography of Colonial Art," 310.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

and Indigenous colonial subjects.²⁷ Their discussion of colonial mindsets is particularly insightful when one considers the reception of art in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century New Spain. Dean and Leibsohn asserted that the so-called hybridities or ethnic mixings we see in art from the years of Spain's imperial expansion were not viewed as particularly remarkable at that time. People and materials circulated with frequency throughout the Spanish viceroalties. As a result, artists embraced new approaches to making art, which resulted in objects that diverged from European conventions. Dean and Leibsohn pointed out that "hybridity" is a term that first appeared in sub-altern studies and it "emphasize[s] structures of power that center and marginalize."²⁸ They saw hybrid as a term that deals with issues of race rather than culture. Meanwhile, English and American literature scholar Homi Bhabha defined hybridity as a signifier of cultural difference, but within hybridized spaces culture is not hierarchical. Bhabha wrote, "This interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy."²⁹ Bhabha's cultural space is a site where practices are shared instead of separated. Hybridized spaces represent the emergence of new identities that are not authentically one or the other. Mimicry, unlike hybridity implies colonial hegemony.

Bhabha's mimicry theory reflects the influence of Caribbean scholar Frantz Fanon and author V. S. Naipaul. Bhabha writes, "What I have called mimicry is not the familiar exercise of *dependent* colonial relations through narcissistic identification so that, as Fanon has observed, the black man stops being an actional person for only the white man can represent his self-

²⁷ Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12:1 (June 2003): 5-35.

²⁸ Dean and Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents," 6.

²⁹ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 5.

esteem.”³⁰ Fanon argued that in the twentieth century white men imposed an identity of Otherness or inferiority upon black men. He wrote, “For not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man.”³¹ Fanon explained that a black man’s consciousness of his own body is based on an awareness of how he is different from white men. Likewise, the main character of V. S. Naipaul’s novel, *Mimic Men*, sees himself as one of the mimic men of the New World.

A mimic man is not only someone who copies or emulates the mannerisms of others, but he is also someone who bases his identity upon that of other people. Naipaul’s protagonist, Ralph Singh, a man of West Indian origin who was born in the Caribbean and lives in London, shapes his identity after the London dandy. The character Singh states, “It was up to me to choose my character, and I chose the character that was easiest and most attractive. I was the dandy, the extravagant, the colonial, indifferent to scholarship.”³² Here, Singh actively chose to mimic the dandy; no one forced him to do so. Naipaul has ascribed agency to Singh who attempted to be someone he was not, both socially and ethnically. Bhabha expanded upon this notion of mimicry by describing it as a symptom of colonialism. He wrote, “colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an *ambivalence*; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference.”³³ Mimicry is about making the colonial subject follow the colonizer as a model. Yet, while

³⁰ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 126.

³¹ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 110.

³² V. S. Naipaul, *The Mimic Men* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1967), 24.

³³ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 122.

mimicking the colonizer, the colonial subject cannot be the same or equal to the colonist. Thus, mimicry opens space in which colonized people have agency.

Art historian Angélica Afanador-Pujol pushed the concept of mimicry further in her investigations of the Uanacaze family tree in the *Relación de Michoacán*. The *Relación de Michoacán* is a sixteenth-century manuscript that documented the customs of the P'urhépecha-speaking nobility of what is now Michoacán, Mexico.³⁴ “The Uanacaze were the leaders of a group ... who had allegedly migrated to Michoacán and conquered its local population.”³⁵ One of the artists responsible for illustrating the “Relación de Michoacán” modeled his or her depiction of the Uanacaze royal lineage after the Tree of Jesse, replacing Christ’s lineage with Uanacaze leaders. Afanador-Pujol has argued that the unknown, “indigenous colonized” artist who made the image of the family tree appropriated the European image of the Tree of Jesse and created something new -- “an indigenous sign.”³⁶ Building upon Bhabha’s approach, Afanador-Pujol ascribed agency to the colonized artist who did not simply copy an imported European model. California Indians, likewise, appropriated European motifs and ideas at the California missions. However, their approach was not mimicry. Instead, they selectively borrowed and appropriated European ideas which they incorporated into art they made for the missions. Chumash and Tongva artists rooted these new art forms in their communities’ ideologies. This Indigenous characteristic of mission paintings, sculpture and architectural ornament sets these works apart from their imported counterparts. They cannot be called hybrids.

³⁴ Angélica Afanador-Pujol, “The Tree of Jesse and the ‘Relación de Michoacán’: Mimicry in Colonial Mexico,” *The Art Bulletin* 92:4 (December 2010): 293.

³⁵ Afanador-Pujol, “The Tree of Jesse,” 293.

³⁶ Afanador-Pujol, “The Tree of Jesse,” 302.

Some Latin Americanists continue to use hybrid in their work, yet others are reconsidering its repercussions. Art historian and curator Iлона Katzew, for instance, has critiqued the term and its implications for the Native peoples of the Americas. “Their relationship to the conquerors cannot be reduced to one of victors and vanquished; it entailed a delicate process of cultural negotiation, mutual accommodation, and exchange (rather than syncretism and hybridity), a dynamic that gave rise to vital works of art rich in interpretive possibilities.”³⁷ With this in mind, neither hybridity nor hybrid are appropriate terms with which to describe the California mission art under discussion. Doing so would deny the California Indian values and ideologies that inspired the artworks’ creation.

In his work on contemporary Native American art, Miner deconstructed hybridity, which he described as “an empty signifier.”³⁸ He argued that hybridity is not a useful term for studies of Indigenous art for it perpetuates the negative impacts of globalization. Instead, he called for scholars to engage Native art through an Indigenous discourse. Though focused on contemporary practices, the issues Miner raised are relevant to California Indian art in the missions. California Indian art existed before European colonization. Therefore, it would not make sense to call it by a new name, especially one that privileges an outdated conception of European progress. Hybridity implies that non-western art, in this case, Native art, improved through contact with European art. This dissertation examines Indigenous-made art from the missions as the

³⁷ Iлона Katzew, ed. *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), 12.

³⁸ I would like to thank Dr. Miner for granting me permission to cite his unpublished paper, and Nancy Mithlo for bringing this pivotal study of hybridity and Indigenous art to my attention. Dylan A. T. Miner, “Against Hybridity, Against Globalization: An Indigenist Provocation on/as Contemporary Art” (paper presented at *Essentially Indigenous?: Contemporary Native Arts Symposium*, May 2011), 6; and Mithlo, “No Word for Art in Our Language?” 123.

continuation of pre-existing artistic traditions, which Spaniards saw as early as the sixteenth century.

Chronology

In 1542, Seville-born explorer Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo led an exploratory expedition that sailed along the coast of present-day southern California (Figure 1).³⁹ Since they did not discover gold, this group of Spanish explorers left California in 1543 in anticipation of finding resources in other lands.⁴⁰ In 1697, Jesuit missionaries established the first Catholic mission of sixteen in peninsular California, which is also known as Baja or Antigua California.⁴¹ Then, in 1767, Spain expelled the Jesuits from its territories.⁴² Historian David J. Weber explained that “Carlos III had charged the Jesuits with sedition, but this appears to have been a pretext to eliminate the privileged and wealthy religious order that the king’s ministers regarded as a powerful obstacle to urgent secular reforms.”⁴³ The following year, Franciscan friar Junípero Serra of Mallorca, Spain and fifteen additional Franciscan friars arrived in Loreto to oversee the Jesuit missions.

³⁹ Two other explorers that came after Cabrillo also chose not to colonize the region: Sir Francis Drake (1579) and Sebastián Vizcaíno (1602). For more information on early exploration of California, see Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe: 1846-1873* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), 18; Though outdated, and at times Eurocentric, Hubert Howe Bancroft’s *History of California* series provides one of the most extensive historiographies of California. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1884-1890).

⁴⁰ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2001), 32.

⁴¹ Brian A. Aviles and Robert L. Hoover, “Two Californias, Three Religious Orders and Fifty Missions: A Comparison of the Missionary Systems of Baja and Alta California,” *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 33:3 (1997): 1-28.

⁴² James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 6.

⁴³ David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 242.

The Franciscans only established one mission in Baja California, Misión San Fernando de Velicatá, before they moved north to claim Alta, or Nueva California.⁴⁴ In 1768, the Spanish government ordered *visitador* (inspector) José de Gálvez to occupy Alta California and defend it against Russian invaders.⁴⁵ By January of 1769, an expedition consisting of three ships and two land excursions, overseen by captain Gaspar de Portolá embarked northward from Baja California.⁴⁶

On July 16, 1769 Fray Junípero Serra established Mission San Diego de Alcalá. This was the first of nine Alta California missions Serra oversaw in his role as father president of the California missions. The other eight missions include: Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo (1770), Mission San Antonio de Padua (1771), Mission San Gabriel Arcángel (1771), Mission San Luis Obispo de Tolosa (1772), Mission San Francisco de Asís (1776), Mission San Juan Capistrano (1776), Mission Santa Clara de Asís (1777) and Mission San Buenaventura (1782).⁴⁷ After his death in 1784, Serra's successors established eleven missions in California under Spanish control. These include: Mission Santa Barbara Virgen y Mártir (1786), Mission la Purísima Concepción de María Santísima (1787), Mission Santa Cruz and Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad (1791), Mission San José de Guadalupe, Mission San Juan Bautista, Mission San Miguel Arcángel, and Mission San Fernando Rey de España (1797), Mission San

⁴⁴ From this point forward, I refer to the mainland region (and current-day state) as California and the peninsular region as Baja California. Today, the peninsula is divided into two Mexican states: Baja California (Norte) and Baja California Sur.

⁴⁵ Beebe and Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair*, 108-109.

⁴⁶ Beebe and Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair*, 114-115. On January 9, the ships departed. On March 24, the land expedition departed. By July 16 the friars established Mission San Diego.

⁴⁷ From this point forward I use the shortened names of the missions as they are commonly known today. I retain, however, the Spanish accent marks used in the formal mission names, except when noted.

Luis Rey de Francia (1798), Mission Santa Inés Virgen y Mártir (1804), and Mission San Rafael Arcángel (1817). Father José Altimira founded the twenty-first and northernmost mission, San Francisco de Solano in the Pueblo of Sonoma in 1823 after Mexico gained control of California.⁴⁸ By 1821 Mexico won independence from Spain, and Mexican authorities gained control over California. Subsequently, the governor of California, José María de Echeandía, initiated the legal emancipation of California Indians in the missions in 1826.⁴⁹ California Indians either petitioned for their emancipation or used the decree as leverage against the abusive priests.

In 1829, the Mexican government expelled the Spanish missionaries from California and replaced them with Mexican-born priests.⁵⁰ However, the missions did not become parishes until after 1834 when the new governor José Figueroa implemented the plan for secularization that lasted through the 1840s.⁵¹ Secularization sought to turn the mission churches into parishes overseen by lay priests in place of the Franciscan mendicant friars. Then, in 1846, the United States declared war on Mexico and invaded California.⁵² In 1848 Mexico signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which made California a United States possession. In 1850 California became the thirty-first state in the union. James Wilson Marshall's 1848 discovery of gold in California's American River brought a new group of colonists to northern California who

⁴⁸ Robert A. Bellezza, *Missions of San Francisco Bay* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2014), 8.

⁴⁹ Madley, *American Genocide*, 35; Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California: 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 376; and Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontier* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 67.

⁵⁰ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 384.

⁵¹ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 388; Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 37; and Madley, *American Genocide*, 35.

⁵² Madley, *American Genocide*, 1, 42-51.

contributed to the California Indian population decline.⁵³ By the early twentieth century, California's Indigenous populations had not only endured forced religious conversion and assimilation, as well as a drastic population decline. Before 1769, the California Indian population was perhaps 310,000 and by 1845 the population had fallen to roughly 150,000.⁵⁴

Biologist Sherburne F. Cook conducted one of the most extensive studies of historic California Indian population numbers in the 1970s.⁵⁵ He estimated that the population of California Indians was about 310,000 before Spanish contact in 1769.⁵⁶ Previous scholars had proposed more conservative numbers. For instance, in 1905 ethnographer C. Hart Merriam suggested that the population before the Spanish incursion was about 260,000.⁵⁷ In 1925, anthropologist Alfred Kroeber proposed that the pre-contact population consisted of about 133,000.⁵⁸ Cook set out to disprove these numbers. Though Cook's estimates remain debatable, his study of California Indian populations underscored the inconsistencies in the historical record that prevent modern scholars from gaining a clear picture of Indigenous life in California under

⁵³ Madley, *American Genocide*, 67.

⁵⁴ For more information on population statistics, see Madley, *American Genocide*, 555-556n2. Not all historians agree with Madley's assessment of the California Indian population after secularization in 1836. See Gary Clayton Anderson, "The Native Peoples of the American West: Genocide or Ethnic Cleansing?" *Western Historical Quarterly* 47:4 (Winter 2016): 418-422. Madley provided a powerful response to Anderson's study, calling attention to biologist Sherburne F. Cook's groundbreaking research on California Indian populations. Benjamin Madley, "Understanding Genocide in California under United States Rule, 1846-1873," *Western Historical Quarterly* 47:4 (Winter 2016): 449-461.

⁵⁵ Sherburne Friend Cook, *The Population of the California Indians, 1769-1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); and Sherburne F. Cook, "Historical Demography," in *Handbook of North American Indians*. Volume 8, *California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer, 91-98 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution 1978).

⁵⁶ Cook, *Population of the California Indians*, 43; and Madley, *American Genocide*, 555n2.

⁵⁷ C. Hart Merriam, "The Indian Population of California," *American Anthropologist* 7:4 (Oct-Dec 1905): 598; Cook, *Population of California Indians*, 1.

⁵⁸ Cook, *Population of California Indians*, 1.

Spanish and Mexican rule. Cook observed that the mission baptism books only recorded the names of individuals who were baptized, so it is challenging to determine how many Indians remained unconverted.⁵⁹ Even though death records, like baptismal books, did not account for unconverted Indians, it is clear that the California Indian population declined. The baptized people were almost exclusively from the coastal region.

Scholars also disagree about the size of the population after California became a state in 1850. Anthropologist Russell Thornton (Cherokee) argued that the number decreased to about 85,000 in 1852, two years after statehood.⁶⁰ Historian Albert L. Hurtado, however, noted that “the population fell by 80 percent to about 30,000.”⁶¹ While scholars continue to disagree about the rate at which California’s Indigenous population declined, California Indians are still here because our ancestors fought to survive.

Today, Southern California Indian communities follow current-day tribal political structures. In the eyes of the federal government, a group is a “tribe” when it has been recognized in federal courts or by an act of the United States Congress.⁶² This approach not only sustains the federal government’s hegemonic relationship over Native American peoples, but it also dismisses the cultural complexity of Indigenous groups. Legal scholar L. R. Weatherhead has eloquently explained this attitude: “Once recognition is established, it is not necessary to inquire further. It is clear, therefore, that in the case of recognized tribes the legal label ‘tribe’

⁵⁹ Cook, *The Population of California Indians*, 22.

⁶⁰ Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 109.

⁶¹ Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988).

⁶² L. R. Weatherhead, “What is an ‘Indian Tribe’? The Question of Tribal Existence,” *American Indian Law Review* 8:1 (1980): 8.

when applied to them does not necessarily contain any ethnohistorically valid meaning.”⁶³ Moreover, the federal government does not account for the groups that remain unrecognized. Today, there are 109 federally recognized tribes and another seventy-eight groups petitioning for recognition in California.⁶⁴ Native groups, regardless of their federal status, have adopted modern tribal systems of governing to represent their members. Therefore, when discussing current-day groups, such as the Tongva and Chumash, I refer to them as tribes. These modern-day groups represent the descendants of multiple pre-1769 villages who shared common languages or who lived at the same missions. Much of what we know about pre-1769 California Indian society comes from early explorers’ journals.

Historiography

Accounts by early visitors should not be overlooked in a study of California and the missions: English sea captain Francis Drake (1569), Spanish explorer Sebastián Vizcaíno (1602), Jesuit administrator and historian Miguel Venegas (1767), Mexican soldier José Velásquez (1785), American trader Harrison Rogers (1826-27), German poet and botanist Adelbert von Chamisso (1816), French naturalist and explorer Eugène Duflot de Mofras (1840s), American lawyer and politician Richard Henry Dana (1859-60), British naval officer Edward Belcher (1839), and California statesman Benjamin David Wilson (1840s-70s). Indeed, most written information on California before the twentieth century was told from a non-Native perspective. This dissertation attempts to acknowledge the main primary sources on California through the nineteenth century, but mission researchers will find that this is not an exhaustive historiography.

⁶³ Weatherhead, “What is an ‘Indian Tribe?’” 8.

⁶⁴ “Federal and State Recognized Tribes,” *National Conference of State Legislatures*, accessed January 12, 2016. <http://www.ncsl.org/research/state-tribal-institute/list-of-federal-and-state-recognized-tribes.aspx#State>; “California Tribal Communities,” California Courts, accessed July 24, 2016, <http://www.courts.ca.gov/3066.htm>.

Historians working in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as well as modern-day scholars, have written extensive studies of primary sources. One of the earliest historiographies can be found in Hubert Howe Bancroft's seven volume series on *The History of California*, published in 1886.⁶⁵ Bancroft's series offers a detailed history of the foreign invasion, colonization and policies established in California through the end of the nineteenth century that set the stage for future investigations of California history.

Between the 1890s and 1920s, Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., a Catholic priest and historian of the Franciscan Order published a series of books on sixteen of the twenty-one California missions as well as a four-volume series on the Franciscan missionaries who served in lower and upper California.⁶⁶ In the latter series, Engelhardt consulted friars' and administrators' letters, archives, reports, early settlers' accounts, as well as Bancroft's early publications.

⁶⁵ Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*.

⁶⁶ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Mission La Concepcion Purisima de Maria Santisima* (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1932); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Mission Nuestra Senora de la Soledad* (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1929); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Carmelo): The Father of the Missions* (Ramona: Ballena Press, 1973); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Mission San Juan Bautista, A School of Church Music* (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1931); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Mission San Luis Obispo in the Valley of the Bears* (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1933); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Mission Santa Ines Virgen y Martir and Its Ecclesiastical Seminary* (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1932); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Antonio de Padua: The Mission in the Sierras* (Ramona: Ballena Press, 1972); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Buenaventura: The Mission by the Sea* (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1930); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission* (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1920); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Fernando Rey: The Mission of the Valley* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1927); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Francisco or Mission Dolores* (Chicago, IL: Franciscan Herald Press, 1924); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission and the Beginnings of Los Angeles* (San Gabriel: Mission San Gabriel, 1927); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano Mission* (Los Angeles: The Standard Printing Co., 1922); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Luis Rey Mission* (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1921); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Miguel, Arcangel: The Mission on the Highway* (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1929); Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Santa Barbara Mission* (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1923); and Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, 4 vols. (San Francisco: James H. Barry, 1908-1915). Engelhardt's publications do not include the accents that appear in the missions' original Spanish titles.

In the 1960s, another Catholic priest of the Franciscan order, Maynard J. Geiger, published extensively on the missions. For his biographical dictionary of the Franciscan missionaries, Geiger consulted the main archives of California materials for information on the lives of the friars who served in the missions.⁶⁷ Although the records of some friars are missing from the archives, Geiger tried to present as comprehensive a study as possible. Whereas Geiger and Engelhardt focused on the Franciscans' accomplishments, other scholars addressed the California Indian experience at the missions.

In the 1943 Cook published one of the first anti-mission histories in his study on California Indian populations.⁶⁸ Cook's work influenced journalist and lawyer Carey McWilliams who, in 1946, published a critical study of Southern California in which he compared the Franciscans' treatment of California Indians to that of the Nazis who operated death camps.⁶⁹ Author William E. Coffey (Choctaw/Cherokee) stated in 1977 that when the Franciscans established the California missions they "instituted a new system of genocide."⁷⁰ In 1984, historian James J. Rawls also penned a critique of the California missions that he supported with first-hand written accounts of European explorers who described the Franciscans' harsh and slave-like treatment of California Indians.⁷¹ Three years later, Native American scholars, Rupert Costo (Cahuilla) and Jeannette Henry Costo (Cherokee) took a similar approach

⁶⁷ Maynard J. Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848: A Biographical Dictionary* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1969).

⁶⁸ Sherburne Friend Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Cook originally published this study in 1943.

⁶⁹ McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 29; Madley, *American Genocide*, 3.

⁷⁰ William E. Coffey, "Genocide Among the California Indians," *The Indian Historian* 10:2 (Spring 1977): 11.

⁷¹ Rawls, *Indians of California*, 25-43.

in their critical recounting of California mission history in which they argued that the missions were sites of genocide.⁷²

In 1995, historian Robert H. Jackson and California Indian scholar Edward D. Castillo (Luiseño/Cahuilla) published a study on the impacts of the missions on California Indians in response to the Vatican's early attempts to canonize Junípero Serra.⁷³ Also in 1995, historian Lisbeth Haas published a study of identity in southern California beginning in 1769.⁷⁴ Focusing on Southern California, Haas argued that "Violence toward the Acâgchemem and other indigenous peoples was a constant element of this society from the conquest forward. The missionaries came with soldiers, who used force to put down any overt resistance to their presence."⁷⁵ Supported with evidence from friars' and government officials' letters, California Indian and early female colonists' accounts, Haas presented a nuanced perspective of identity politics in California.

Primary accounts are the focus of Spanish language scholar Rose Marie Beebe and historian Robert M. Senkewicz's work on California history. In 2001, Beebe and Senkewicz translated a series of firsthand accounts told from the perspectives of both European/Mexican and California Indian men and women.⁷⁶ Then, in 2006, they published the translated testimonies

⁷² Costo and Costo, *The Missions of California*; and Madley, *American Genocide*, 3.

⁷³ Robert H. Jackson and Edward D. Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

⁷⁴ Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California: 1769-1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995).

⁷⁵ Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*, 14.

⁷⁶ Beebe and Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair*.

of women who lived in California between 1815 and 1848.⁷⁷ By summarizing the lives of these historical figures and translating their accounts, which were typically recorded in Spanish, Beebe and Senkewicz helped bring to light the sources that are often overlooked in studies of early California. Meanwhile, historian James A. Sandos's 2004 publication considered the relationship between California Indians and Franciscans and incorporated ethnographic sources.⁷⁸ The following year, anthropologist and archaeologist, Kent G. Lightfoot published a monograph on the Spanish and Russian incursion into early California.⁷⁹ Lightfoot examined the impacts of cross-cultural contact on California Indians by turning to Native and non-Native sources and archaeological evidence. Lightfoot's interdisciplinary approach has been a valuable guide for this dissertation's investigations of Chumash and Tongva art and material culture.

Historian Steven W. Hackel's study of Costanoan and Esselen peoples at Mission San Carlos Borromeo is another useful model for studying specific culture groups and missions.⁸⁰ Hackel cited primary accounts such as those written by Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, Pedro Fages, and Jean François de la Pérouse to highlight the continuity of Costanoan and Esselen cultures in the Monterey Bay region during the mission era. Similarly, historian George Harwood Phillips examined the history of foreign colonization amongst Southern California's first peoples between 1771 and 1877. He used primary sources, such as Harrison Rogers's diary from 1827, to underscore Tongva agency as well as the violence Southern California Indians

⁷⁷ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California Through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2006).

⁷⁸ James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).

⁷⁹ Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*.

⁸⁰ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*.

faced.⁸¹ In his recent book, historian Benjamin Madley reaffirmed the violent reality California Indians faced at the missions and during the Gold Rush. Madley's extensive investigations of primary sources and twentieth-century publications yielded a much-needed exposé of the genocide inflicted upon California's first peoples between 1846 and 1873.⁸² His examination of population statistics is a valuable resource for highlighting the obstacles Indigenous peoples faced in maintaining their cultures.⁸³ Most recently, historian Kelly Lytle Hernández addressed the California missions in her 2017 publication that characterized the San Gabriel mission as "the first experiment in human caging in Tongva territory."⁸⁴ These recent publications demonstrate a shift towards critical mission studies, an approach that influenced this dissertation.

Understanding the history of the missions is vital to any study of their art. However, I am not attempting to rewrite California mission history, but rather to provide a new perspective on the art that illuminates the contributions California Indians made. Thus, I turned to archival materials and original documents in an attempt to find references to California Indian art. I found that such references are almost non-existent. This dissertation incorporates primary sources, including non-Native and California Indian accounts, anthropological and archaeological evidence to contextualize its analysis of Chumash and Tongva art.⁸⁵

⁸¹ George Harwood Phillips, *Vineyards and Vaqueros: Indian Labor and the Economic Expansion of Southern California, 1771-1877* (Norman: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2010), 146-147.

⁸² Madley, *American Genocide*.

⁸³ Madley, *American Genocide*, 12-13, 39.

⁸⁴ Kelly Lytle Hernández, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771-1965* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 25.

⁸⁵ Other primary accounts mentioned California Indian art and architecture from missions, but I do not cite them since their authors did not visit the sites covered in this study. For instance, George Peard visited Mission San José in 1826 and Abel du Petit-Thouars travelled through Monterey and stopped at Mission San Carlos in 1836; Pedro Fages, *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California*, trans. Herbert Ingram Priestley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), 11, 13, 21-23, 25, 30,

Chumash and Tongva art in the historical record

Members of the 1769-1770 Portolá Expedition recorded some of the first written accounts of California Indian art and architecture. These descriptions appear in the diaries of Lieutenant Pedro Fages, engineer Miguel Costansó, Fray Juan Crespí, and Fray Juan Vizcaíno.⁸⁶ All four accounts embody Eurocentric views of California Indian peoples. For instance, neither Crespí nor Costansó recorded the names of the weavers who made the baskets they described. Instead of trying to find out what the people called themselves, Fages referred to all of California's first peoples as "Indians."⁸⁷ By treating the California Indian inhabitants of each mission as members of one homogeneous group, Fages dismissed the cultural and linguistic diversity of California's Indigenous populations.

Although not as descriptive, Fray Luis Jayme and Fray Francisco Garces also mentioned California Indian practices like basket weaving and canoe-building.⁸⁸ Meanwhile, Fray Pedro Font, who served as chaplain during Don Juan Bautista de Anza's second expedition through California from 1775 to 1776, wrote about the Chumash people of Mission San Luis Obispo.⁸⁹

32-33, 35, 51, 75; Miguel Costansó, *The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770, Diary of Miguel Costansó*, ed. Frederick John Teggart and translated by Manuel Carpio (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1911), 23-25, 31-33, 41, 43; and Juan Crespí, *A Description of Distant Roads: Original Journals of the First Expedition into California, 1769-1770*, ed. and trans. Alan K. Brown (San Diego: San Diego State University Press, 2001), xx, xxiv-xxv, 14, 277, 305, 347, 391-393, 395, 397, 425, 447.

⁸⁶ Costansó, *The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770*; Crespí, *A Description of Distant Roads*; and Juan Vizcaíno, *The Sea Diary of Fr. Juan Vizcaíno in Alta California 1769*, trans. Arthur Woodward (Los Angeles: G. Dawson, 1959).

⁸⁷ Fages, *Description of California*.

⁸⁸ Luís Jayme, *Letter of Luís Jayme, O.F.M., San Diego, October 17, 1772*, trans. and ed. Maynard J. Geiger (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970); and Francisco Garces, *Diario de exploraciones en Arizona y California, 1775-1776* (Malaga: Algazara, 1996).

⁸⁹ Pedro Font, *Font's Complete Diary: A Chronicle of the Founding of San Francisco*, trans. Herbert Eugene Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933). It is unclear why Font referred to the local peoples as the "Nochi." Future investigations may uncover more information regarding this term.

Font's diary as well as later accounts recorded by European explorers Archibald Menzies (1794) and Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff (1806) provide some of the richest descriptions of California Indian artistic practices witnessed at the missions.⁹⁰

Nineteenth-century accounts like Louis Choris's 1822 diary of his travels confirm that California Indians continued to perform some traditional customs, such as basket weaving and dancing in the nineteenth century.⁹¹ By the 1830s, while studying at the Urban College of Rome, Luiseño scholar Pablo Tac wrote the first known Indigenous account of California's Native people.⁹² In his notes, Tac described the Acjachemen dances and language that he knew while growing up at Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, where he was born in 1822. Then, in the 1870s a team of researchers interviewed elders for Hubert Howe Bancroft's publications. For instance, Thomas Savage interviewed Ohlone elder Lorenzo Asisara in 1877 about life at Mission Santa Cruz.⁹³ In 1878, Julio César (Luiseño/Acjachemen) recounted his life at Mission San Luis Rey

⁹⁰ Archibald Menzies, *Journal of Archibald Menzies, surgeon and botanist on board Discovery* (1790-1794 British Library Add. Ms. 32641; Marlborough, England: Adam Matthew Digital, 2007) [http://www.empire.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/Journal of Archibald Menzies surgeon and botanist on board Discovery_](http://www.empire.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/Journal_of_Archibald_Menzies_surgeon_and_botanist_on_board_Discovery_); and Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, *Remarks and Observations on a Voyage Around the World From 1803 to 1807*, trans. and ann. Victoria Joan Moesser, ed. Richard A. Pierce (Kingston and Fairbanks: The Limestone Press, 1993).

⁹¹ Louis Choris, *San Francisco One Hundred Years Ago*, trans. Porter Garnett (San Francisco: A.M. Robertson, 1913).

⁹² Pablo Tac, *Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey: A Record of California Mission Life* (San Luis Rey, CA: Old Mission, 1958). This is the first known account written by an Indigenous Californian. Tongva shaman, Toypurina (1760-1799), gave one of the earliest accounts recorded during her 1785 trial for organizing a revolt against Mission San Gabriel. This is an example of Indigenous account recorded through the lens of non-Native scribes.

⁹³ José Mariá Amador and Lorenzo Asisara, *Californio Voices: The Oral Memoirs of José María Amador and Lorenzo Asisara*, trans. and ed. Gregorio Mora-Torres (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2005), 78-199; and Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. Volume XXXIV, California Pastoral 1769-1848* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), 594-599.

de Francia for Savage.⁹⁴ In the late nineteenth century, anthropologist John Peabody Harrington interviewed María Solares (Chumash), Fernando Librado Kitsepawit (Chumash), Lucrecia García (Chumash), Juan de Jesús Justo (Chumash), Simplicio Pico (Chumash), Juan Meléndrez (Tongva), and José de los Santos Juncos (Tongva). Scholars have attempted to decipher Harrington's complicated and extensive notes, which are stored in the National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C. In 1979 and 1981, anthropologist Travis Hudson produced two publications based on Harrington's notes from his discussions with Chumash elder Fernando Librado who provided the richest explanation of Chumash artistic customs.⁹⁵ Fernando Librado was born sometime between 1804 and 1820 on Santa Cruz Island and lived until 1915, which meant he saw nearly a century of the changes Chumash culture underwent.⁹⁶ During his childhood he lived in Ventura and spent time at both Mission San Buenaventura and Mission Santa Barbara.⁹⁷ Librado shared his memories of life at these missions in an interview J. P. Harrington conducted between 1912 and 1915. Librado, who is a frequent source of information on Chumash culture for this dissertation, confirmed the names of the Chumash artists who worked at Mission Santa Barbara. This has not been the case for artists associated with other

⁹⁴ Julio César, "Recollections of My Youth at San Luis Rey Mission." In *Native American Perspectives on the Hispanic Colonization of Alta California. Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, 26, ed. Edward Castillo, 13-15 (New York: Garland, 1991); and Beebe and Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair*, 468-475.

⁹⁵ Travis Hudson, ed., *Breath of the Sun: Life in Early California As Told by a Chumash Indian, Fernando Librado to John P. Harrington* (Banning: Malki Museum Press, 1979) and Travis Hudson, Thomas Blackburn, Rosario Curletti, and Janice Timbrook, eds., *The Eye of the Flute: Chumash Traditional History and Ritual as Told by Fernando Librado Kitsepawit to John. P. Harrington* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, 1981).

⁹⁶ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 3; Hudson, *Breath of the Sun*, x. Librado's place of baptism is unknown. "Fernando's place of baptism could be at Mission Purísima, Santa Bárbara, Santa Inés, San Buenaventura or even San Fernando." Hudson, *Eye of the Flute*, 121.

⁹⁷ Hudson points out that most of Librado's recollections only tell of the years before secularization even though he lived until 1915. Hudson, *Breath of the Sun*, x.

missions. Some studies, however, have attributed artworks in the missions to California Indian artists.

In 1955, Swiss scholar and artist Kurt Baer wrote the first art historical publication on a California mission.⁹⁸ Baer identified imported and locally made artworks in Mission Santa Barbara's collection. Baer ascribed six objects there to California Indian artists: the so-called "Indian" tabernacle (Figure 3), three sandstone statues (Figure 4), an "Indian" picture frame, and a bear's head waterspout (Figure 5).⁹⁹ In 1977, Hudson revisited Mission Santa Barbara's art collection in an article focused on Chumash stone masons.¹⁰⁰ Hudson identified the pages within Harrington's field notes in which Fernando Librado recounted the names of the Chumash stonemasons who carved statues at Missions Santa Barbara and San Buenaventura.

Hudson and astronomer Ernest Underhay drew upon Harrington's interviews with Fernando Librado and Maria Solares, as well as archaeological evidence, to explain the Chumash belief system in a separate publication.¹⁰¹ They identified instances in which Chumash and other Southern California Indians continued to make and perform ritual art (rock paintings, feather poles, sand paintings, regalia, and dances) after the Spanish invasion.¹⁰² Around the time anthropologists were publishing on California Indian art and material culture historians and art historians were searching for examples of Indigenous survivals in ecclesiastical art.

⁹⁸ Kurt Baer, *Painting and Sculpture at Mission Santa Barbara* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955).

⁹⁹ Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 139, 146-147, 206, 209.

¹⁰⁰ Travis Hudson, "Some John P. Harrington Notes Regarding Chumash Masons at Mission Santa Barbara and San Buenaventura," *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 13:3 (July 1977): 15-21.

¹⁰¹ Travis Hudson, and Ernest Underhay, *Crystals in the Sky: An Intellectual Odyssey Involving Chumash Astronomy, Cosmology and Rock Art* (Socorro: Ballena Press, 1978), 19, 47-48, 85.

¹⁰² Hudson and Underhay, *Crystals in the Sky*, 15, 22-24, 36, 47-48, 51-54, 66-67, 73, 85, 91-94, 130-131.

Francis J. Weber, a historian of the missions, wrote an article in 1965 on the *Via Crucis*, or Stations of the Cross paintings, at Mission San Gabriel. George Harwood Phillips also wrote about the paintings in 1976. Phillips argued that a Native American artist painted the fourteen Stations of the Cross paintings that are currently housed at Mission San Gabriel (Figures 6a-n).¹⁰³ Art historian Norman Neuerburg raised new arguments about the paintings in 1997.¹⁰⁴ Neuerburg examined baptismal records in his attempt to identify the artist who may have painted the fourteen canvases. In his iconographical analysis of the paintings, Neuerburg asserted that more than one California Indian artist painted the scenes.¹⁰⁵ These artists, he believed, would have received training from one of the priests or a visiting artist.

The Stations of the Cross paintings are not the only works that Neuerburg attributed to California Indian artists. He also suggested that California Indian artists must have played a role in making murals, paintings, and sculptures found at the missions.¹⁰⁶ In 1989, Neuerburg and his co-author, archaeologist Georgia Lee, identified additional examples of artworks at the missions, which they asserted are extensions of pre-Hispanic California Indian artistic customs.¹⁰⁷ These examples include the Chumash sombrero hat-shaped basket (Figure 7), Mission Santa Barbara's

¹⁰³ George Harwood Phillips, "Indian Paintings from the Mission San Fernando: An Historical Interpretation," *The Journal of California Anthropology* 3 (Summer 1976): 96-100. Phillips repeated his arguments in 2007 and 2010. George Harwood Phillips, "The Stations of the Cross Revisited, Reconsidered, and Revised (sort of)," *Boletín: The Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* 24:2 (2007): 76-87; and Phillips, *Vineyards and Vaqueros*, 101-104.

¹⁰⁴ Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando: An Historical Exposition," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): 329-382.

¹⁰⁵ Neuerburg, "Indian Via Crucis," 353.

¹⁰⁶ Norman Neuerburg, *Painting in the California Missions* (Los Angeles: Kellaway Publishing, 1977).

¹⁰⁷ Georgia Lee and Norman Neuerburg, "The Alta California Indians as Artists Before and After Contact," in *Columbian Consequences, Volume 1 Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands*, ed. David Hurst Thomas, 467-480 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989).

statues (Figure 4) and fountainheads (Figure 5), and the shell-inlay tabernacle (Figure 3) at that mission. Some of these objects reappeared in late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century publications.

In 1994 archaeologist and anthropologist Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller linked specific California Indian artists to objects and architecture at the missions.¹⁰⁸ Her research utilized primary source evidence, such as baptismal and marriage records, and twentieth-century California Indian accounts. Schuetz-Miller only identified the names of sculptors and carpenters, so her publication did not cover all the artworks attributed to Indigenous artists. Her findings also reinforced the fact that only the names of California Indian *artesanos* or artisans, not fine artists, appear in the historical record. Such instances of California Indian names appearing in mission-period letters are rare.

In 2009, architectural conservator and historian Edna E. Kimbro and archaeologist Julia G. Costello wrote a study of the twenty-one Alta California missions and their art.¹⁰⁹ In the same year, art historians Clara Bargellini and Michael K. Komanecky co-edited a catalog for the exhibition, *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain, 1600-1821* that seriously considered some California Indian artworks made at the California missions.¹¹⁰ The catalog includes an entry that Komanecky wrote on Mission Santa Barbara's shell-inlay tabernacle, which is

¹⁰⁸ Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders in Hispanic California, 1769-1850* (Tucson: Southwestern Mission Research Center, 1994).

¹⁰⁹ Edna Kimbro and Julia G. Costello, *The California Missions: History, Art and Preservation* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2009).

¹¹⁰ Clara Bargellini and Michael K. Komanecky, *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain, 1600-1821* (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2009).

considered to be a piece that a California Indian made at the mission.¹¹¹ Anthropologist Janice Timbrook also contributed an essay on the provenance of the Chumash “presentation” baskets and the British Museum’s padre hat.¹¹² Timbrook published an updated article in 2014 that revisited the baskets.¹¹³ Another contributor to the catalogue, art historian Pamela Huckins, filed her dissertation in 2011, providing a much-needed overview of ecclesiastical art in the twenty-one Alta California missions.¹¹⁴ In the same year, historian Joanne Mancini published an article on Fray Pedro Cambón, which touched upon California’s place in the Manila galleon trade.¹¹⁵ A close study of imports from Asia through the Manila Galleon trade remains to be done. This dissertation aims to fill in the gaps in California mission scholarship through its case studies of Chumash and Tongva artistic practices.

Chapter Overview

Chapter One examines Tongva and Chumash material culture before missionization while advocating for an Indigenous history of California mission art. It consults ethnographic sources, mainly Native accounts recorded by non-Native anthropologists, to underscore California Indian perspectives on the mission experience as well as ancestral beliefs. These

¹¹¹ Michael K. Komanecky, “Tabernacle,” in *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain 1600-1821*, ed. Clara Bargellini and Michael K. Komanecky (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2009), 325-326.

¹¹² Janice Timbrook, “Native American Arts in the Spanish Missions: Chumash Basketry,” in *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain 1600-1821*, ed. Clara Bargellini and Michael K. Komanecky (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2009), 327-332.

¹¹³ Jan Timbrook, “Six Chumash Presentation Baskets,” *American Indian Art Magazine* 39:3 (Summer 2014): 50-57.

¹¹⁴ Pamela J. Huckins, “Art in the Alta California Mission Churches, 1769-ca. 1834” (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2011).

¹¹⁵ J. M. Mancini, “Pedro Cambon’s Asian Objects: A Transpacific Approach to Eighteenth-Century California,” *American Art* 2:1 (Spring 2011): 8-51.

sources include Fernando Librado's accounts of Chumash culture in the Santa Barbara and Ventura regions and Pablo Tac's descriptions of Payomkowishum traditions which are closely related to Tongva practices. Previous publications looked for examples of Indigenous survivals at the missions without placing them into the context of pre-1769 California Indian practices.

Chapter Two presents a case study of Chumash body adornment and performances within Mission San Buenaventura and Mission Santa Barbara. It examines these mission spaces in light of geographer Yi Fu Tuan's theories on place. The Chumash and Tongva peoples celebrated their religious beliefs through performances, which the missionaries, administrators and explorers witnessed in villages and at the missions. Non-Native accounts indicate, however, that these witnesses did not necessarily understand the significance of California Indian dances, nor did they attempt to learn about them. Ethnographic accounts from California Indian informants offer specific explanations of the dances and why they were performed. These sources also included descriptions of the regalia dancers wore, which can be seen in explorers' drawings as well as artifacts. Though used at the missions, dance regalia and instruments rarely appear in publications on the missions. Feathers, animal bone, cordage, and other ephemeral materials likely disintegrated and were unavailable to capture the attention of art historians. Moreover, California Indian musical instruments and regalia that did survive were seen as remnants of California's pre-Hispanic past. We know they were used, and likely made at the missions, so why should we not talk about them within the context of the missions? Ceremonial materials were central to the California Indian experience of the missions because they facilitated conversion. Chapter Two provides the first art historical examination of California Indian participation in Catholic ceremonies. California Indians activated spaces through ritual and performance, thus subverting Franciscan control over their beliefs.

Chapter Three focuses on Chumash basket weaving customs at Mission San Buenaventura from 1790 until 1820. This chapter makes new contributions because it provides the first close study of basket motifs that cannot be linked to Spanish coins. Baskets with Spanish coin designs are not new in California mission art scholarship. However, no study has dignified the weavers as artists. Chapter Three questions the weavers' motivations for making baskets with coin designs as well as the weavers' status within the mission. Were they bowing to the pressures of mission leaders to make baskets as gifts for foreigners? Did the weavers simply copy the Spanish text that they wove into the rims of their baskets? This study challenges the notion that the Chumash weavers passively followed the Franciscans instructions and asserts that they were highly respected artists both within the Chumash and mission communities.

Chapter Four continues the discussion of Chumash culture at Mission Santa Barbara with an analysis of stone sculpting, architectural ornamentation, and shell inlay techniques. The sculptures are reminiscent of pre-1769 Chumash stone effigies, which sometimes represent mammals celebrated in Chumash dances. Meanwhile, connections can be drawn between the decorations inside the old church at Mission Santa Barbara and Chumash beliefs. Materiality was a crucial component of Chumash culture, which is why the section on Mission Santa Barbara's tabernacle situates it within the context of materials available within coastal Southern California.

Chapter Five reconsiders artworks scholars have attributed to California Indian artists without adequate documentation. Though it does not dismiss the possibility that Native artists (either from within or outside California) painted these works, it raises new questions and exposes misguided assumptions. Rather than arriving at a conclusion about who made the paintings it considers alternative explanations for their origins. The fourteen Stations of the Cross and the portrait of Saint Raphael the Archangel may be related to contemporaneous art

movements of early nineteenth-century northern New Spain. Art historians have identified both European and Indigenous roots for hide paintings, which were made by both Native and non-Native artists.¹¹⁶ If that was the case in New Mexico, then why have past scholars insisted that the Saint Raphael and Stations paintings were derivative examples of European styles? Would it not make more sense to say that these California mission paintings were the product of both European and Indigenous ideas? Unfortunately, there are no other known examples of similar paintings in California by which we can compare these works. We can, however, deduce that these works reflect a greater stylistic movement rooted in diverse cultural ideas and traits.

Finally, Chapter Six reviews the challenges within California mission studies and considers new directions in art historical scholarship on California Indian art and the art of the missions. It examines examples of contemporary Native American artists' work that critiques the mission system and which represent the continuity and creation of new Indigenous traditions. It proposes future directions in the study of California Indian and mission art. Issues such as California Indian artistry and traditions within the living community are rarely addressed in mission museums today. This study presents a starting point for investigations of California Indian artistic influence in the missions and calls for future analysis of mission art within the context of cultural genocide.

¹¹⁶ Charlene Villaseñor Black, "The Arts," in *American Eras: Early American Civilizations and Exploration to 1600*, ed. Gretchen D. Starr (Detroit and London: Gale, 1998), 71.

Chapter 1

California's First Peoples

While California Indians comprised most of the missions' workforce, their contributions are severely overlooked in the literature on the missions. Although European-born and creole (Mexican-born Spaniards) artists may have introduced European ideas to California, California Indians re-interpreted and executed those designs when decorating and building the iconic churches. In order to recover possible Indigenous influences on artworks and architecture, this chapter identifies written descriptions of pre-1769 California Indian material culture practices. Few examples of pre-1769 Chumash and Tongva objects survived. It also calls for an updated approach to describing California Indian art that is rooted in Indigenous terminology and identity.

This dissertation focuses on objects made at Missions San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara and Santa Inés, but it does not treat them exclusively as "mission" artworks. The goal is to underscore Indigenous artistic traditions between 1769 and 1900 as exemplars of cultural resistance. Thus, it associates artworks with their corresponding community titles or artist names (when known) rather than the general term "mission." This approach is a direct response to longstanding museum and collecting practices of labeling California Indian-made objects with the word "mission." This term has been applied liberally to coastal California Indian materials without any regard for Indigenous identity. Thus, it is necessary to take a close look at the lasting impact California's mission years had on western perceptions of California Indian art and artists.

Indigenous Time

In her dissertation chapter, “Defining the ‘Indian’: The Historic Narrative of Native California,” Deana Dartt noted that the history of Indigenous California is typically presented from a non-Native approach. “I have outlined a history as defined by the outmoded anthropology and history texts at the foundation of the public narratives. I have organized the chapter much like the public history venues do, and discuss in each segment the problems associated with those particular versions of history.”¹ Dartt’s dissertation is helpful for two reasons. First, it points out the challenges scholars face when writing about California Indian history, and second because hers is one of the only scholarly accounts of the California missions told from a California Indian, specifically Chumash, perspective.² The “versions of history” to which Dartt refers are rooted in western conceptions of time. The concept of a linear progression is incompatible with many Native American worldviews, which are unique to each community. According to archaeologist Brian Fagan, California Indian identity is linked to cyclical history.³ Anthropologist Peter Nabokov has pointed out that numerous scholars have critiqued the limitations of using western epistemologies for understanding American Indian histories. Yet, writing about American Indian history remains a challenge because 1) “What is deemed traditional, historical, or even sacred to one generation may subtly shift categories in the next;” and 2) “Indians have a harder time than most minorities in breaking out of stereotypes that deny them the right or discount their ability to manage their futures creatively or to have their

¹ Dartt, “Negotiating the Master Narrative,” 20.

² Deborah Miranda, a contemporary of Dartt and a descendent of the Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen peoples, has also written about the missions. See Miranda, *Bad Indians*.

³ Brian Fagan, *Before California: An Archaeologist Looks at Our Earliest Inhabitants* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 10.

representations of their alternative chronicles of their many different pasts taken seriously.”⁴ In response to these challenges, Nabokov encouraged scholars “to consider researching, engaging with, and enriching their own work through whatever they can learn about American Indian forms of historical consciousness.”⁵ Nabokov’s approach offers some relief from the challenges of writing about California Indian art from California’s mission years.

Much of what we know about California Indian ways of thinking from 1769 to 1834 has been pieced together from oral histories and late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ethnographic accounts. This approach is risky, because as Nabokov points out, one generation’s idea of what is traditional or sacred may change in the next generation. By studying material culture we learn about the values and stories California’s first peoples passed on from one generation to the next. Baskets, for instance, contain the stories of the weavers who gathered the materials, designed the patterns, and told stories in weaving circles. Weavers who continued to make baskets at the missions serve as a link between their living descendants and our ancestors who wove long before the Franciscans arrived in 1769. In the words of Mono weaver Norma Turner, “These baskets, just like the rocks are alive ... These materials that we make baskets with are alive ... There’s a connection between the ancestors, the people, the basketmakers, and these baskets.”⁶ We can learn about our ancestors by studying their material culture in connection with present-day examples. Similarly, in the Southwest, Pueblo scholars and potters have turned to modern-day beliefs to understand ancient Mimbres pottery.

⁴ Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 26.

⁵ Nabokov, *Forest of Time*, 25.

⁶ Interview conducted by Bev Ortiz quoted in Malcolm Margolin and Yolanda Montijo, *Native Ways: California Indian Stories and Memories* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1995), 91; and Norma Turner interviewed by Bev Ortiz in “Special Supplement: California Indian Basketweavers Gathering,” *News from Native California* 6:1 (Winter 1991/1992): 26.

Santa Clara Pueblo architect, potter and historian Rina Swentzell and art historian J. J. Brody identified connections between ancestral Mimbres pottery and modern-day Santa Clara Pueblo ceramics. Swentzell observed, “The form and design of Mimbres pots tell me that Mimbres people conceptualized their world, their cosmos, very much the way Pueblo people do today.”⁷ Swentzell believed that Mimbres pottery reflected the beliefs of the people who made them. Even though the Mimbres people passed away centuries ago, their beliefs are still alive in their pottery. Similarly, California Indians who lived at the missions expressed their views and ancestors’ beliefs through their art. An overview of pre-contact Chumash and Tongva material culture foregrounds a discussion of art from the missions.

In his seminal study of California history, Hubert Howe Bancroft explained that “the name California first appears” in a diary recorded during the 1539 voyage Francisco Ulloa led down the coast of the peninsula.⁸ Initially, the name was used to describe a “locality,” but it eventually described the region referred to as the Californias. When European explorers visited in the sixteenth century the region consisted of village-dwelling peoples speaking as many as 104 languages and dialects.⁹ The two main groups discussed in this study, the Chumash and Tongva, had similar lifestyles, but spoke different languages. The Chumash, whose ancestral homeland encompasses parts of San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Ventura counties and the northern

⁷ J. J. Brody and Rina Swentzell, *To Touch the Past: The Painted Pottery of the Mimbres People: Essays* (New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with the Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1996), 20.

⁸ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. Volume XVIII, History of California. Volume I, 1542-1800* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), 64-65.

⁹ Edward Winslow Gifford and Gwendoline Harris Block, *California Indian Nights* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1930), 15; The number of languages varies. Some linguists estimate that “two centuries ago, between 80 and 90 different languages were spoken within the boundaries of what is now the state of California.” “Languages of California,” Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, Accessed January 12, 2016, <http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~survey/languages/california-languages.php>.

Channel Islands, spoke at least six languages. These languages are Ventureño, Barbareño, Ynezeño (Ineseño), Purismeño, Obispeño and Island Chumash.¹⁰ Linguists categorize these languages into the Hokan language family, whereas the Tongva or Gabrielino language is associated with the Uto-Aztecan language family.¹¹ Golla has associated the Tongva language with the people who inhabited Mission San Gabriel and Mission San Fernando. Tongva is the language that people spoke throughout the Los Angeles basin, northern Orange County, north to the San Gabriel Mountains, and as far east as Ontario and Corona.¹² North of the Tongva region, the Chumash people spoke three branches of the Chumash language: Northern Chumash, Central Chumash, and Island Chumash.¹³ Although they spoke different languages, the Chumash and Tongva had much in common artistically.

Aside from Mission San Gabriel, all the missions discussed in this dissertation are in the Chumash territory. In addition to the Chumash, the California missions directly impacted the Pomo, Wappo, Lake Miwok, Coast Miwok, Patwin, Ohlone (Costanoan), Esselen, Salinan, Yokuts, Tataviam, Tongva, Acjachemen, Payomkowishum, Cupeño, Kumeyaay, Ipai, Tipai, Cahuilla, Mohave, Cocopa, Quechan, and Serrano (Figures 1-2).¹⁴ Artists from all these groups

¹⁰ Campbell Grant, "Chumash: Introduction," *Handbook of North American Indians*. Volume 8, *California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 505.

¹¹ William F. Shipley, "Native Languages of California," *Handbook of North American Indians*. Volume 8, *California* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 86, 88.

¹² Golla, *California Indian Languages*, 179.

¹³ Golla, *California Indian Languages*, 194.

¹⁴ This is not an exhaustive list. Inland groups such as the Yokuts were relocated to the missions, as were Native peoples from Baja California. For a discussion of the mission endeavor in the Colorado River basin, see Natale A. Zappia, *Traders and Raiders: The Indigenous World of the Colorado Basin, 1540-1859* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 6-7, 69-75; Cook underscored how difficult it is to arrive at precise population numbers for each mission since unbaptized Indians were brought in from various communities in California. Cook, *Population of California Indians*, 20-43.

played an active role in constructing and decorating the missions, and their work is equally worthy of scholarly attention. However, a project of such magnitude extends beyond the scope of this dissertation. The goal here is to emphasize that for Chumash and Tongva peoples making art was a way of life, not simply an aesthetic practice.

Material Culture in the Historical Record

Pre-1769

In 1542 Juan Páez, a member of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's expedition, recorded his observations of the coastal California communities. Páez remarked on the size of the houses and canoes built by the Chumash people of the Santa Barbara and Ventura coast. "We saw on the land a pueblo of Indians close to the sea, the houses being large like those of New Spain. They anchored in front of a very large valley on the coast. Here there came to the ships many very good canoes, each of each held twelve or thirteen Indians ..." ¹⁵ The houses were hemispherical in shape and made of tule or fern. ¹⁶ According to Miguel Costansó, engineer on the 1769 Portolá expedition, these structures were large enough for each family to occupy its house. ¹⁷

Reconstructions of Chumash and Tongva houses can be seen today at the Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden in Claremont, the San Gabriel Mission in San Gabriel, and Wishtoyo's Chumash Village in Malibu (Figure 8). The communities that made these current-day examples used traditional materials such as tule (*Scirpus spp.*) to form these thatched, conical structures. ¹⁸

¹⁵ Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Relation of the Voyage of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, 1542-1543* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 25.

¹⁶ Bean and Smith, "Gabrielino," *Handbook of the Indians of North America*. Volume 8, *California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 542.

¹⁷ Costansó, *Portolá Expedition*, 185.

¹⁸ Bernice Eastman Johnston, *California's Gabrielino Indians* (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1962), 3.

Hereditary chiefs oversaw both Tongva and Chumash villages whose members were responsible for gathering, hunting and fishing to provide food for the community.¹⁹

The plank canoe, known to the Chumash as a *tomol* and to the Tongva as a *ti'at*, was central to their maritime culture. Mainland and island populations built plank canoes to access fishing areas and to travel between the islands and the mainland coast. Early accounts like Cabrillo's emphasize that these vessels were quite long; they extended between 12 and about 30 feet in length.²⁰ In the mid-1770s Fray Pedro Font described how the Chumash built and decorated their *tomols*.

Above all, they build launches with which they navigate. They are very carefully made of several planks which they work with no other tools than their shells and flints. They join them at the seams by sewing them with very strong thread which they have, and fit the joints with pitch, by which they are made very strong and secure. Some of the launches are decorated with little shells and all are painted red with hematite.²¹

The Chumash used "pitch" or asphaltum to caulk the spaces between the planks to prevent the *tomols* from leaking.²² Also known as tar or bitumen, asphaltum is a natural resource that the Chumash and other coastal peoples used as a glue or sealant.²³ This material also served a decorative purpose as seen in a wooden bowl with shell inlay collected by Léon de Cessac in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris (Figure 9). The bowl's maker used small, round pieces of shell cut

¹⁹ Hugo Reid, *The Indians of Los Angeles County: Hugo Reid's Letters of 1852*, ed. and ann. Robert F. Heizer (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1968), 7; Grant, "Chumash," 510.

²⁰ Grant, "Chumash," 515.

²¹ Font, *Font's Complete Diary*, 252-253.

²² Campbell Grant, "Eastern Coastal Chumash," in *Handbook of North American Indians*. Volume 8, *California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 515.

²³ Lynn Gamble, *The Chumash World at European Contact* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 30-31.

from local shells, likely olivella shells, and adhered them to the bowl's rim with asphaltum. Artists may have applied this technique of decorating objects with shell at the missions.

In addition to using shells as decoration, the Chumash and Tongva prepared natural dyes to create patterns on their baskets. Before the Spanish introduced European dyes, weavers dyed weft materials using roots, clays, minerals and mud.²⁴ Pre-1769 baskets are rare, especially baskets with patterns. Before 1852, a Tongva woman later baptized with the name Juana María made a water bottle basket on San Nicolas Island. She had lived alone on the island for roughly twenty years when fur trader George Nidever visited the island.²⁵ After she was relocated to the mainland of California, Juana María's twined water bottle basket "was preserved in the California Academy of Sciences," but it perished in the San Franciscan earthquake of 1906 (Figure 10).²⁶ Though dated to the mid-1800s, Juana María made this basket outside the sphere of colonial influence. Her basket also represents the use of asphaltum as a sealing material.

Baskets collected in the eighteenth century are some of the earliest examples of patterning produced from natural dyes. For instance, the weaver who made the basket tray in the British Museum collection used black dye to create the checkerboard and X motifs that stand out against a light brown background (Figure 11). California Indians who lived in the coastal regions of central and southern California made baskets for gathering, storing and cooking food. The main food sources of the coastal diet included acorns, piñon nuts, berries, mushrooms, chia

²⁴ Ralph Shanks, *California Indian Baskets: San Diego to Santa Barbara and Beyond to the San Joaquin Valley, Mountains and Deserts* (Marin: Costaño Books, 2010), 15; and McCawley, *First Angelinos*, 139.

²⁵ McCawley, *First Angelinos*, 212.

²⁶ Travis Hudson, "Recently Discovered Accounts Concerning the 'Lone Woman' of San Nicolas Island," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 3:2 (1981): 195; and Shanks, *California Indian Baskets*, 49.

seeds, deer, rabbits, seals, sharks, mollusks, halibut, and trout, to name a few.²⁷ Women typically gathered plant-based foods, while men hunted and fished using nets and traps. Weavers made baskets not only for the living community, but also for their deceased. Fray Juan Crespí observed in 1769 that the people who lived near Point Concepción (close to present-day Santa Barbara) placed baskets on funeral poles in their graveyards.

They bury their dead, or so we understand, and have two graveyards, one belonging to the men and other to the women. He showed us both, they being enclosures some six yards in extent all surrounded by boards, and some very tall, sharp-pointed poles all painted top to bottom in various hues . . . If it be a man, it is taken to the men's graveyard, where the hair of the person's head is left hanging up; if a woman, they take it to be buried in their own graveyard, and there also either a basket or some of the skirts they wear is left hanging from a pole. We saw a good many of these sorts hanging up in both graveyards and had them explained to us.²⁸

The Chumash also placed “Offerings such as bowls, pestles, beads, weapons, and charmstones” in their burials.²⁹ Examples of pre-Hispanic stone objects are housed in museum collections, such as a bear effigy in the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection (Figure 12).³⁰ Portable stone objects have been preserved in museum collections. Rock art, on the other hand, has not been protected in museums. Chumash and Tongva pictographs (rock paintings) have endured exposure to vandalism and natural erosion.

²⁷ Anderson, *Tending the Wild*, 46; Grant, “Chumash,” 516-517; Bean and Smith, “Gabrielino,” 539; Reid also noted that the Tongva ate “deer meat, young coyotes, squirrels, badgers, rats, gophers, snakes, raccoons, skunks, wildcats, the small crow, the blackbirds, hawks, ground owls, and snakes, with the exception of the rattle snake.” Reid, *Indians of Los Angeles County*, 11.

²⁸ Crespí, *Description of Distant Roads*, 393.

²⁹ Grant, “Chumash,” 512.

³⁰ Other examples can be found in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Autry Museum of the American West (Southwest Museum), the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum, the Bowers Museum, the Fowler Museum, and the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.

Surviving examples of rock art can be found throughout the Chumash and Tongva regions, including sites at the Painted Cave of San Marcos Pass, the Santa Ynez Mountains, the San Fernando Valley, Santa Catalina Island and San Nicolas Island.³¹ Rock art scholar David S. Whitley, archaeologist Georgia Lee and historian William McCawley believe the rock art iconography was connected to shamanistic beliefs and practices.³² Lee even suggested that the patterns and figures “might depict the vision resulting from *Datura* ingestion.”³³ *Datura innoxia*, or Jimson weed, is a narcotic plant that the Chumash and Tongva believed was a source of supernatural power. Groups from coastal southern California ingested this hallucinogenic plant in puberty rituals.³⁴ Anthropologists believe that the Chumash also took *Datura* throughout the year to make contact with *zatišwin*, the dream helper.³⁵ The person who ingested the *Datura* would ask this supernatural being for special requests or to communicate with the dead. After a *Datura* drinker regained consciousness, he would be asked to share his visions. Men in the community would then interpret his visions, some of which Fernando Librado recalled for Harrington. The fact that Librado grew up at Mission San Buenaventura and recalled this information may be evidence that Chumash peoples passed on oral traditions, and possibly continued practicing rituals like ingesting *Datura*, after converting to Catholicism. Such practices might have even influenced artists’ work at the missions.

³¹ Font, *Font’s Complete Diary*, 517; McCawley, *First Angelinos*, 38, 140.

³² David S. Whitley, “Cognitive Neuroscience, Shamanism and the Rock Art of Native California,” *Anthropology of Consciousness* 9:1 (March 1998): 23; Georgia Lee, “Chumash Mythology in Paint and Stone,” *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 13:3 (July 1977): 1; and McCawley, *First Angelinos*, 140.

³³ Lee, “Chumash Mythology,” 9.

³⁴ Richard B. Applegate, “The *Datura* Cult Among the Chumash,” *The Journal of California Anthropology* 2:1 (1975): 7-8; McCawley, *The First Angelinos*, 98.

³⁵ Applegate, “The *Datura* Cult,” 8.

Anthropologist Richard Applegate noted that no descriptions of Chumash pictographs appear in the diaries and letters of early explorers and missionaries.³⁶ Coincidentally, missionaries' accounts rarely mention California Indian religious practices carried out at the missions. Instead, explorers provided the earliest insight regarding California Indian rituals that they observed at only a fraction of the missions. Explorers likely did not spend time exploring the caves and friars were too busy converting California Indians to closely study their religions. That meant artists (e.g., weavers) could depict shamanistic iconography in their baskets without the friars realizing it. Ethnographic accounts, particularly those Harrington recorded, also tell us that California Indians continued to teach and practice their beliefs at the missions. However, Librado pointed out to Harrington that his elders were afraid to teach his generation about *Datura*. "If a person took toloache [*Datura*] and he showed his faith, the old people would teach him all of those old things. But Fernando was familiar with the white people, and so they never taught him. The old ones were afraid that the secrets about the poisons and other mysteries would be given away, and they did not want to be punished or maybe even burned at the stake."³⁷ Librado's elders likely experienced harsh punishments when the priests caught them drinking *Datura* and practicing associated rituals, which is why they were reluctant to teach him. Librado recalled the punishments that the Franciscans inflicted upon the Chumash people at Mission San Buenaventura. He told Harrington, "In those days punishment for the Indians was performed in a jail just east of the tower of Mission San Buenaventura. In one of the rooms there were punishment stocks. One was shaped of wood to cover the foot like a shoe ... As

³⁶ Campbell Grant, *The Rock Paintings of the Chumash* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 1.

³⁷ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 42.

punishment, the priests would work men and women in the fields with these weighted shoes.”³⁸

Librado also pointed out that the priests whipped and shackled the Indians. Even in the face of corporal punishment, the Chumash continued to exercise their beliefs at the missions.

1769-1833

In 1772, the Franciscans established the first mission in the Chumash region: Mission San Luis Obispo. By this time, the Franciscans had instituted the *reducción* system by which they relocated Indigenous peoples from their home villages to the missions.³⁹ The friars sought to “civilize” and control California Indians by removing them from their communities. Yet, as anthropologist Kent Lightfoot noted, “Adults who converted to the Catholic faith often maintained their Indian cultural beliefs, values, and identities, which the padres found almost impossible to erase.”⁴⁰ Within three years of Mission San Luis Obispo’s founding, Pedro Font, chaplain of the Anza expedition, noted that Chumash weavers made baskets at that mission. Font pointed out in his diary that the weavers could make baskets in “a great variety of designs.” Font implied that he did not actually witness the weavers making the baskets, but he thought this activity took place within the privacy of their huts, which he did not enter.⁴¹ Native families were allowed to live in traditional houses at the *rancherías* that were located within mission grounds. Meanwhile, unmarried women and men were required to live in mission dormitories under the supervision of the friars. Before they reached puberty and were relocated to the *monjeríos*, some young California Indian women possibly learned how to weave from their mothers at home.

³⁸ Hudson, *Breath of the Sun*, 17.

³⁹ Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 63-64.

⁴⁰ Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 61.

⁴¹ Font, *Font’s Complete Diary*, 272.

They may have continued to weave in the *monjeríos*, as evidenced by impressions of baskets excavated at Mission La Purísima.⁴² Nonetheless, most weaving likely occurred in the Indian *rancherías* and outside the missions. Unlike women who lived outside the missions, converted Indians had less time to gather and weave coiled baskets. Instead, women were expected to undertake work that supported the missions and presidios. Indians at the missions had limited access to basketry materials within the mission grounds. They even had to ask the friars for permission to leave the missions to gather basket plants.⁴³ Historian Robert Archibald noted that “There were special circumstances in which the restriction against leaving the mission was relaxed. When supplies ran short, as they frequently did in the early days, natives were encouraged to leave the missions in order to forage for themselves and thus relieve the pressure on limited mission supplies.”⁴⁴ The friars at Mission San Buenaventura may have seen basket weaving as a special circumstance in which they allowed weavers to leave the mission to gather materials.

It is likely that only a handful of women and, possibly men, noted for their weaving skills wove baskets as a fulltime occupation at the missions. California Indian men worked as blacksmiths, gunsmiths, carpenters, soap makers, shoemakers, masons, laborers, farmers, and shepherds. Both men and women worked in the weaving shops where they made blankets and garments. Women made and washed clothing, prepared meals, and they worked in the fields with

⁴² Paul Farnsworth, “Missions, Indians, and Cultural Continuity,” *Historical Archaeology* 26:1 (1992): 28.

⁴³ Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 61.

⁴⁴ Robert Archibald, “Indian Labor at California Missions Slavery or Salvation?” *The Journal of San Diego History* 24:2 (Spring 1978), n.p.

the men.⁴⁵ These daily occupations limited the amount of time California Indians could spend making traditional art. Outside the missions, California's first peoples used baskets to gather, store, and prepare food.

The missionaries not only controlled the lives of California Indians who lived at the missions, but also those they assigned to work at "outlying mission ranchos or stations."⁴⁶ These workers tended to crops and livestock on the properties overseen by Spanish *rancheros*. Some friars even allowed converted California Indians to return to their home villages.⁴⁷ Regardless of whether they converted to Catholicism or not, California Indians expressed their frustration towards the invaders. Foreign diseases and epidemics contributed to the decreasing populations of Indigenous Californians both within and outside of the missions. Overcrowded housing, unsanitary conditions, and poor nutrition at the missions also resulted in high mortality rates.⁴⁸ As the population declined, so did the number of master artists and religious practitioners.

At the missions, it is unlikely that California Indians needed as many baskets as they did previously since the friars introduced new storage vessels and foods to the California Indian diet. Rather than weaving baskets for utilitarian purposes, weavers made baskets as gifts for European visitors. Likewise, the friars gave talented sculptors and painters individual projects that may have also been their assigned occupations at the missions.

⁴⁵ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 282-285.

⁴⁶ Lightfoot suggested that the friars sent converted California Indians to work on the ranchos. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 65. William McCawley provided a different perspective on the ranchos: "The Spanish *rancheros* commonly resided at the pueblo of Los Angeles and engaged non-Christian Indians to manage their ranchos. This served to acculturate the Gabrielino and teach them the skills of agriculture and animal husbandry, just as the neophytes learned these skills within the mission." McCawley, *First Angelinos*, 200.

⁴⁷ Florence Shipek, "A Strategy for Change: The Luiseño of Southern California," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1985), 139-140.

⁴⁸ Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 77-78.

Artists like Chumash sculptor Paisano Paciano Guilajahicet also performed Chumash rituals. Fernando Librado remembered seeing Paisano perform a bear dance near Mission Santa Barbara on the feast day of San Francisco de Asís.⁴⁹ Some of the priests and friars allowed, and at times even encouraged, California Indians to perform their cultural dances at the missions. Evidently, they found these dances to be entertaining.

Once Sinforoso, a Ventura Indian, asked Father Juan Comoplá, the Catalan priest at Mission San Buenaventura, if he wanted to see a *Kuksui* dance. The priest told Sinforoso that he had never heard of that kind of a dance, nor did he know what it meant. The Indian explained that the name was ‘devil.’ The priest replied: ‘If you dance that Devil Dance a second time, just let me know.’ What he said caused merriment among the Ventura Indians.⁵⁰

Librado’s observation implies that Father Comoplá was fascinated by the dances of Mission San Buenaventura’s inhabitants. Some, but not all, of the friars shared his interest in the California Indian cultures they observed at the missions.

Between 1813 and 1815 the Franciscan missionaries of eighteen Alta California missions responded to a questionnaire sent from Spain to its American viceroalties by Don Ciriaco Gonzales Carvajal, secretary of the Department of Overseas Colonies in 1812.⁵¹ In these questionnaires, known as the *Preguntas y respuestas*, the friars discussed topics such as social organization, languages, relationships, education, medicine, food, manners and morals, and

⁴⁹ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 83; and Hudson, “Some John P. Harrington Notes,” 18.

⁵⁰ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 50-51.

⁵¹ Maynard Geiger, “Mission San Gabriel in 1814,” *Southern California Quarterly* 53:3 (September 1971): 235-250. Only 18 of the 21 missions are included in the *Preguntas y Respuestas* because Mission San Francisco Solano had not been established and the responses from Missions La Purísima and San Rafael are missing.

religion.⁵² In response to the questions regarding ancestral practices and ceremonies, some of the missionaries inferred that the customs were fading even though California Indians tried to preserve them.⁵³ The responses seem to promote the missionaries' success at converting California's first peoples to Catholicism and Spanish lifestyles. The friars at Mission San Gabriel, for instance, noted, "In their pagan state they [the local Tongva] had no other musical instruments than a whistle made from the bone or the foreleg of the deer and a wooden fife. They used both to call together the people for a dance. As Christians they have become acquainted with all our instruments both string and wind."⁵⁴ Fray José María Zalvidea, the likely author of Mission San Gabriel's report, downplayed the musical heritage of the region's first peoples. The Tongva (the main residents of San Gabriel) and their neighbors traditionally made rattles out of deer hooves, turtle shells, mountain goat bladders, whistles made from bird bone, cane and elder wood, flutes made from elder wood or deer leg bones, clapper sticks, musical bows, and bull-roarers.⁵⁵ They used these instruments during performances at the missions, such as puberty ceremonies, mourning ceremonies and the Eagle Dance.⁵⁶

Increased foreign colonization in California posed more obstacles to California Indian populations' efforts to continue their traditions. By the time Mexico won independence from Spain the missionaries had produced a workforce of Spanish-speaking California Indians. To

⁵² M. Geiger and C. W. Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1976), 3-4.

⁵³ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 97.

⁵⁴ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 133.

⁵⁵ McCawley, *First Angelinos*, 180-181.

⁵⁶ McCawley, *First Angelinos*, 182.

Mexican leaders, the missions represented an outdated system and the lands signified new opportunities for colonization and economic development.⁵⁷ Mexican leadership threatened the Franciscans' power at the missions, where the friars imposed constraints on Indigenous sexuality and religious practices. In response to growing restrictions on their culture, in 1824 Chumash peoples revolted against three missions: La Purísima, Santa Inés, and Santa Barbara. James Sandos has argued that the Chumash were fighting for their freedom, which Mexican authority suppressed.⁵⁸ The Chumash were unsuccessful in overthrowing the missions when Mexican soldiers intervened and Catholicism gradually replaced Chumash practices. The 'antap cult, a religious tradition that consisted mainly of elite Chumash members, faded as Christianity took hold in California.⁵⁹ Members of the cult typically participated in Chumash religious rituals by dancing and singing sacred songs.⁶⁰ According to Travis Hudson and Ernest Underhay, the last 'antap ceremony was performed in the 1870s and by 1900 Chumash religious practices essentially ceased with the passing of the last 'antap follower.⁶¹ Hudson and Underhay's observation also points at the decline of Chumash dances after secularization. Secularization had devastating impacts on California's first peoples who found outlets for artistic expression in the missions. Although secularization freed California's first peoples from the missions' control,

⁵⁷ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 369.

⁵⁸ James A. Sandos, "Levantamiento!: The 1824 Uprising Reconsidered," *Southern California Quarterly* 67 (1985): 121.

⁵⁹ Thomas C. Blackburn, *December's Child: A Book of Chumash Oral Narratives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 13.

⁶⁰ Blackburn, *December's Child*, 13.

⁶¹ Hudson and Underhay, *Crystals in the Sky*, 24; This was not the case for all coastal groups. Constance Goddard DuBois stated in 1905 that the Diegueños and their neighbors "still occasionally performed [the fiesta of the Images] in a modified and modernized manner." Constance Goddard DuBois, "Religious Ceremonies and Myths of the Mission Indians," *American Anthropologist* 7:4 (Oct-Dec 1905): 625.

they continued to face restrictions on their freedom and obstacles to practicing their cultures. After sixty-five years (1769-1834), the missions had drastically impacted the lives of tens of thousands of California Indians.

1834-today

During its brief tenure overseeing California, the Mexican government neglected the missions and exploited the California Indians. In 1839, British Naval Captain Edward Belcher observed that some of the missions between Monterey and San Diego were deteriorating. “Since the missions have been taken from the padres, and placed under the *administradores*, they have fallen into decay and ruin; and it is not improbable that the whole country will ere long either fall back into the hands of the Indians, or find other rulers.”⁶² Belcher’s observation that the missions, previously supported by the Pious Fund under Spanish rule, decayed without funding from the Mexican government was accurate. His prediction that California would return to California Indian hands, however, was far from reality. Historian Steven Hackel has pointed out that “by 1840 the private rancho had replaced the mission as the dominant social and economic institution in California, and all but a handful of former mission Indians had been rendered landless.”⁶³ Former California mission Indians found work on the ranchos, typically owned by Mexican, British, or Anglo-American colonists.

After California became a state in 1850, the U. S. government passed The Land Claims Act, which “required that all persons claiming lands in California by any right derived from the

⁶² Edward Belcher and Richard Brinsley Hinds, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World: Performed in Her Majesty’s Ship Sulphur During the Years 1836-1842* (London: Henry Colburn, 1843), 326-327.

⁶³ Steven W. Hackel, “Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California,” *California History* 76 (1997): 132.

Spanish or Mexican government had to present their claim to the Land Commissioners.”⁶⁴ The ambiguous language of the act complicated aboriginal claims to land title. Since the Spanish and Mexican governments did not recognize Indigenous claims to their homelands, California Indians did not have title claims to bring before the United States Land Commissioners.⁶⁵ Some California Indians such as Victoria Bartholomea Comicrabit Reid (Tongva) received Mexican land grants before California’s statehood. Some California Indians sought refuge at the crumbling mission sites, and many found work on the Mexican ranchos where they faced racial discrimination and unfree labor regimes.⁶⁶ Entire California Indian communities did not receive land grants, which complicated matters for California Indian groups who would later seek federal recognition.

As former California mission Indians assimilated into American society it seems there was less cohesion within the communities than they may have experienced at the missions. That is not to say the missions promoted cohesion. Yet, groups of California Indians lived in close proximity to each other within the mission *rancherías* (areas where married families lived at the missions), which meant they could pass on their traditions and beliefs with greater ease. The missions also provided artists with opportunities to exercise their skills. After secularization and statehood, Southern California Indian practices such as stone carving, rock painting, and dancing

⁶⁴ Bruce S. Flushman and Joe Barbieri, *Aboriginal Title: The Special Case of California*, 17 Pac. L.J. 391 (1986), at 429.

⁶⁵ Flushman and Barbieri, *Aboriginal Title*, 431.

⁶⁶ George Harwood Phillips conducted a thorough study of Indian life in Southern California after the missions were secularized between 1834 and 1836. He examined the relationship of California Indians to Mexican and Anglo-American colonists. Phillips, *Vineyards and Vaqueros*, 159-336.

declined along with Native religious beliefs.⁶⁷ Scholars have dated some Chumash rock paintings to the early nineteenth century, thus signaling the continuation of this practice and associated religious beliefs.⁶⁸ California Indians living away from the missions were most likely made these rock paintings, which are located in mountainous caves that they would have been able to more freely access.

Basket weavers found a market amongst Euro-American collectors. Master basket weaver Justin Farmer (Ipai) points out that Southern California Indian basket weaving slowed from the mid to late 1800s: “beginning circa 1880-1890, non-Indians began collecting local baskets as ethnic art pieces or as remnants of a culturally endangered art form.”⁶⁹ In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Euro-Americans attempted to preserve “authentic” Native American culture by collecting art and photographing Indigenous peoples.

The California Indian population decreased drastically between the early years of Spanish settlement and statehood. According to the 2010 Census, however, 362,801 California residents identified as either Native American or Alaska Native.⁷⁰ Today, California is the state with the largest population of self-identifying Native Americans. Yet, only a fraction of the 362,801 Native American residents descend from California’s first peoples. Current-day

⁶⁷ Based on Harrington’s interviews with Chumash informants, Hudson and Underhay determined that Chumash *‘antap* practices ceased by the end of the nineteenth century. They also note that Chumash artists stopped producing rock paintings earlier in the century. “Deetz dated one Chumash rock painting from a Santa Barbara site (not far from Rafael’s home) as historic (ca. 1800). Grant also assigned historic dates to some Chumash paintings.” Hudson and Underhay, *Crystals in the Sky*, 58.

⁶⁸ Hudson and Underhay, *Crystals in the Sky*, 58; Grant identified “additional evidence that the practice of rock painting persisted until early Spanish times in some areas.” Grant, *Rock Paintings of the Chumash*, 124.

⁶⁹ Justin F. Farmer, *Southern California Luiseño Indian Baskets: A Study of Seventy-Six Luiseño Baskets in The Riverside Municipal Museum Collection* (Fullerton: The Justin Farmer Foundation, 2004), 11.

⁷⁰ United States Census 2010, “2010 Census Interactive Population Search,” Accessed February 4, 2016, <http://www.census.gov/2010census/popmap/ipmtext.php?fl=06>.

population statistics also fail to account for the number of California Indians who have moved out of state. Although California's Indigenous population has decreased dramatically since Franciscan friars established the first Alta California mission, California Indians continue to practice and have revitalized their ancestors' traditions. Unlike their ancestors who had little say in how (or why) their work would be exhibited, contemporary California Indian artists are challenging museum practices that overlook the complexity of Indigenous identity.

Indigenous Identity and Place

Spanish colonists named the modern-day state of California and the Baja Peninsula (the Mexican states of Baja California and Baja California Sur) after a fictional island in the Spanish tale, *The Labors of the Very Brave Knight Esplandián*. This legend tells about the adventures of Esplandián, who encounters queen Calafia of the fictional island of California in the Indies.⁷¹ Calafia and her female followers go to Constantinople to battle the Christian defenders of the city, including Esplandián. In Constantinople, the pagan queen Calafia marries Esplandián's cousin, Talanque, and they return to California, where she has gold and precious stones.⁷² In 1510, Sevillian author Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo published this popular story, which appealed to Spanish audiences with its tales of chivalry and romance. Beebe and Senkewicz have observed that "in this work of fiction, 'California' is associated with wealth, conquest, indigenous people who are willing to convert to Christianity, and indigenous women willing to give themselves to European men."⁷³ When Spaniards first explored the Baja California peninsula they thought it was an island, and thus gave it the name "California." So, cartographers

⁷¹ Beebe and Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair*, 9.

⁷² Beebe and Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair*, 10.

⁷³ Beebe and Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair*, 9-10.

depicted California as an island in maps from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century. Although other European cartographers depicted the lower section as a peninsula, Spaniards continued to believe it was an island until the late eighteenth century.⁷⁴

Gaspar de Portolá led an overland expedition in 1769 and five years later, Juan Bautista de Anza led another overland expedition from present-day Arizona to Alta California.⁷⁵ These land expeditions helped to dispel the myth that California was an island. Even so, the peninsula remained a politically separated entity from Alta California. The Franciscans oversaw missions in Alta California and in 1772 the Dominicans took over the Baja California missions.⁷⁶

Chumash and Tongva village life was disrupted during the early years of Spanish invasion when missionaries and fur traders removed and relocated Chumash and Tongva peoples. Families who spoke different languages ended up living at a single mission. In the early mission years the friars recorded the names of the converted California Indians' home villages in the baptismal registers.⁷⁷ In the late 1800s, California Indian elders also provided anthropologists with the names that the Chumash communities used for themselves before they were associated with the missions. "The Santa Rosa Islanders called themselves Hēl-a-wac-skú-yu; the

⁷⁴ Glen McLaughlin with Nancy H. Mayo, *The Mapping of California as an Island: An Illustrated Checklist* (Saratoga: California Map Society, c. 1995); Anza observed that it was a peninsula: "North of Pescadero Dam and just west of the Colorado, there is a long narrow bed of an old lake. This may have been Laguna de Santa Olaya." Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed. *Anza's California Expeditions. Volume III, The San Francisco Colony: Diaries of Anza, Font, and Eixarch, and Narratives by Palóu and Moraga* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), 49-50.

⁷⁵ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Junípero Serra: California, Indians, and the Transformation of a Missionary* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 148-204.

⁷⁶ Aviles and Hoover, "Two Californias, Three Religious Orders and Fifty Missions," 2.

⁷⁷ For examples of village names, see The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project, Database, 2006.

Barbareño, Wal-wa-ren-na; the Ynezeño, A-la-hu-la-po; and the Ventureño, Mite-ka-na-kan.”⁷⁸

Eventually, Hispanicized names like Barbareño and Ynezeño replaced the original Chumash names. If Chumash people recalled the names of their ancestral villages in the early twentieth century, then why did anthropologists and historians identify these people according to the missions? Hispanicized names likely made it easier for scholars to categorize Chumash peoples who lived at or near the missions. Nonetheless, this approach is not representative of pre-1769 California Indian identity -- it perpetuates Spanish and Mexican hegemony and dismisses Chumash agency.

In the early nineteenth century, mission inhabitants used Indigenous words to identify their communities. According to Pablo Tac, who grew up at Mission San Luis Rey in present-day Oceanside, California, *Quechla* was the name of the land his peoples inhabited:

These Fathers arrived in Alta California, and one of them arrived in our region, which we call *Quechla* -- which is why we call ourselves *quechnajuichom*, which is to say “inhabitants of Quechla” -- when we were at peace; because there was always war, always conflict day and night with those who spoke other languages. It appears that our enemies were those who today are called Diegueños by the Spanish and *quichamcauichom* by us, which means “those of the south.”⁷⁹

Evidently, California Indians continued to identify with their ancestors’ villages after Mexican authorities began to secularize the missions in 1834. However, as Tac’s notes indicate, the Spanish and Mexicans had already started to refer to some California Indians, like the

⁷⁸ Grant, “Chumash, 507-508; Robert F. Heizer, “California Indian Linguistic Records: The Mission Indian Vocabularies of H. W. Henshaw,” *University of California Anthropological Records* 15:2 (1955): 88. Richard Applegate provided different variations on Chumash place names that are based on J. P. Harrington’s notes. See Richard Applegate, “An Index of Chumash Placenames,” *San Luis Obispo County Archaeological Society Occasional Papers* 9 (1975): 19-46.

⁷⁹ Lisbeth Haas, *Pablo Tac, Indigenous Scholar: Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial History, c. 1840* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 169.

Payomkowishum, using Hispanicized terms. In their diaries and letters, mission leaders also used words like *gentiles*, *neófitos*, *gente sin razón*, and *indios*.

The Franciscan friars described baptized Indians as neophytes, or *neófitos*, to distinguish them from unbaptized California Indians. Neophyte is a term used since the beginnings of Christianity to describe new baptized individuals. It comes from the Latin *neophytus*, which meant “new convert” in the late second and third centuries. It was used as an adjective, meaning “newly planted” in fourth century ancient Greek, then “newly converted” for Christian purposes in Hellenistic Greek as derived from 1 Timothy 3:6.⁸⁰ Rather than using the colonists’ terminology, I use “converted Indian” and “unconverted Indian” to differentiate California Indians who were baptized in the missions from those who were not.⁸¹ In Alta California, the non-Native colonists sought to distinguish themselves from California Indians. Soldiers and settlers of Mexican, Spanish, or mixed ancestry called themselves *gente de razón* or “people of reason.” These individuals who ranked above California Indians within the colonial social order treated their so-called inferiors as *gente sin razón*, “as people unable to reason for themselves.”⁸² This attitude justified the colonial attitude of superiority and discrimination towards California Indians. Colonists did not treat California Indians as equals, even if they converted to Catholicism. Converting California’s first peoples and renaming their villages did not change the fact that their identity remained connected to pre-existing belief systems.

Spaniards challenged California Indian conceptions of place and sought to “erase” the identities tied to them. I borrow English and American studies scholar Katalin Bíró-Nagy’s

⁸⁰ Oxford English Dictionary Online, “neophyte,” March 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/126060?redirectedFrom=neophyte&>.

⁸¹ This is the approach used in American Indian Studies.

⁸² Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 60.

wording to describe this process. “With the erasure of Native place names, the Native concepts of space, Native cultures and identities were written over.”⁸³ Spaniards and later Mexicans attempted to redefine California Indian spaces by renaming the land and its peoples using terminology associated with the Catholic Church.⁸⁴ This approach dismissed California Indian identities in favor of colonial terminology.

When Alta California became part of the United States, the peninsula remained separated both politically and nationally. The border separating the Mexican state of Baja California (and Baja California Sur in the southern half of the peninsula) from California cut across Indigenous lands, dividing communities and creating political obstacles for the Kumeyaay peoples. The Kumeyaay homeland stretches across both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border between Escondido, California and Santo Tomás, Baja California. The Kumeyaay, like their coastal neighbors to the north, nowadays use their Indigenous names instead of Diegueño after Mission San Diego. The Tongva also use their Indigenous in addition to, or sometimes in place of, the name that links them to the mission.⁸⁵ Even so, museums continue to use mission-related terminology to label California Indian baskets.

Museum Practices and Object Labeling

Alfred Kroeber popularized the term “mission” in his 1922 publication *Basketry Designs of the Mission Indians*. According to Kroeber, the “mission” Indians came from five southern

⁸³ Katalin Bíró-Nagy, “Reconceptualized Time and Space in Contemporary Native American Discovery Narratives,” *Americana* V:2 (Fall 2009): n.p.

⁸⁴ The local Indigenous village name of *Sajavit* or *savit* was included in the original name of Mission San Juan Capistrano: *La Misión de San Juan Capistrano de Sajavit* or *San Juan Capistrano Quantís-savit*. Randy Leffingwell, *California Missions and Presidios: The History and Beauty of the Spanish Missions* (St. Paul: Voyageur Press, 2005): 37; Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California*, 13.

⁸⁵ Some of the Chumash bands use names like Barbareño and Ventureño to distinguish themselves.

California missions: San Diego, San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, and San Fernando.⁸⁶ Thus, Kroeber both left out the other sixteen missions and he failed to specify the years that “mission” baskets represented. Some museums have applied the label “mission” to baskets from Southern California regardless of when they were made and by whom. One might argue that it makes more sense to apply that label only to objects made at the missions. However, such an approach is problematic.

Native American art is rooted in traditional values that predate European colonization of the Americas. Therefore, it does not make sense to categorize it according to historical periods associated with colonial narratives. Placing Indigenous art within a western framework sustains colonial power and marginalizes Native American perspectives. In the words of Linda Tuhiwai Smith, “In fact history is mostly about power. It is the story of the powerful and how they became powerful, and then how they use their power to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others. It is because of this relationship with power that we have been excluded, marginalized and ‘Othered.’”⁸⁷ The very fact that museums continue to label objects like a Chumash-made tray as a “mission” basket underscores Smith’s point that “we are still being colonized.”⁸⁸ Words like “mission” situate baskets and their makers within a narrow window of space and time in which foreign powers exercised control over California’s first people. This terminology also tells modern-day museum patrons that baskets (and other artworks) are the product of the mission system -- a colonial system that decimated California Indian populations. In each of the case studies I attempt to identify the artist’s Chumash name

⁸⁶ A. L. Kroeber, *Basketry Designs of the Mission Indians of California* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1922), 153.

⁸⁷ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 34.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

(when known) and his or her home village or community. Apart from the Chumash bands that continue to use a combination of Spanish and Chumash identifiers (e.g., Barbareño Chumash), when referring to groups of people I write the names derived from their Indigenous languages that communities use today.⁸⁹ Rather than romanticizing California's colonial past, I aim to show that Chumash and Tongva art from the missions is part of a tradition that extends beyond these institutions both spatially and temporally.

⁸⁹ Zappia has compiled a list of the official tribal designations used today and other names by which these communities are known, which are noted in parentheses. These include the Cahuilla (Iviatim), Chumash, Juaneno (Acjachemen), Kumeyaay (Ipai, Tipai, Diegueno, Kamia), Luiseño (Payomkowishum, Quechnajuichom), Tataviam (Fernandeno), Tongva (Gabrielino), and Yokuts (Yokuch, Tachi, Yokutsan, Chukchansi). See Zappia, *Traders and Raiders*, Appendix 3.

Chapter 2

An Indigenous Sense of Place within the Alta California Missions

Indigenous spaces within the California missions were sites of subversive activity and artistic expression, yet they remain understudied and undertheorized. This chapter examines how Chumash peoples re-claimed the land and built space through performance at Mission Santa Barbara and Mission San Buenaventura. It seeks to fill that gap by asking how Chumash peoples activated mission spaces. What activities did they perform in private and public spaces? Why did Chumash dancers perform pre-1769 Indigenous rituals at the missions? How were ritual objects activated in new settings, such as mission plazas and churches? What do these practices tell us about Chumash and Spanish and Mexican dynamics? First, this chapter considers the missions in light of decolonizing methodologies as well as theories on space and place. Then, it investigates primary accounts and ethnographic evidence of Chumash performances and religious practices before and after missionization. The final section on Indigenous spaces illuminates Chumash reactions to Spanish and Mexican ideas regarding space and place within the California missions. The chapter ends by highlighting the lasting impacts of the Spanish and Mexican invasions on Chumash religious practices and their efforts to maintain them.

Theory

Geographer Tim Cresswell argued that “All over the world people are engaged in place-making activities.”¹ He believes, “places must have some relationship to humans and the human capacity to produce and consume meaning.”² California Indians engaged the environment

¹ Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2004), 5.

² Cresswell, *Place*, 7.

through activities such as hunting, gathering, fishing, cooking, dancing, weaving and carving. People relied upon the land to serve their everyday needs, and they based their identities upon the villages from which they came. As archaeologist Thomas L. Jackson has pointed out, “Far from simply wandering over the countryside, tribal populations were circumscribed by their neighbors. One typical characteristic of tribal territories is the incorporation of a variety of ecological zones which afforded a diversity of subsistence and other natural resources and helped assure self-sufficiency.”³ Southern California’s coastal peoples identified with their home villages rather than with a tribe. This sense of identity shifted after missionization.

When the Spaniards arrived in California and other parts of the Americas, they claimed the land as their own, disregarding the people already living there. Anthropologist Elizabeth Kryder-Reid has also discussed Indigenous-Spanish power dynamics and the struggle for control over the mission landscape.⁴ In her study of California mission landscapes, Kryder-Reid has emphasized that the Spanish and California Indians had “radically different ways of living on the land.”⁵ California Indians, particularly the Chumash, maintained a close relationship with the landscape upon which they established villages consisting of ephemeral structures. Even though their houses were impermanent structures, each California Indian village served as a home to the people who inhabited these landscapes. M. Kat Anderson has stated that “Being at home in a

³ Thomas L. Jackson, “Father Serra Meets Coyote,” in *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*, ed. Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press for the American Historical Society, 1987), 105.

⁴ For her discussion of mission landscapes, see Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, “Sites of Power and the Power of Site: Vision in the California Mission Landscapes,” in *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, ed. Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 186-201. She expanded her arguments in a recent monograph in which she investigated the fantasy narrative of the missions and the creation of romanticized garden landscapes. Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 34-70.

⁵ Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 38.

place meant that generation after generation of people were born, lived, and died in the same familiar surroundings.”⁶ The Spaniards disrupted this sense of being at home by relocating California Indians from their familiar surroundings to the missions where they engaged in new activities that the Franciscans introduced.

At the missions, California Indians typically grew corn, wheat, beans, vegetables, and they raised livestock to provide for the subsistence of the community and to produce commodities for sale.⁷ Yi-Fu Tuan notes that humans use farming as a method to control the natural environment. The Franciscans and subsequent colonists exploited the land and California Indian labor to provide for their needs and to produce trade goods.⁸ Rather than seeking harmony with the environment, the Spaniards and Mexicans exploited it and disrupted the California Indian sense of topophilia, or the “affective bond between people and place or setting.”⁹ Before Europeans colonized the Americas, first nations peoples had no reason to question their perception of place. Missionization strained, and at times, severed Chumash peoples’ bonds with their home villages. Indigenous scholar Jarrett Martineau (Nêhiyaw and Dene Suline) and sociologist Eric Ritskes have argued that “Colonialism works to confine Indigenous stories to multicultural frames and to domesticate, individualize and separate them from their originary communities and lands.”¹⁰ To combat the impacts of colonization, California Indians continued

⁶ Anderson, *Tending the Wild*, 38.

⁷ Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 56-57.

⁸ Anderson, *Tending the Wild*, 63-64.

⁹ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 4.

¹⁰ Martineau and Ritskes, “Fugitive indigeneity,” vii.

performing rituals like those early explorers witnessed in coastal California Indian villages, thereby re-connecting with their communities.

Prior to missionization, the Chumash and Tongva built ephemeral structures such as houses, sweatlodges, and ceremonial enclosures out of local materials. They also conducted ceremonies in “open-air dance grounds that were specifically dedicated for use in ceremonial gatherings. These were flat areas partially surrounded by a windbreak made of poles or mats.”¹¹ The sacred enclosure would be located inside the dance grounds. Within the Chumash region temporary space was accessed only by members of the exclusive religious ‘*antap*’ cult who danced, sang sacred songs, and acted as community leaders.¹² A Tongva altar described in Father Antonio de la Ascensión’s account from the 1602 voyage of Sebastián Vizcaíno included a “figure like a devil painted in various colors.”¹³ Archaeologist Lynn Gamble suggested that Chumash altars may have been similar to that described by Ascensión.¹⁴ Since Chumash sacred enclosures were kept private it is unlikely that foreigners ever witnessed the interior space. Chumash accounts recorded in the early twentieth century, however, offer valuable insight to the esoteric practices carried out in these sacred spaces.

Elders like Fernando Librado recalled seeing ritual objects being used in ceremonies at or near the missions in the nineteenth century. These accounts are invaluable to our understanding

¹¹ Gamble, *Chumash World*, 115.

¹² Travis Hudson and Thomas C. Blackburn, *The Material Culture of the Chumash Interaction Sphere*. Volume V, *Manufacturing Processes, Metrology, and Trade* (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1987), 56; Gamble, *Chumash World*, 116; and Blackburn, *December’s Child*, 13.

¹³ Antonio de la Ascension and Henry R. Wagner, “Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast in the Sixteenth Century. Chapter XI: Father Antonio de la Ascension’s Account of the Voyage of Sebastian Vizcaino,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 7:4 (December 1928): 351.

¹⁴ Gamble, *Chumash World*, 116.

of Chumash agency within mission spaces. At times, however, such accounts can be unreliable. Ethnographic accounts from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries offer limited information. The elders interviewed either did not grow up learning about their cultures due to the pressure to assimilate or they did not want to reveal sacred information to anthropologists. Deborah Miranda has written, “I struggle with the way Harrington regarded his Native ‘informants’ as his personal possessions, demanding that they not work with anyone else; the way many Native people felt used or cheated by him, valuable only until he’d squeezed every last Indian word or story out of them; and the manipulative twists Harrington used to get information out of reluctant consultants.”¹⁵ Perhaps because of this manipulative behavior, some California Indians resisted anthropologists by not providing the desired information. California Indians may not have shared much information with anthropologists like Harrington because they needed to keep certain information private. However, Lightfoot and his colleagues have argued that “elders with specialized knowledge about the implementation of specific ceremonies, dances, and prayers may have died without having someone suitable to replace them.”¹⁶ Had Librado and others not shared the information they felt comfortable divulging, our knowledge of these cultures would have been lost with the passing of elders who protected that information.

¹⁵ Deborah A. Miranda, “J. P. Harrington: A Collage,” *Bad NDNs* (blog), July 8, 2010, <http://whenturtlesfly.blogspot.com/2010/07/blog-post.html>; Miranda also discusses Harrington’s work and treatment of California Indians in her book. Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 67, 104-105.

¹⁶ Kent G. Lightfoot, Lee M. Panich, Tsim D. Schneider, Sara L. Gonzalez, Matthew A. Russell, “The Study of Indigenous Political Economies and Colonialism in Native California: Implications for Contemporary Tribal Groups and Federal Recognition,” *American Antiquity* 78:1 (2013): 98. In her collage dedicated to J. P. Harrington, Miranda commented on Harrington’s contributions. She stated: “If it were not for him, all of you would not have your publications, and your stories, and your dictionaries and lexicons, and your theses, and whatever else you’ve done out there, were it not for this crazy man. Crazy like a fox.” Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 104.

Since early contact, scholars have exploited Native American communities' private knowledge in the name of science. Frank Cushing was one of the first anthropologists who violated Native Americans' trust and privacy. While living amongst the Zuni Pueblo peoples Cushing pushed "his way into secret meetings and initiations. When quietly asked to leave, he pretended not to understand, and the Zuni, too polite to insist, gradually came to accept his presence."¹⁷ Similarly, ethnographer Constance Goddard DuBois received sacred information from a reluctant informant, Salvador Cuevas in the early twentieth century. In her account of Payomkowishum religion, DuBois pointed out that "Part of the ceremony Salvador hesitated to describe as it was too sacred to be told; but having confidence in me he was willing to do so if I would promise not to repeat it to the Indians. He was willing that I should give it to the white people."¹⁸ Informants from other California Indian communities may have also felt pressure from anthropologists to share sacred information. Archaeologist David Hurst Thomas has observed that Native American attitudes regarding the scholarly use of their oral traditions differ across communities.¹⁹ Oral traditions and the information tied to it can be misused when it ends up in the wrong hands. Though they are valuable resources for this study, this dissertation does not rely solely on ethnographic accounts, nor does it reference European visual depictions as factual evidence.

Visual records of Indigenous traditions are problematic not only because they can misrepresent a culture, but because they also expose sacred rituals not meant to be seen by

¹⁷ David Hurst Thomas, *Skull Walls: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 74.

¹⁸ Constance Goddard Dubois and A. L. Kroeber, *The Religion of the Luiseño Indians of Southern California* (Berkeley: The University Press, 1908), 84.

¹⁹ Thomas, *Skull Wars*, 252-253.

outsiders. Zuni-Tlingit scholar Miranda Belarde-Lewis has explained that the Zuni Pueblo community prohibits outside photography of community performances, but historic photographs documenting these events remain available in the public domain, thereby exposing sacred rituals.²⁰ During the early years of Spanish colonization, California's first peoples did not place such restrictions on their rituals. Explorers made drawings of California Indian dances performed at the missions and recorded their observations in journals that provide the bulk of information on Indigenous traditions from this period. Drawings offer us a glimpse of traditions that were dwindling in the face of aggressive assimilation, yet, like written accounts, drawn images reflect the biases of the person recording them. Flawed nonetheless, early ethnographic attempts at recording coastal California Indian cultures indicate that Indigenous customs were still being practiced at the missions. Twentieth-century anthropologists' research also provides information about the materials peoples used to adorn themselves for ceremonies. A close reading of these accounts shows that the Chumash were actively engaged in place-making activities throughout California's mission years.

Historic and Ethnographic Accounts

One of the earliest descriptions of a dance performed by California's first peoples comes from the diary of Miguel Costansó. On Sunday, August 20, 1769, Costansó, an engineer on the Portolá Expedition, witnessed the people of the Pueblo de la Laguna, near present-day Santa Barbara County, perform a traditional dance. "In the afternoon the leaders and caciques of each town came, one after the other, adorned according to their custom -- painted and decked with feathers, having in their hands some split canes with the motion and noise of which they marked time for their songs, and the rhythm for the dance, so regularly and so uniformly that there was

²⁰ Miranda Belarde-Lewis, "Sharing the Private in Public: Indigenous Cultural Property and Online Media," *iConference '11: Proceedings of the 2011 iConference*, 16-24.

no discord.”²¹ The split canes were likely clapper sticks, a percussion instrument made out of a “wooden rod that has been split lengthwise and then wrapped at one end.”²² California Indians continue to make and use clapper sticks, which produce a slapping or clapping sound when the two pieces of wood strike each other. Chumash peoples also used flutes in their dances, which Fray Juan Crespí witnessed while travelling through the Santa Barbara Channel in 1769. He wrote: “At all of these towns they have very well carven wooden flutes, and pipes, which they play on at their dances, and they are all of them very much given to dancing; in order to dance, they all come out wearing very large feather headdresses, with all the rest of their bodies so painted in all hues that it appears like a thick garment.”²³ Chumash flutes are typically made out of hollowed elderberry wood or animal bone.²⁴ Depending on the type of dance performed, the dancers could have worn headdresses made from down, owl, eagle or egret feathers.²⁵ Flicker, raven and woodpecker feathers may have also been used in headgear.²⁶ In addition to wearing headdresses, dancers painted their bodies with natural paints. Lieutenant Pedro Fages observed in 1769 that the people of Carpinteria made body paint colors from red, white and blue paint

²¹ Costansó, *Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770*,” 43.

²² Travis Hudson and Thomas C. Blackburn, *Material Culture of the Chumash Interaction Sphere*. Volume IV, *Ceremonial Paraphernalia, Games, and Amusements* (Los Altos: Ballena Press, 1986), 323.

²³ Crespí, *Description of Distant Roads*, 425.

²⁴ Hudson and Blackburn, *Material Culture of the Chumash Interaction Sphere*. Volume IV, 363-364.

²⁵ For more information on dance headdresses, see Travis Hudson and Thomas C. Blackburn, *Material Culture of the Chumash Interaction Sphere*. Volume III, *Clothing, Ornamentation, and Grooming* (Menlo Park: Ballena Press Anthropological Papers, 1985).

²⁶ Arthur Woodward, “Introduction,” in *The Sea Diary of Fr. Juan Vizcaino in Alta California*, Juan Vizcaíno (Los Angeles: Dawson Books, 1959), xxix-xxx; and Hudson and Blackburn, *Material Culture of the Chumash Interaction Sphere*. Volume III, 170.

clays.²⁷ A few years later, in his new role as governor of the Californias, Fages would question a Tongva dancer who rebelled against the Franciscans for oppressing traditional dances.

During his visit to Alta California in 1785, Fages interrogated the leaders of Toypurina's uprising at Mission San Gabriel. Toypurina initiated the uprising partially in response to the oppression of traditional Tongva dances. Nicolás José, a converted Indian from Mission San Gabriel asked a local shaman for help in rising against the friars and soldiers who banned Tongva ceremonies.²⁸ Toypurina was a shaman from the village of *Jachivit* whose father and brother were *tomyaars* (or, chiefs) within the community.²⁹ Toypurina was angered at seeing the depopulation of the villages surrounding the San Gabriel Mission. She may have also shared Nicolás José's frustration over the oppression of traditional ceremonies, which were central to Tongva religion. Mission soldiers captured both Toypurina and Nicolás José and put them on trial for their attempted attack on the mission. Mission leaders exiled Toypurina to Mission San Carlos Borromeo and she never saw her Tongva family again. The Spanish government sentenced Nicolás José to perform labor as a prisoner at the San Diego presidio.³⁰ These individuals attempted an uprising in response to cultural oppression, but the friars allowed some baptized California Indians to dance at the missions when they deemed it appropriate.

²⁷ Fages, *Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California*, 35.

²⁸ William Marvin Mason, "Fages' Code of Conduct Toward Indians, 1787," *The Journal of California Anthropology* 2:1 (Summer 1975): 94. In 1782, "Fages received specific orders to prohibit all kinds of dances among Christian Indians." Yet, scholars believe this order was ignored. Martha Voght, "Shamans and Padres: The Religion of the Southern California Mission Indians," *Pacific Historical Review* 36:4 (November 1967): 368.

²⁹ Mason, "Fages' Code of Conduct," 94; and McCawley, *First Angelinos*, 198.

³⁰ McCawley, *First Angelinos*, 199.

In 1786, French explorer Jean François Galoup de La Pérouse witnessed Ohlone and Mutsun dancers perform at Mission San Carlos Borromeo. These dancers, like their Chumash neighbors to the south, covered their bodies with red paint. “They are likewise in the habit of painting their bodies red in general, and when they are in mourning, in black. The missionaries have forbidden the first of these paintings, but they are obliged to tolerate the other because these people are so strongly attached to their friends.”³¹ According to La Pérouse, the friars at Mission San Carlos typically forbid the local peoples from wearing ceremonial body paint.³² Yet, it seems the friars made an exception for their French guests. Similarly, the friars at Mission San José allowed the Ohlone to perform for Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff in 1806.

Langsdorff was a German scientist and explorer who travelled around the world from 1803 until 1807 and in his diary he described the peoples he encountered in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. In March of 1806 Langsdorff and his crew arrived in San Francisco Bay where they stayed at the San Francisco Presidio. In his diary Langsdorff described the missions, noting that the friars treated the California Indians with “kindness, paternal solicitude and fairness.”³³ Father Pedro de la Cueva was the friar overseeing Mission San José. He excused the Indian residents, mainly Ohlone peoples, from working on the day of Langsdorff’s arrival so that they could dance for the visitors.³⁴ The dancers covered their bodies with natural pigments and hand-made

³¹ Jean François de La Pérouse, *Life in a California Mission: The Journals of Jean François de La Pérouse*, ed. Malcolm Margolin (Santa Clara and Berkeley: Santa Clara University and Heyday Books, 1989), 93.

³² Hackel notes that the Costanoan Rumsen was the main indigenous group that populated Mission San Carlos. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 11.

³³ Langsdorff, *Remarks and Observations*, 91.

³⁴ Langsdorff, *Remarks and Observations*, 114.

adornments (Figure 13).³⁵ In his account of the dancers, Langsdorff noted that they used local instruments. “While jumping rhythmically and making all kinds of body movements and grimaces, they portray scenes from war and domestic life with the help of bows and arrows with feathers held in their hands and on their heads. Their music consists of singing and clicking produced by a little stick split on one end.”³⁶ Historian James Sandos noted that Father Pedro kept the ritual costumes, instruments, objects and paints under his control when dancers and musicians were not performing.³⁷ It is unclear why Father Pedro controlled the circumstances under which the Ohlone and other California Indian peoples could use their ritual objects. Perhaps he sought to minimize the occurrence of unsupervised Indigenous religious activities at the missions.

Throughout the Americas Indigenous peoples incorporated Catholicism into their pre-existing belief systems, yet California Indian practices at the missions remain understudied. Though written through the lens of colonizers and explorers, historical accounts offer evidence that California Indian peoples did not abandon their beliefs. They not only resisted restrictions placed on their practices, but they may have also found allies in friars who supported a syncretic approach towards missionization. Father Mariano Payeras oversaw Mission La Purísima Concepción from 1804 until 1823.³⁸ In an 1810 letter addressed to Father President Esteban

³⁵ Langsdorff, *Remarks and Observations*, 114. Langsdorff depicted Ohlone dancers of Mission San José wearing headdresses and body paint in a drawing that is now in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley.

³⁶ Langsdorff, *Remarks and Observations*, 116.

³⁷ Sandos, *Converting California*, 23.

³⁸ Zephyrin Engelhardt, “Mariano Payeras,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia* Volume 11 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911), accessed May 4, 2016, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11595b.htm>.

Tápis, Payeras wrote that he had translated a catechism into Chumash.³⁹ Although Payeras recognized the value in teaching Catholic dogma in California Indian languages, he did not support all Indigenous traditions. Payeras ordered the destruction of petroglyphs near Pala, outside present-day San Bernardino.⁴⁰ Even as the Franciscans actively suppressed California Indian artistic and religious practices, some groups like the Acjachemen and Chumash selectively borrowed Catholic elements to include in their own traditions.

Between 1813 and 1815, the mission friars responded to a set of questionnaires regarding California Indian practices. In response to question 20, “Do they still retain any customs of their early ancestors?”, the friars observed that California mission Indians’ customs were fading even though California’s first peoples tried to maintain them.⁴¹ The friars at Mission San Juan Capistrano replied that “These Indians retain all the customs of their ancestors. However, through the vigilance and care of the missionaries they are forgetting them gradually.”⁴² The local Acjachemen people may have been forgetting their customs, but the friars’ response was likely written to emphasize their missionizing accomplishments. Some California Indian communities like the Chumash, Payomkowishum and Kumeyaay continued traditional dances for about another fifty years. Whereas Chumash customs declined in the second half of the nineteenth century, some sources indicate that the Payomkowishum and Kumeyaay peoples still

³⁹ Mariano Payeras, *Writings of Mariano Payeras*, trans. and ed. Donald C. Cutter (Santa Barbara: Bellerophon Books, 1995), 6; and Sandos, *Converting California*, 99.

⁴⁰ Payeras, *Writings of Mariano Payeras*, 13.

⁴¹ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 93.

⁴² *Ibid.*

performed traditional dances in the early twentieth century.⁴³ The friars were not necessarily as successful as they wanted Church leaders to believe.

Fernando Librado's account reveals that the Chumash peoples at Missions Santa Barbara and San Buenaventura continued to perform their ceremonies despite the friars' opposition. Librado recalled seeing the *Hutash*, or Harvest Festival, performed in Ventura on San Miguel Day, September 29. The year in which this event took place is not noted. In his description of the fiesta, Librado mentioned that both Christians and unconverted California Indians performed.⁴⁴ "The Ventura *Hutash* ceremony was held where the old church of San Miguel was located. There was also a barranca there which was called '*antap*;' it is a mysterious name."⁴⁵ In Spanish, *barranca* refers to a ravine or canyon.⁴⁶ Perhaps, Librado was referring to a ravine when he explained that that dancers emerged from the *barranca*. If that was the case, Librado's description indicated that the Chumash peoples had integrated Christian spaces into the local landscape. They did not simply attend services in Catholic churches, but activated the space as part of the larger ritual landscape. The chapel to which Librado referred was likely the San Miguel chapel, built in Ventura in 1792 near Mission San Buenaventura. The chapel was "to be used as the mission church while the principal church was being built at its present location."⁴⁷ The 1812 earthquake destroyed the chapel, which no longer stands. Thus, the ceremony that took

⁴³ DuBois, "Religious Ceremonies and Myths," 625-626.

⁴⁴ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 43-45. *Hutash* is the Chumash word for the land or planet Earth. Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 111.

⁴⁵ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 43.

⁴⁶ "Common Terms of the California Missions," *California Missions Resource Center*, accessed May 10, 2016, <https://www.missionscalifornia.com/glossary> .

⁴⁷ Mildred Brooke Hoover, Hero Eugene Rensch, and Ethel Grace Rensch, *Historic Spots in California*, 3rd ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), 560.

place on San Miguel Day must have occurred sometime before 1812. Librado would have been a young boy at that time, which makes his account particularly remarkable. However, he may have confused the San Miguel chapel with the Santa Gertrudis chapel, which was used until about 1868.⁴⁸ In any case, Librado's descriptions confirm the integration of Catholic structures into Chumash ritual spaces.

Prior to missionization, Chumash and Tongva peoples performed ceremonies outdoors or in semi-enclosed structures. Such spaces were conducive to processions, in which dancers and singers stopped at designated spaces situated along a ceremonial path (Figure 14). The plan of the Harvest Festival path includes separate lines to distinguish the paths dancers and singers followed. The paths are marked by the San Miguel chapel, the *'antap* barranca and the *Siliyik*. The *siliyik* was a sacred structure "made from poles and woven tule mats" where outdoor rituals took place. Members of the *'antap* cult took part in the ceremonies conducted in this space. The poles were painted with red ochre and they held up 30-foot-long cords from which hung feathered banners. A dancing ground would have been located near the *siliyik* as indicated by the fireplaces on the plan for the San Miguel fiesta. From here members of the community watched the dancers perform and place the banners on the *siliyik* structure.⁴⁹ Families made the banners, called *supei 'ishaqshanuch* or "flower of the dead," prior to the fiesta for the purpose of burning them in memory of deceased loved ones.⁵⁰ Those who held the banners processed behind three boys who carried "wooden images inlaid with abalone shell representing wind, fire and water"

⁴⁸ Hoover, et al., *Historic Spots*, 561. Librado recalled seeing his grandfather participate in the Sun Ceremony in the month of *Hutash*, which would indicate that this event occurred in his youth. Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 51. In *Breath of the Sun*, Librado stated that the San Miguel chapel burned down, though he did not explain when this occurred. Hudson, *The Breath of the Sun*, 7.

⁴⁹ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 39, 42.

⁵⁰ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 47.

called *tasqwiti* *lokapenhes*, or “images of the soul.”⁵¹ Although the wooden images were not burned, no known examples survived. These ceremonial objects may have perished along with the poles and other ephemeral materials. The banners burned in the *Hutash* ceremony reflected a combination of local and imported materials. “They made them big of sticks and silk and loaded with beads and all sorts of fine things from Spain.”⁵² The celebrants appropriated these “fine things from Spain” and gave them new significance by using them in the *Hutash* ceremony. The Franciscans wanted the Chumash and their neighbors to assimilate into Spanish and later Mexican culture, yet the Chumash resisted. Native peoples who repurposed materials like expensive silks and glass beads were sending a message to the friars that they would not conform to Hispanic ways, especially with regards to their religious customs.

The persistence of Chumash dances may have been due in part to the support of Mallorcan Friar Antonio Ripoll who oversaw Mission Santa Barbara in 1815.⁵³ Sandos provided a close study of Ripoll’s efforts to convert the Chumash and replace their traditions, particularly those associated with the *‘antap* cult. Yet, in terms of rituals, Ripoll allowed them to sing and dance at the mission. “If priests traditionally discouraged the Indians from participating in ceremonies and fiestas for fear of religious backsliding or dissipation of aboriginal energies, Padre Ripoll did not.”⁵⁴ Sandos suggested that these celebrations foreshadowed the mission’s fiesta that takes place today. Celebrations that took place at the mission in the early nineteenth century reflected the intersection of California Indian with Spanish and Mexican ideas. James

⁵¹ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 48, 113.

⁵² Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 47.

⁵³ James A. Sandos, “Christianization among the Chumash: An Ethnohistoric Perspective,” *American Indian Quarterly* 15:1 (Winter 1991): 77.

⁵⁴ Sandos, “Christianization among the Chumash,” 80.

Sandos has suggested that Ripoll promoted Indigenous ceremonies because mission residents and Chumash villagers from outside the mission engaged in economic exchanges that benefited the mission.⁵⁵ Even if Ripoll was involved in this activity, the Chumash ought to be acknowledged for their role in building the mission economy and sustaining traditional ceremonies. Ripoll's motivations for bolstering the mission economy benefitted the Chumash who maintained their ceremonial traditions and costume making practices. Descriptions of ceremonial accouterments can also be found in European accounts.

When French mariner Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly visited Mission Santa Barbara in 1827 he witnessed a traditional Chumash dance. "Dancing followed the racing, and we were much diverted by it. As I have said before, this exercise is merely a kind of pantomime, accompanied by monotonous and melancholy songs in perfect time. The grotesque costume of the dancers, adorned with feathers and painted in all sorts of colors, lends to their features so wild an appearance and so strange a character that one would be tempted to believe they were arousing themselves to battle than to pleasure."⁵⁶ Many European explorers retained a primitivizing view of California Indians. Had Duhaut-Cilly inquired as to the significance of the feathered costume and colorful paints he may have learned the name of the specific dance and its significance. The friars, like the explorers, most likely paid little attention to the meaning of the dances performed at the mission. The 1813-1815 questionnaire reveals that the friars lumped all non-Christian, California Indian practices together. Fortunately, ethnographic accounts from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century offer descriptions and explanations for specific dances performed by the Chumash peoples and their neighbors.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly and Charles Frankling Carter, "Duhaut-Cilly's Account of California in the Years 1827-1828 (Continued)," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 8:4 (December 1929): 329.

The first known accounts written by California Indians who lived at the missions were recorded in the 1820s. Chumash men living at Mission San Buenaventura wrote petitions to the governor of California requesting their freedom.⁵⁷ The first written description of Indigenous culture told from a California Indian perspective would not appear in the historical record until the 1830s. Pablo Tac's notes offer descriptions of everyday activities carried out at Mission San Luis Rey as well as a brief description of dances.

Tac wrote that no one could dance without the permission of Payomkowishum elders, thereby indicating that the Payomkowishum converts still respected their ancestral traditions even after converting to Catholicism.⁵⁸ Yet, he indicated that purpose for which the Payomkowishum peoples danced was strictly ceremonial: "Now that we are Christians we dance for ceremony."⁵⁹ Although Tac stated that California Indians danced before and after wars, such dances may have been discouraged within the mission context. Later accounts, such as Fernando Librado's revealed that some California Indian peoples, specifically the Chumash, typically danced on Catholic feast days. They also continued to wear traditional body adornment. In one of the dances Tac described, men wore feathers and body paint. "On this occasion the clothing is of feathers of various colors, and the body painted, and the chest is bare, and from the waist to the knees they are covered, the arms without clothing. In the right hand they carry a stick made to take off the sweat. The face is painted. The head is bound with a band of hair woven so as to be able to thrust in the *cheytatom*, our word."⁶⁰ While studying in Rome, Tac recorded the first

⁵⁷ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 377.

⁵⁸ Pablo Tac, "Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey," trans. and ed. Minna and Gordon Hewes, *The Americas* 9:1 (July 1952): 102.

⁵⁹ Tac, "Indian Life and Customs," 101.

⁶⁰ Tac, "Indian Life and Customs," 102.

Payomkowishum-Spanish dictionary. Tac was quite loyal to the Franciscans, but he retained his Native language. Tac even translated the Spanish word for the Christian God, *Dios* into the Payomkowishum name *Chanichñich* (also spelled, *Chinigchinich*).⁶¹ Haas observed that Tac, and perhaps other Payomkowishum Christians, practiced both Catholicism and their Indigenous beliefs.⁶² The Payomkowishum people even incorporated their dancing traditions into their Christian practices.

The secularization decree went into effect in 1834, after Tac had left California for Rome. According to Haas, some Luiseño peoples managed to secure land after secularization.⁶³ Victoria Bartholomea Comicrabit Reid, the daughter of a Tongva leader, also received a land grant at Rancho Santa Anita.⁶⁴ Victoria's Scottish husband, Hugo Reid, wrote descriptions of Tongva life in the years following the secularization of Mission San Gabriel. In his letters, originally published in the *Los Angeles Star* newspaper, Reid described Tongva material culture and rituals. Reid's descriptions are based on the information he learned from his Tongva wife and her relatives.⁶⁵ Reid interchanged English and Tongva terms when explaining Tongva and Catholic practices. When describing the Tongva mourning ceremony, Reid referred to their place of worship as a church:

When a church feast was held -- for instance in commemoration of the dead -- they rehearsed with the tiros for eight days previous, in unconsecrated place of worship. All being ready, the seers took an entire day to consecrate the church;

⁶¹ Haas, *Pablo Tac*, 21-22.

⁶² Haas, *Pablo Tac*, 22.

⁶³ Haas, *Pablo Tac*, 10-11.

⁶⁴ Reid, *Indians of Los Angeles County*, 1-2.

⁶⁵ McCawley, *First Angelinos*, 8.

this done the fast [feast] commenced on the second day. The singers (women) were seated in a circle around the church, leaving only the doorway free. The men and children, adorned with eagle and hawk's feathers, and a plentiful supply of paint laid on the face, neck, arms, and upper part of the body, proceeded to dance, being governed in the operation by numerous gestures, both of hands and feet, made by the seers.⁶⁶

Victoria Reid was born in her home village, *Comicranga*, where she lived until the age of six, and it appears she lived at the San Gabriel Mission until her first marriage at the age of thirteen.⁶⁷ After her first husband died of smallpox, Victoria married Hugo Reid in 1837. When they met, Victoria was living in the home of Doña Eulalia Pérez y de Mariné, which was located “on the edge of the extensive mission garden and accessible to the mission itself.”⁶⁸ As the daughter of a *tomyaar*, Victoria would have grown up witnessing her ancestors' traditions being performed either in her home village or at the mission. Hugo Reid's letters reveal that this may have occurred in secret. “From the first, the pageantry of Catholicism appealed to a love of color and music in the aborigines, but most of them continued secretly to live by age-old beliefs and customs of Oriental origin.”⁶⁹ Like Victoria Reid, other Californians recalled seeing rituals and ceremonial materials after secularization.

The Chapel of Santa Gertrudis was a Catholic structure that the Chumash incorporated into a pre-existing Chumash sacred space. It was located “at the entrance to Casitas Pass, about seven miles north of the mission,” near a group of Chumash houses and the Wind Sycamore.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Heizer noted that the “church” Reid described was called a *yoba*, which was “an unroofed brush-walled enclosure.” Reid, *Indians of Los Angeles County*, 41-42.

⁶⁷ Susanna Dakin, *Scotch Paisano in Old Los Angeles: Hugo Reid's Life in California, 1832-1852* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), 33.

⁶⁸ Dakin, *Scotch Paisano*, 27.

⁶⁹ Dakin, *Scotch Paisano*, 116.

⁷⁰ Hoover et al., *Historic Spots in California*, 561.

The Wind Sycamore, also called the *Aliso de Viento*, was a sacred site for the Chumash people of the Ventura region.⁷¹ In the 1910s, Harrington interviewed a lady of Spanish ancestry, Mrs. del Campo, who explained that a wooden image of a god was hung inside the hollow of the sycamore tree. This anthropomorphic figure was decorated with beads and feathers, which would have moved with the wind that shook the tree.⁷² Anthropologist Richard B. Applegate observed that “An ancient sycamore tree on San Antonio Creek north of Ventura was called V. *ka?aqtawaq*, ‘north wind.’ The ‘wind sycamore,’ or ‘wind tree,’ as Harrington called it, rustled constantly. Russell Ruiz adds that this tree was also called ‘the talking tree’; one who listened intently at the talking tree would hear the voices of his ancestors in the tree’s murmur.”⁷³ This living being would have been central to rituals in which the Chumash celebrated their ancestors. Unfortunately, information regarding the ceremonies conducted at this site is limited.

Even after they constructed the Santa Gertrudis chapel between 1792 and 1809 the Chumash peoples continued to venerate the Wind Sycamore site.⁷⁴ However, the friars fought to break the Chumash of their so-called pagan practices. “As the gray-robed priests gathered their followers around them to conduct prayers beneath the oaks and sycamores at the chapel, they were Christianizing a Chumash ritual that had preceded [sic] them into unknown depths of time. This process was no doubt intentional: as souls were converted to Christian ones, so were the

⁷¹ Stephen Bryne, “The Wind Sycamore: A Chumash Sacred Site Near Ventura,” *Society for California Archaeology Proceedings* 28 (2014): 50.

⁷² Bryne, “The Wind Sycamore,” 53; Travis Hudson, “The Wind Sycamore: Some J. P. Harrington Notes on a Ventureño Chumash Shrine,” *The Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly* 24:1 (1978): 5-7.

⁷³ Applegate, “Chumash Placenames,” 196.

⁷⁴ Roberta Greenwood and R. O. Browne, “The Chapel of Santa Gertrudis,” *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 4:4 (1968): 41.

locations upon which pagan rites had been performed. And at Santa Gertrudis this meant converting the symbolism attached by the Chumash to one particular natural feature of the area: a large sycamore tree.”⁷⁵ Meanwhile, the Chumash subverted the friars’ actions by constructing a chapel made out of materials from the land in which the tree grew.

The Chumash and their coastal neighbors traditionally used asphaltum to seal their plank canoes and water bottle baskets, and they continued to use the material at the missions. In the 1960s, archaeologists uncovered evidence of asphaltum at the Santa Gertrudis chapel site.⁷⁶ Scholars observed an increase in asphaltum usage “between the pre- and post-chapel periods, from 11.9 to 88.1 percent, respectively. This change probably represents a continuation of the original uses and also an expansion into new areas such as roofing material for mission buildings like the chapel.”⁷⁷ Chumash workers were most likely responsible for building the chapel as well as the surrounding houses, or *casitas*, using local materials such as asphaltum. This tar-like material not only signified Chumash influence, but it also reinforced the chapel’s connection to the sacred landscape from which the materials came. The Wind Sycamore example also calls to mind the early years in which the friars set up temporary chapel structures at each mission site. Over time, local communities like that of Santa Barbara and Ventura built permanent church buildings that visually dominated the local landscape. Yet, the Chumash continued to incorporate these spaces into their rituals.

⁷⁵ Hudson in Bryne, “Wind Sycamore,” 55; and Hudson, “Wind Sycamore,” 3.

⁷⁶ Robert L. Schuyler, “Indian-Euro-American Interaction: Archaeological Evidence from Non-Indian Sites,” *Handbook of North American Indians*. Volume 8, *California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 70.

⁷⁷ Schuyler, “Indian-Euro-American Interaction,” 70.

California's first peoples were not alone in celebrating rituals outdoors on Catholic feast days. Rather than replacing local architecture with foreign styles, the Pueblo peoples of what is now the southwestern United States incorporated foreign elements into their buildings, which retained a distinctly Puebloan character. During the early years of Spanish colonization, Pueblo peoples found ways to preserve their religious customs, such as kiva rituals. "At Taos Pueblo, the ritual leader Popé purportedly used an old storage room as a kiva to conceal his ritual performances from the Spanish."⁷⁸ Popé not only managed to preserve his religious beliefs within the kiva, but he also used that space to plot out his uprising against the Spanish who had imprisoned ritual leaders.⁷⁹ During the 1680 uprising, the Taos Pueblo Indians destroyed the church of San Gerónimo de Taos for a second time. They destroyed it initially in 1660.⁸⁰ The Spanish friars rebuilt the church a second time in the eighteenth century, but the Taos peoples continued to practice kiva rituals. In 1898 ethnologist Merton Leland Miller spent three months in Taos Pueblo observing the local people and their culture. During that time he witnessed Taos Pueblo people attending mass at the local church on Sundays. Although they identified themselves as Catholics, the Pueblo people incorporated Pueblo rites into Catholic ceremonies. Miller wrote, "Though the priest baptizes and marries the people, the native rites are added to the Catholic, otherwise the ceremony would not be complete."⁸¹ Then, in the 1970s anthropologist

⁷⁸ Jeannette L. Mobley-Tanaka, "Crossed Cultures, Crossed Meanings: The Manipulation of Ritual Imagery in Early Historic Pueblo Resistance," in *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World*, ed. Robert W. Preucel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 78.

⁷⁹ Marit K. Munson, *The Archaeology of Art in the American Southwest* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2011), 79.

⁸⁰ "Taos Pueblo," National Park Service, accessed 12 May 2014, http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/travel/american_latino_heritage/Taos_Pueblo.html

⁸¹ Merton Leland Miller, *A Preliminary Study of Pueblo Taos, New Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1898), 40.

Elsie Clews Parsons noted that Taos peoples observed both kiva and church rules concurrently.⁸² They also performed Catholic celebrations in secular spaces.

The Taos Pueblo people not only continued to observe kiva rituals, but also attend religious services at the church of Taos through the present day. For instance, on September 30 the community celebrates San Gerónimo day beginning with the saint's day dance in the kivas followed by a procession to the church. In the 1980s anthropologist Peter Nabokov and architect Robert Easton witnessed the San Geronimo feast day celebrations. "The terraces serve as bleachers for visitors to view the sacred relay races, ceremonial dances, and clown performances."⁸³ These activities occurred outdoors in the plaza rather than in the church.⁸⁴ Rather than replacing their ancestral practices with Spanish customs, the Taos people integrated Catholic holidays into local traditions. They preserved their kivas and they built a Catholic church in the local adobe style (Figure 15).

California's first peoples took a similar approach when they constructed the first mission churches. Early church structures were conducive to outdoor ceremonies, which were customary in Chumash and Tongva culture. Nowadays, the descendants of California Indians who lived at the missions perform traditional ceremonies at the missions and churches. However, in some cases, such customs went out of practice from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century.⁸⁵ The United States federal government actively suppressed Native American religions

⁸² Elsie Clews Parson, *Taos Pueblo* (New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970), 45.

⁸³ Peter Nabokov and Robert Easton, *Native American Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 385.

⁸⁴ Nabokov and Eastman, *Native American Architecture*, 385.

⁸⁵ Arthur Woodward, "An Early Account of the Chumash," *The Masterkey* 8:4 (1934): 119.

until 1978 with the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act.⁸⁶ Madley has pointed out that “legal prohibitions against many California Indian religious and cultural gatherings also limited the transmission of oral histories.”⁸⁷ Some California Indians who continued to practice, did so in secret.

In 1859, Daniel Hill, superintendent of Mission Santa Barbara, observed that the Chumash secretly conducted religious ceremonies in traditional structures. “They often secretly build little temples of sticks and brush, on which they hung bits of rags, cloth and other paraphernalia, depositing on the inside tobacco and other articles used by them as presents to unseen spirits. This was the occasion of great wrath to the *padres* who never failed to chastize the idolaters when detected.”⁸⁸ The temple Hill described is not unlike the Wind Sycamore with its wooden figure. To the friars, foreign religious figures, threatened the teachings of Christianity and served as justification for suppressing Indigenous practices.

Ritual Objects and Body Adornment

In Mexico, Catholic missionaries destroyed objects used in Indigenous rituals. Prior to his arrival in California, Serra worked in the Sierra Gorda region of present-day Mexico where he encountered the Pame people who worshipped an alabaster figure. After the mission soldiers failed to destroy it, Serra kept the figure at the College of San Fernando as “proof of the Fernandinos’ victory over native religion.”⁸⁹ Image worship in California was less common. Franciscan priest and historian Maynard Geiger observed that in California “there was a general

⁸⁶ Madley, *American Genocide*, 10.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Woodward, “Early Account of the Chumash,” 122.

⁸⁹ Steven W. Hackel, *Junípero Serra: California’s Founding Father* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2013), 102.

denial of ‘idolatry’ as a custom of California Indians – a true statement which arises from the general lack of personified deities in California religion.”⁹⁰ Spanish accounts rarely mention that Christian Indians worshipped Indigenous objects at the missions. Perhaps the authors did not want church administrators to find out; they likely wanted church leaders to think that they had successfully suppressed California Indian religious practices. Or, California’s mission Indians had learned early on that the friars would destroy portable objects like the wooden images from the *Hutash* ceremony.

Although the friars discouraged pre-Hispanic practices, California’s first peoples continued to make traditional body adornments to wear during rituals. Historic accounts like that of Langsdorff and Choris as well as the *interrogatorios* indicate that the Franciscans misunderstood the significance of coastal California Indian dances and their corresponding body adornment. The Catholic Church actively suppressed California Indian religions. Yet, its leaders sometimes exercised leniency regarding the incorporation of non-Christian regalia or garments worn during Catholic celebrations in the Americas. In seventeenth-century Peru, for instance, Inca rulers wore the traditional scarlet fringe headdress and “modified Inka regalia” to commemorate deceased rulers during Corpus Christi celebrations in Cuzco.⁹¹ This act recreated the pre-Hispanic Inca custom in which mummies of rulers were carried in processions. Art historian Carolyn Dean acknowledged that parallels can be drawn between the Catholic feast of the body of Christ and pre-Hispanic Inca celebrations, yet she cautioned against reading into the celebrants’ beliefs. She suggested, however, that Inca rulers who wore modified regalia did so

⁹⁰ Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 5.

⁹¹ Carolyn Dean, “The After-life of Inka Rulers: Andean Death Before and After Spanish Colonization,” *Hispanic Issues On Line* 7 (2010): 45-46; and Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 100-102.

because they refused to give up their customs in the face of increasing European and Catholic influences in Peru.⁹² Scholars have yet to closely investigate California Indian motivations for wearing traditional regalia during feast day celebrations at the missions. The Inca example can serve as a theoretical framework for re-evaluating the role of California Indian body ornamentation in reshaping Catholic celebrations.

Fernando Librado observed that Chumash dancers who performed at Mission San Buenaventura's fiestas wore traditional regalia and body paint.⁹³ For the Swordfish dance, "The dancer wore a feathered skirt and a headdress of crossed egret feathers; he carried two long sticks which he would clap together as he whirled about in a circle, accompanied by several songs."⁹⁴ Whereas Spaniards depicted the costumes of Inca elites in colonial paintings, Chumash body adornment at the missions is typically described in written descriptions. Depictions of dancers from the missions are rare. Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, Louis Choris, and José Cordero recorded some of the only visual depictions of Alta California's first peoples, specifically the Ohlone and Rumsen, during their travels through the northern missions. Unfortunately, no visual representations of Chumash and neighboring groups' dances were recorded during California's mission years. Written descriptions offer some clues as to how dancers dressed and what positions they held in post-1769 Chumash society. According to Librado, elite members of society performed in the dances.

Luis Francisco [*Yinch'i*] was the captain for all the Indians down Saticoy way. When he died, Mateo was entitled to become captain, for his father and grandfather had been captains. But Mateo declined, nominating Pomposa in his stead. Mateo [*Waitaiset'*] wanted Pomposa to be captain until Mateo's son should

⁹² For a discussion of Inka paintings and costumes, see Dean, "After-life of Inka Rulers," 48.

⁹³ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 41-42.

⁹⁴ Hudson, *Breath of the Sun*, 25.

become old enough to become captain. The boy was baptized at Santa Ynez, but his Indian christening and nomination ceremony was held at the big ramada especially made for Mateo for this fiesta event. This [fiesta] was held on San Miguel Day [September] on the land of José María Guadalupe, who was an old Indian sacristan at Mission San Buenaventura for many years. This place was a little north of the house of Emilio Ortega in Ventura.⁹⁵

Chumash captains like Luis Francisco were responsible for overseeing the plank canoes, or *tomols*. As canoe owners, captains occupied a higher status in Chumash society.⁹⁶ Although their power likely diminished with the establishment of the missions, Librado implied that captains continued to pass on their titles to their sons. Hudson noted that “up into the 1870’s, the Chumash were still appointing captains to represent them. It is also interesting that a ‘naming ceremony’ was in some way attached to this activity.”⁹⁷ Ceremonies like this one demonstrate captains’ and other elites’ refusal to accept Eurocentric power structures that dismissed California Indian leadership. At the missions, the friars appointed California Indian men as *alcaldes* who, along with traditional leaders, oversaw other baptized Indians in the missions. Lightfoot suggested that California Indian peoples who navigated social mobility within the missions played a role in reshaping their identities.⁹⁸ Lightfoot emphasized that socially savvy individuals adopted Spanish and Mexican lifestyles and practices to be accepted into colonial California’s higher social strata. Could the same be said about California Indians who sought to preserve their traditional cultures?

The limited scholarship available on California Indian agency within the missions generally overlooks the efforts of converted California Indians to retain their traditions. Some

⁹⁵ Hudson, *Breath of the Sun*, 130.

⁹⁶ Gamble, *Chumash World*, 60.

⁹⁷ Hudson, *Breath of the Sun*, 130n2.

⁹⁸ Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 24.

California Indian leaders managed to move up in mission society and maintain their cultures. Perhaps the friars granted these individuals the privilege of performing traditional dances that others were not. California Indians, however, practiced traditional dances less frequently in the second half of the eighteenth century. Instead, they combined Indigenous and Catholic celebrations. The Acjachemen people, for example, continued to participate in Spanish language services at Mission San Juan Capistrano in the 1880s. In one account from the 1890s, a *curandera* (healer or shaman) named Polonia Montano performed a ceremony near that mission which seemed to incorporate both Acjachemen and Catholic rituals.⁹⁹ Such accounts from the late nineteenth century are rare, especially for the Chumash and Tongva-area missions of San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara and Santa Inés. Descriptions of fiestas from this period offer clues as to the changes Tongva and Chumash practices underwent in the late nineteenth century when the missions promoted celebrations of California's Spanish colonial heritage.

Mexican style dances were part of Catholic feast days and *Californio* weddings celebrated at the missions, presidios and pueblos in the early nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰ *Californios* were Spanish-speaking residents of California, typically of Mexican origin. Whereas Chumash dances declined in the late nineteenth century, *Californio* dances remained part of the missions' fiesta days. Descendants of California Indians and Mexican colonists adopted these dances, such as the *járabe*, a type of Mexican dance, which had become part of their mixed ethnic identity.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*, 113-114.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Ryal Miller, "Entertainment in Hispanic California, 1769-1848," *Southern California Quarterly* 86:2 (Summer 2004): 107; and Douglas Monroy, "The Creation and Re-Creation of Californio Society," *California History* 76:2/3 (Fall 1997): 173-195.

¹⁰¹ For a description of a *járabe*, see Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios*, 113; and Miller, "Entertainment in Hispanic California," 107.

Considering California Indians' rich ceremonial history, it is no surprise that they embraced these new dances as a way of celebrating religious holidays. Rather than abandoning their customs, some California Indians continued to claim mission spaces as their own.

Chumash people reinforced their ties to their ancestors through dances performed at the missions. Chumash artists decolonized these spaces by making and performing art on their ancestral lands. Martineau and Ritskes argue, "Decolonial art does not abdicate or abandon the present; it re-inscribes indigeneity on the land, as the radical alterity of an already before, an always elsewhere from colonialism."¹⁰² Even as new waves of colonists built new structures on California's Indian lands, they could not sever Indigenous peoples' ties to it. Instead of replacing California Indian traditions, the missions became Indigenous spaces and the embodiment of California Indian artistic resistance.

¹⁰² Martineau and Ritskes, "Fugitive indigeneity," v.

Chapter 3

Chumash Basketry at Mission San Buenaventura

The previous chapter examined Indigenous performances within mission spaces. Like dancers, Chumash weavers reclaimed mission spaces by conducting traditional practices. This chapter acknowledges the weavers as agents of artistic ingenuity and investigates the historical circumstances to which they were responding. Chumash weavers made baskets in unprecedented shapes and with new patterns inspired by foreign objects at Mission San Buenaventura. Previous publications from the discipline of anthropology on these so-called Chumash “presentation” baskets have identified outside influences in Chumash basketry, specifically the inclusion of Spanish coin motifs. This chapter conducts the first close examination of the baskets’ designs that do not appear on Spanish coins. It also asks new questions about the weavers’ artistic choices. Why did weavers include Spanish and Mexican-inspired designs and text in their baskets? It was not unusual for Chumash artists to combine traditional materials and techniques with foreign iconographies.

Before the Spanish incursion, weavers wove patterns into their baskets, which they made for a variety of purposes. Storage baskets, mortar hoppers, winnowing trays, sifting trays, parching trays, leaching baskets, and cooking baskets are the main types of traditional coiled baskets found in Southern California.¹ Aside from making these baskets for food storage and preparation, weavers also wove gambling trays, treasure baskets and bottleneck baskets. At the missions, weavers produced new shapes such as baskets with pedestals, cups, lidded sewing

¹ Shanks, *California Indian Baskets*, 8-9.

baskets and wide-brimmed hats.² These unique baskets represent the convergence of diverse cultural ideas and the continuity of weaving traditions.

Though sometimes made by men, Chumash basketry was typically a women's art. An assessment of historical accounts shows that European explorers rarely acknowledged the individual women who made the baskets they received. Three artists, however, wove their names into the baskets. Aside from these three weavers, only the names of male Chumash artists from this period survive in the historical record. The weavers' ancestral villages and their ages when they entered the missions appear in Mission San Buenaventura's baptismal records.³

Chumash weavers were making baskets in new shapes and patterns for European explorers as early as the 1770s. The most well-known baskets with Spanish coin designs, which are the focus of this chapter, date from the early 1800s through the 1820s. Chumash weavers continued to weave until the last Chumash master weavers from Ventura, Petra Pico, Donancia Salazar, and Candelaria Valenzuela, passed away in 1915.⁴ This chapter provides a close analysis of baskets made at the Chumash-area missions, particularly Mission San Buenaventura. To foreground that discussion this chapter begins by exploring the main features of coastal southern California basketry and references early descriptions of this tradition.

Basket weaving is a tradition that California Indians have practiced since long before the Spanish invasion. The Chumash people and their coastal Southern California neighbors make twined baskets, but they are known for their coiled baskets. The majority of baskets from Mission San Buenaventura that survived are coiled. Coiled baskets begin with a bundle of

² Shanks, *California Indian Baskets*, 27-29.

³ The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project, Database, 2006.

⁴ Timbrook, "Native American Arts," 327.

materials that spiral around a starting knot. This bundle of materials, also known as the foundation or warp, typically consists of juncus (*Juncus textilis*) or deer grass (*Muhlenbergia rigins*), both native to Southern California. Weavers also use yucca fiber (*Yucca whipplei*) in basket starts, which is common in baskets made in the years before the missions' secularization.⁵ For the wefts, the materials that wrap around the foundation, weavers use juncus, yucca root (*Yucca brevifolia*), red bud (*Ceris occidentalis*), and sumac (*Rhus trilobata*). Juncus is a rush that turns a tan color when dried. Deer grass, like juncus, grows in moist areas and when dried it turns a light tan color. Weavers use yucca root, which comes from the Joshua tree, or red bud for red hued patterns.

Weavers know where and when to gather these materials, which continue to grow throughout southern California. For instance, weavers typically gather basketry materials such as willow in the spring and shrub and tree materials in the winter.⁶ Current-day weavers face restricted access to materials, but their ancestors had more freedom to collect before the mission years.⁷ After collecting these materials, weavers dry the plants and if she or he plans to make a basket with patterns, they will dye the materials to create contrasting colors. Weavers also use plants like redbud that stand out against the primary basket materials. Like their ancestors, weavers use burning to manage and promote plant growth. Historically, controlled burning “removed dead material and promoted growth” and “increased the quantity and quality of

⁵ Justin F. Farmer, *Basketry Plants Used by Western American Indians* (Fullerton: The Justin Farmer Foundation, 2010), 176.

⁶ A chart identifying the seasons when basket weaving preparation occurred can be found in Anderson, *Tending the Wild*, 52.

⁷ Nowadays, weavers often must obtain permits to collect basket materials on land owned by the state of California. For more information regarding twenty-first-century gathering policies, see “California Indian Basketweavers Traditional Gathering Policy,” California Indian Basketweavers Association, accessed April 11, 2016, <http://www.ciba.org/materials>.

material used for basketry and cordage.”⁸ The United States Forest Service started to suppress fire burning practices in the early twentieth century because they believed it was destructive.⁹ According to Anderson, resource managers are working with California Indian communities today to re-introduce burning practices so as to cultivate basketry materials.¹⁰ In spite of efforts to revitalize traditional California Indian land management practices, modern day jobs prevent many California Indians from devoting time to gathering traditional materials and weaving baskets. Archaeological evidence indicates that California Indians made baskets within their residences at the missions, though it is almost certain that weavers were expected to carry out other tasks that contributed to the missions’ productivity.¹¹ Unfortunately, little documentation exists regarding the daily activities of basket weavers at California’s missions. Even so, surviving examples from the missions show that weavers continued making baskets for their own needs and for mission leaders and foreign visitors.

Baskets in the Historical Record

The earliest descriptions of baskets in California come from the diaries of Spanish explorers on the Portolá Expedition of 1769.¹² As the explorers stopped along the coast they received gifts of California Indian baskets and carvings. Engineer Miguel Costansó observed that the baskets had been made in a variety of designs: “We saw, and obtained in exchange for strings of glass beads and other trinkets, some baskets or trays made of reeds, with different designs;

⁸ Anderson, *Tending the Wild*, 136.

⁹ Anderson, *Tending the Wild*, 119.

¹⁰ Anderson, *Tending the Wild*, 314-315.

¹¹ Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 96.

¹² Gaspar de Portolá, *Diary of Gaspar de Portolá During the California Expedition of 1769-1770* (Berkeley: Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, 1909).

wooden plates and bowls of different forms and sizes, made of one piece so that not even those turned out in a lathe could be more successful.”¹³ Costansó’s remark about the quality of the wooden plates and bowls signified his appreciation for the makers’ craftsmanship and admiration for this tradition.

Like Costansó, Fray Juan Crespí, who travelled on land during the Portolá Expedition, noted in his journal that weavers from the Santa Barbara region made finely woven baskets: “They manufacture a great many bowls and rushwork-wickerweave baskets, very painstakingly and finely made and colored.”¹⁴ As the expedition travelled north, he described the baskets in Monterey as “gorgeous and very elegant rushen baskets and bowls worthy of admiration of any person of good taste.”¹⁵ Crespí valued the coastal California Indians’ baskets and bowls. However, he did not acknowledge the people who made them. This foreshadowed the similarly dismissive attitudes of mission priests towards California Indian artists that would follow. Although the priests recorded the names of the people (and, sometimes their occupations) that they baptized at the missions, the only known individuals who made baskets are María Marta Zaputimeu, Juana Basilia Sitmelelene, and María Sebastiana Suatimehue.

Traditionally, weavers did not sign their baskets before missionization. A weaver could identify a fellow weaver’s work by unique characteristics such as the way she ended her basket and the patterns she used throughout her work. These patterns could be found on baskets made for everyday purposes as well as gift baskets. Weavers adopted new patterns by trading their

¹³ Costansó, *Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770*, 33.

¹⁴ Crespí, *Description of Distant Roads*, 397.

¹⁵ Crespí, *Description of Distant Roads*, 447.

work across villages, so it was not unusual that they began to adopt European ideas nor that they presented baskets as gifts to foreign visitors like the Portolá Expedition members.

In 1776, Fray Pedro Font observed weavers at Mission San Luis Obispo make a basket in the shape of a hat for Juan Bautista de Anza. Font served as chaplain during Anza's second expedition through California from 1775 to 1776. Font saw Chumash and Tongva women weaving baskets throughout the coastal regions between Mission San Gabriel and Mission San Luis Obispo. At the latter mission, the people whom Font refers to as the "Nochi" made baskets, including one in the shape of a hat for the expedition's leader. "They know how to make baskets with a great variety of designs and of any form which may be requested of them – even the shape of sombreros, one of which they made for Señor Ansa when he asked them to do so."¹⁶ A basket like the one Font described, which is now in the collection of the British Museum, seems to match the type of basket Font described (Figure 7). Unfortunately, Font's diary offers the last account of Anza's basket hat, so its current location remains unknown. According to the British Museum, surgeon's mate George Goodman Hewett acquired the basket hat that is now in the museum's collection during the Vancouver expedition, which reached California in 1792.¹⁷ This may be the same basket hat Font saw. Or, it is possible that weavers continued making sombrero-shaped baskets after 1776. The British Museum's hat is the only known basket of its kind.

Evidently, the weaver who designed the hat from Font's account made it for Anza, who may have commissioned it. Still, many questions remain unanswered. Was it the weaver's decision to make the basket in the shape of wide-brimmed hat? Was she or he commissioned to weave the basket? And, if so, was she or he compensated in any way for their work? It is

¹⁶ Font, *Font's Complete Diary*, 272.

¹⁷ Timbrook, "Native American Arts," 328.

unlikely that Anza commissioned the basket hat during his visit since a basket of its size would have taken months to weave. Or, perhaps one of the friars at that mission knew Anza would be travelling through the region and requested, or ordered, the weaver to make the hat in anticipation of Anza's arrival. European explorers' accounts reveal that friars at some of the missions encouraged California Indians to display their culture for the visitors.

In addition to giving baskets to visitors, the friars sent baskets to the College of San Fernando in Mexico City in return for church decorations.¹⁸ Fray José Señán of Mission San Buenaventura wrote in 1812 that the mission was sending baskets to replace a lost shipment of sea otter pelts: "The only things we have been able to collect for shipment are a few fairly decent baskets and some articles made by our neophytes."¹⁹ Sadly, Señán did not state whether or not the basket weavers received compensation for their work. Even so, it is unlikely that the weavers received monetary compensation since the rest of the California Indians living at the missions performed forced labor in exchange for housing and food. Their labor was not voluntary, and anyone who did not perform his or her required tasks was punished.²⁰ Based on Señán's account, it appears that basketry was treated as a commodity -- like food products, wine, candle wax, hides, and other goods that the mission leaders sold for profit. In the same letter, Señán noted that two baskets were sent specifically for the Procurator Fray José Guilez and the Father Guardian of the College of San Fernando in Mexico City.²¹ The fact that Señán sent baskets to

¹⁸ José Señán, *The Letters of José Señán, O. F. M. 1796-1823*, trans. Paul D. Nathan, ed. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Ventura: Ventura County Historical Society, 1962), 68.

¹⁹ Señán, *Letters of José Señán*, 68; see also Lillian Smith, "Three Inscribed Chumash Baskets with Designs from Spanish Colonial Coins," *American Indian Art Magazine* 7:3 (Summer 1982): 63.

²⁰ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 281; McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 33-35; and Madley, *American Genocide*, 27-38.

²¹ Señán, *Letters of José Señán*, 68.

replace valuable otter pelts and as gifts for the College leaders tells us that baskets were treasured objects. Though not necessarily treated as fine art, baskets were one of the only California Indian arts that the friars and explorers valued.

Basket weaving required that weavers gather materials at specific times of the year. Some materials may have been available near the missions, but weavers likely had to leave mission grounds to gather in areas unaffected by the invasive plants and animals the Spaniards introduced to California. After gathering and preparing the materials, months would have passed before the weavers could even begin to make their baskets, assuming the weavers at the missions already knew how to weave. Mission records do not explain when weavers worked on their baskets, but it may have been a fulltime occupation for some, especially those who produced Mission San Buenaventura's baskets. At the missions, California Indians followed a work schedule enforced by the friars.²² After being baptized, California Indian converts continued to learn catechism and they worked long hours to produce the goods that provided for the inhabitants of the missions and presidios. Producing goods was part of mission life, but basket weaving was a unique practice. Whereas goods such as soap and wine were made for consumption, baskets presented as gifts likely played a decorative rather than practical function. Baskets functioned as portable objects that the friars could present to church leaders, government officials, and foreign visitors. California Indian baskets appealed to the eighteenth-century European interest in collecting foreign objects, many of which ended up in cabinets of curiosities or *wunderkammer*. The baskets also gave friars a chance to show off the skills of the California Indians, while

²² Hackel summarized a typical mission workday: "In the morning, a bell or an Indian *alcalde* summoned the community to prayer. An hour later, the able-bodied would begin working and continue until around 11:00 A.M. After a meal and a short break, labor would resume. According to the padres, work concluded an hour or so before sunset, in time for communal prayers; soldiers asserted that Indians worked until sunset. Indians worked at the missions five to eight hours a day, five or six days a week." Hackel, "Land, Labor, and Production," 122.

maintaining superiority over them. The so-called Chumash “presentation” baskets represent the complex relationship weavers had with their non-Native patrons. This dissertation does not describe them as “presentation” baskets because that would imply the weavers presented them directly to their recipients. Some of the baskets were made as gifts, but it is unclear if the weavers actually “presented” them to anyone. The mission friars may have taken the baskets from the weavers who may or may not have received compensation for their work. Sadly, few of the weavers’ names were recorded, as evidenced by explorers’ accounts.

During the Vancouver Expedition’s stop in California in 1792, surgeon and botanist Archibald Menzies observed baskets of various shapes and designs at Mission San Buenaventura.

But the most curious article we observed amongst these Natives were their Baskets which are of various shapes & sizes & so closely workd as to hold/water, but by means of tinging the Materials of various colours they work in them figures & ornaments of the most complicated kind; We have seen the representations of different animals, the Arms of Spain, & long inscriptions worked in these Baskets by these illiterate people with a degree of exactness that was really astonishing & this we believe is chiefly performed by the Women.²³

Menzies stated that the weavers were illiterate, but the inscriptions found on baskets with the Arms of Spain indicate that may not have been the case. To justify their presence in California, the friars argued that they were bringing the Catholic faith to so-called “heathen” people who needed to be saved from eternal damnation. The Spanish crown sent the friars to Alta California to spread Catholicism as well as claim the region so as to prevent the Russians from doing so. In rare instances the friars allowed Indigenous peoples to speak their own languages and even wrote catechism texts in the local dialects. Yet, most of the friars expected converted Indians to speak Spanish, as enforced by policies put in place by the Spanish crown. According to Hackel, “In

²³ Archibald Menzies, “Archibald Menzies’ Journal of the Vancouver Expedition,” ed. Alice Eastwood, *California Historical Society Quarterly* 2:4 (January 1924): 326.

1795, to speed the assimilation of Indians into Spanish society, the Crown forbade Franciscans or their assistants from instructing Indians in New Spain exclusively in their native languages.”²⁴

This policy was also ideal for friars who found California languages challenging to learn.

In his letters, Junípero Serra wrote about his inability to master Indigenous languages.²⁵ When they arrived in a new region, friars who shared Serra’s sentiments would teach Spanish to local California Indian children.²⁶ The friars expected these young children, who could learn quickly, to teach Spanish to their elders, thereby taking the pressure off the missionaries to do so. Spanish language scholar Rose Marie Beebe and historian Robert M. Senkewicz have suggested that California Indian families also encouraged their children to learn Spanish.²⁷ “However, there was another side to the story. The fact that the young children would be able to learn the language of the newcomers more quickly was undoubtedly one of the reasons that indigenous

²⁴ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 144.

²⁵ On August 18, 1772, Serra wrote a letter to Father Francisco Palóu from Monterey in which he mentions the difficulty he had in mastering California’s Native languages. This issue comes up when he explains that he thinks the unconverted Indians would be inclined to convert to Catholicism if there was no language barrier between them and the friars. “Because if, at the present time, they are not as yet all Christians, it is, in my judgment, only for want of a knowledge of their language, a trouble of long standing with me which I have never been granted the grace to overcome, it seems to me, because of my many sins.” Junípero Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, Volume 1, ed. Antonine Tibesar (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 266-267.

²⁶ Beebe and Senkewicz, *Junípero Serra*, 221.

²⁷ Native communities also discouraged conversion. In the sixteenth century three Native boys from Tlaxcala, Mexico were martyred at the hands of community leaders for converting to Catholicism. Robert Haskett argues that “in Mexico the clergy recruited martyrs to help them convince the Indigenous peoples that the Christian faith was powerful and true.” Robert Haskett, “Dying for Conversion: Faith, Obedience, and the Tlaxcalan Boy Martyrs in New Spain,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 17:2 (December 2008): 185, 189. In sixteenth-century New Spain, Spanish missionaries believed that elite Indigenous men were more likely to convert to Christianity if their sons did. This strategy, however, caused tension in Indigenous families in which the fathers refused to convert. Richard C. Trexler, “From the Mouths of Babes. Christianization by Children in Sixteenth-Century New Spain,” in *Church and Community 1200-1600: Studies in the History of Florence and New Spain* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1987), 552.

villages throughout California often presented children for baptism first.”²⁸ Some California Indians likely saw the opportunity to learn Spanish as an advantage. If they could speak the language of the invaders, then they could negotiate with their oppressors. The Spaniards still retained the upper hand in discussions with California’s first peoples. Instead, the soldiers and missionaries coerced and threatened California Indian peoples into living at the missions. According to McWilliams, the Franciscans sometimes allowed mission inhabitants to visit their villages “so that an expedition might be organized to follow them; in the process of capturing the fugitives, a dozen or more new ‘Christians’ could be rounded up.”²⁹ Even so, the underlying messages of California Indian resistance can be found in material culture from the missions.

Contrary to Menzies’s statement, it is not improbable that the weavers at Mission San Buenaventura could read in Spanish when they made the baskets with inscriptions. Within the first eighteen years of the mission’s founding in 1782, the weavers may have gained a basic literacy in the Spanish language. Petitions from the years preceding the missions’ secularization reveal that some California Indians, mainly men, acquired literacy in Spanish. For instance, in the 1820s a Chumash man of Mission San Buenaventura named Pacifico Sum’Camiol wrote petitions to Governor José María de Echeandía.³⁰ Unsurprisingly, extant historical records only bear the signatures of California Indian men, but not women. The missionaries typically taught young boys at the missions how to read and write in Spanish.³¹ My archival research did not

²⁸ Beebe and Senkewicz, *Junípero Serra*, 221.

²⁹ McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 31.

³⁰ Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis*, 377; and Steven W. Hackel and Hilary E. Wyss, “Print Culture and the Power of Native Literacy in California and New England Missions,” in *Native Americans, Christianity, and the Reshaping of the American Religious Landscape*, ed. Joel W. Martin and Mark A. Nicholas (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 207.

³¹ Hackel and Wyss, “Print Culture and the Power of Native Literacy,” 205.

uncover any documentation that a weaver signed either with a Spanish name or mark. Any discussion of schools for girls being established in the years before statehood is rare in the historical record.³² Evidently, most California Indian women did not learn how to read and write in the California missions.

Chumash weavers Juana Basilia Sitmelelene, María Marta Zaputimeu, and María Sebastiana Suatimehue might have learned to read and write in Spanish, or someone (a male relative or priest) could have helped them draft the text that they wove into the rims of their baskets (Figures 16, 17, 18). Alternatively, it is possible that they copied text someone else wrote. In that case, whose idea was it to weave long inscriptions into the baskets? Out of the six known baskets with Spanish heraldic designs, these three examples as well as a Chumash basket tray (Figure 19) have Spanish inscriptions woven into their rims. Why did the weavers include Spanish text in these baskets? What do these baskets tell us about Chumash artistic ingenuity?

According to Menzies, Chumash weavers at Mission San Buenaventura were producing baskets with heraldic designs as early as the 1790s.³³ Even so, scholars do not agree on the dates when weavers made the baskets with coin designs. According to the Huntington's Early California Population Project Database, the three main Chumash basket weavers from Mission San Buenaventura, María Marta Zaputimeu, Juana Basilia Sitmelelene and María Sebastiana Suatimehue, were baptized there in 1788, 1806, and 1784, respectively.³⁴ All three women were in their twenties when baptized. María Marta Zaputimeu was baptized in 1788, so it is quite

³² Virginia M. Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 79; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. Volume XIX, History of California. Volume II, 1801-1824* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), 427, 680; Engelhardt, *Santa Barbara Mission*, 144; and Dakin, *Scotch Paisano*, 58.

³³ Menzies, "Archibald Menzies' Journal," 326.

³⁴ The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project, Database, 2006.

possible that she made baskets, including the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum basket, in the 1790s. Yet, Juana Basilia Sitmelelene was baptized in 1806, which would suggest that she did not live at the mission until the early 1800s. It makes sense, then, that the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History and the National Museum of the American Indian date Juana Basilia Sitmelelene's baskets to the 1820s (Figures 18, 19, 20). Meanwhile, María Sebastiana Suatimehue could have made baskets as early as the 1780s. Rather than looking at the baskets chronologically, the following section will examine the patterns found on these remarkable Chumash baskets and their cultural significance.

Coin Designs

The “presentation” baskets are noted for their heraldic designs associated with the Spanish monarchy. Around the turn of nineteenth century, María Sebastiana Suatimehue wove a basket bowl with four repeating images of a design found on the obverse side of the pillar dollar, a Spanish coin minted in Mexico City between 1732 and 1772 (Figure 17).³⁵ The design depicts the so-called Old and New Worlds and the Spanish crown flanked by the Pillars of Hercules (Figure 21a). The pillar dollar depicted “two overlapping hemispheres, representing the Old and New Worlds, over ocean waves flanked by two columns that represent the Pillars of Hercules, the gateway from the Mediterranean Sea to the rest of the world. The columns are wrapped in banners reading *PLUS ULTRA* (Latin for ‘further beyond’ or ‘more beyond’) and surmounted by a Spanish crown.” The portrait dollar replaced the pillar dollar in 1772. Instead of depicting the two worlds, this coin featured a portrait of Charles III, King of Spain.³⁶

On María Sebastiana's basket, individual columns of stacked triangles appear between the four repeating coin design motifs. Two clusters of dots flank one of the four stacked triangle

³⁵ Timbrook, “Six Chumash Presentation Baskets,” 52.

³⁶ Timbrook, “Six Chumash Presentation Baskets,” 52-53.

columns. The weaver added these to fill the extra space between the triangle column and the coin motif. Timbrook also observed that “The inscription functions as a principal band. Fillers above the principal band are small elements that are difficult to identify. One or more rim rows are missing, so it could not be determined whether ticking was present.”³⁷ The inscription reads: “María Sebastiana Indian of the Mission of the Seraphic Doctor Saint Bonaventure Made It” (*María Sebastiana Yndia de la Mision de el Serafico Dr Sr Sn Buenaventura La Hizo*).³⁸ This text tells us that María Sebastiana made the basket at Mission San Buenaventura. The weaver only included her Spanish name, likely received upon her baptism, as did other weavers who inscribed their names into their baskets. According to Timbrook, part of the rim is missing and so is the center bottom of the basket. These missing sections likely had patterning as well, but all we can study now is the remaining basket. Based on other examples of baskets from this period one can imagine that the basket’s center likely featured either a Chumash pattern or another coin design. Some of the other baskets can be linked to specific patrons or recipients, but that is not the case with María Sebastiana’s basket. Timbrook and Lillian Smith noted that in 1985 this basket was “brought to public attention by art dealer Eleanor Tulman Hancock.”³⁹ The basket is now in a private collection. Although the provenance of the basket remains unclear, the basket bears strong similarities to the other baskets from Mission San Buenaventura.

Around the same time that María Sebastiana lived at Mission San Buenaventura, beginning in the 1780s, another Chumash weaver, María Marta Zaputimeu wove a basket that is now in the collection of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at UC Berkeley (Figure

³⁷ Timbrook, “Six Chumash Presentation Baskets,” 54.

³⁸ Unless otherwise noted, author has translated text.

³⁹ Timbrook, “Six Chumash Presentation Baskets,” 54.

16). The basket bears an inscription that reads: “María Marta Neophyte of the Mission of the Seraphic Doctor Saint Bonaventure made me year” (*María Marta Neofita de la Mision de el Serafico Doctor San Buenaventura me hizo an*). The inscription ends with neither the final letter of the word “año,” nor the actual year. Again, the weaver gave no indication as to whether this basket was intended for a specific recipient or not. Instead, she emphasized the name of the mission’s patron saint. Why did both María Marta and María Sebastiana refer to the saint as the “seraphic doctor”? Did the friars at the mission tell them to write out the saint’s full title? Until now, this title remained unexplained in basket scholarship.

Saint Bonaventure was a thirteenth century Italian cardinal and doctor of the Church. During his lifetime, St. Bonaventure received the title of *Doctor Devotus*, and in 1333 Raynor of Pisa, O. P. bestowed the title of “Seraphic Doctor” upon the saint.⁴⁰ The title is “an undeniable tribute to his all-absorbing love for God.”⁴¹ Perhaps the friars wanted to emphasize the saint’s significance as a role model for California Indians to follow. María Marta and María Sebastiana made two of the four baskets from Mission San Buenaventura that have Spanish inscriptions. The other two do not include the name of the mission where they were made (Figures 18, 20). By studying another basket in the collection of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History (SBMNH) it becomes apparent that these baskets served political purposes (Figure 18).

In 1806, Juana Basilia Sitmelelene received the sacrament of baptism at Mission San Buenaventura around the age of twenty-four.⁴² Then, it appears she produced two baskets with Spanish coin designs that are now in the collections of the SBMNH and the National Museum of

⁴⁰ Paschal Robinson, “St. Bonaventure,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume II (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), accessed July 24, 2016, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02648c.htm>.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project, Database, 2006

the American Indian (NMAI) in New York (Figures 18, 20). The two baskets are stylistically similar. The Spanish coat of arms is a repeating motif found on the perimeter of both baskets (Figure 21b). Within the center of each basket Juana Basilia wove the design found on the obverse side of the pillar dollar; this is the same design found within the main body of María Sebastiana's basket (Figure 17). Both of Juana Basilia's baskets have a principal band with geometric patterning. The SBMNH basket has a step-like pattern that fills the space between two main borderlines. For the NMAI basket she wove a repeating pattern of open diamond motifs using two different colored materials. While Juana Basilia finished the NMAI basket with rim ticking, she added an outer border of text to the SBMNH basket. The inscription on the SBMNH basket reads: "She made it [or: Worked by] the neophyte Juana Basilia, desirous of contributing to the attentions paid by Governor Solá to his Field Marshal Señor Don José de la Cruz" (*La trabajó la Neofita Juana Basilia, deseosa de contribuir a las atenciones del Sr. Govor SOLA p^a con su ilustre Mariscal del Campo el Sr. Dⁿ José dela Cruz*).⁴³ Archaeologist and anthropologist Zelia Nuttall pointed out that Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá was the last Spanish governor of California. He served in this post from 1815 until 1822. She suggested that Juana Basilia wove the basket sometime during Solá's governorship when José de la Cruz served as a General in the fight for Mexican independence.⁴⁴ Yet, ornithologist and former Santa Barbara Museum of

⁴³ Zelia Nuttall, "Two Remarkable California Baskets," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 2:4 (January 1924): 341. Janice Timbrook provided the translation. Timbrook, "Six Chumash Presentation Baskets," 53.

⁴⁴ Nuttall was unable to find evidence proving José de la Cruz officially held the title of Field Marshal, which is noted on the basket. "In no historical work consulted have I found the title of Field Marshal, recorded on the baskets, associated with José de la Cruz, who, throughout the history of the Mexican struggle for independence, is referred to as General Cruz. The only case I have come across of the use of this title in Mexico at the period is contained in the deed of abdication written by Viceroy Apodaca on July 5, 1822. Under compulsion he states that he 'voluntarily delivers his authority to Field Marshal Francisco Novella,' one of the military leaders of the mutiny of the royalist troops. As, previous to this date, Novella figures as a general in historical documents, it looks as though the title of Field Marshal was only assumed when he became the Viceroy's successor in authority. There is no evidence to show that

Natural History director Dennis M. Power argued that the dedicatory text “was added in 1822, when the governor of California may have given this to a general he hoped would aid him in resisting Mexico’s struggle for independence from Spain.”⁴⁵ Other sources acknowledge the governor’s connection to the basket, but this is the only instance in which a publication states that the text was added later. Even so, Power’s observation makes sense. In their baskets, María Marta and María Sebastiana used text instead of patterns to fill the principal bands on their baskets. Juana Basilia, however, made a basket with both a principal band and text band. This band of text is dedicated to a specific person, whereas those on María Marta and María Sebastiana’s baskets are not.

Apart from Maria Marta’s basket in which “año” was shortened to “an” due to the limited space, the inscriptions are in correct Spanish. Unfortunately, there does not appear to be any extant written documentation regarding the weavers’ education. Even so, these are the first examples of baskets for which we know the names of their makers. Signing one’s work was unprecedented in early California. Did the weavers include their names because they wanted to or because they were told to do so? We will likely never know. Nevertheless, this information confirms the identities of three artists that would otherwise remain lost in the historical record along with hundreds of other California Indian artists from the missions. The weavers’ Chumash names appear in baptismal records, yet they only included their Spanish names on their baskets. Does that mean they willingly accepted Catholicism and Spanish lifestyles? Or, were they simply following the Franciscans’ instructions? The act of weaving after conversion tells us that this was a tradition Chumash peoples valued. Examples of baskets without Spanish-inspired designs made

José de la Cruz could have legitimately borne the title denoting a supreme command in Mexico of royalist forces.” Nuttall, “Two Remarkable California Baskets,” 341-342.

⁴⁵ Dennis M. Power, *Treasures* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, 1990), 9.

during this period can be found in museum collections today (Figure 11). Unlike the baskets with coin designs, these baskets do not bear their makers' names. In some California Indian cultures individuals do not share their names with strangers.⁴⁶ Plus, there was no written language in California before European settlement. Some friars attempted to translate Catholic doctrine and songs into Indigenous languages at the missions. It is unlikely, however, that the friars addressed the California Indian converts by their Indigenous names. For them, the baskets reinforced the Church's goal in California -- to spread Catholicism and claim the region for Spain. The weavers' Spanish names represented the former, and the coin designs symbolized the latter. Ironically, the friars were not successful in replacing California Indian cultures.

Indigenous Designs

The patterns found only on each of the weavers' baskets may be specific to their Chumash villages where individuals like María Marta, Juana Basilia, and María Sebastiana learned to weave. Although the weavers all used motifs found on silver coins to design their baskets, they maintained individual attributes. These attributes may be how weavers identified each other's work in the absence of signatures. Surprisingly, no one has closely studied the non-Spanish patterns on the baskets. Why did Chumash weavers combine Spanish coin designs and Chumash patterns on their baskets? Dean and Leibsohn have suggested in their studies of art from New Spain and Peru that within the viceregal era, Indigenous and *mestizo* (mixed race)

⁴⁶ When reporters interviewed Ishi, a Yahi man from Northern California in the early twentieth century, he refused to reveal his given name. In her biography of Ishi, Theodora Kroeber explained that "a California Indian almost never speaks his own name, using it but rarely with those who already know it, and he would never tell it in reply to a direct question." Theodora Kroeber and Karl Kroeber, *Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 128.

people did not see cultural mixings as remarkable phenomena.⁴⁷ Likewise, as much as they resented seeing their cultures stripped away, weavers at the California missions may not have viewed their baskets as remarkable objects. Adopting new patterns and weaving styles was nothing new. While much of the attention given to these baskets focuses upon their coin designs, it appears that some of their patterns cannot be easily identified.

Though it does not bear coin motifs, the British museum basket hat exemplifies standard Chumash patterning (Figure 7). It consists of a hat base surrounded by a wide brim. A stepped pattern encircles the perimeter of the hat and four v-shaped motifs. The brim has three layers of designs. The innermost space has eight black crosses that stand against a solid, un-dyed background. Then, a checkerboard band occupies four rows of stiches within the center of the brim and two rows of checkerboard-like stitches form the rim's outmost edge. Aside from the cross motif, the other patterns on the hat appear to be traditional, pre-Hispanic designs. For instance, the checkerboard design also adorns a basket bowl in the British Museum collection that George Goodman Hewett collected on the Vancouver expedition (Figure 11). The museum does not give dates for these baskets, but it is likely they were made before Vancouver visited California in 1792. The basket has rim ticks, which also appear on the Museo Franz Mayer basket with heraldic designs and one of the private collection baskets, both thought to date from the early 1800s (Figures 22, 23).

Rim ticking is an attribute commonly found on southern Chumash coiled baskets.

Anthropologist and basket expert Ralph Shanks has divided Chumash basketry into two

⁴⁷ Dean and Leibsohn described a seventeenth-century woman of noble Inca lineage who lived in Peru and was married to a Spanish man. She adorned her home and her wardrobe with designs from diverse cultures. "Yet in her own accounts of her possessions there appears no suggestion that her particular heterogeneity was in any way remarkable to either her or her contemporaries. Rather it is we who recognize, name, and remark on hybridity here." Dean and Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents," 5.

categories based on region -- northern and southern Chumash. The southern Chumash are from what are now Santa Barbara and Ventura counties, and the northern Chumash or Obispeño are from what is today San Luis Obispo County.⁴⁸ The basket hat is from Mission San Luis Obispo and the rest of the baskets in this chapter are from the southern Chumash region. The main design elements found on southern Chumash baskets are “(1) a horizontal primary band below the rim, (2) careful symmetry of designs, and (3) often complex body design layouts below the primary band. Small filler elements might be placed amid larger patterns. Large, blocky designs and asymmetrical layouts were both avoided.”⁴⁹ The primary or principal band is another notable feature of Chumash baskets.⁵⁰ This band is “typically located below the basket’s rim about the same number of coil rows as the band’s width” and above a basket’s body zone where most patterns appear.

Of the six known baskets with coin designs, the basket with the least patterning is María Sebastiana’s tray (Figure 17). The stacked X motif that appears between the Pillars of Hercules is similar to the pattern on the tray George Goodman Hewett collected (Figure 11). This basket, likely from the same region as María Sebastiana’s, has X-like motifs distributed evenly between five checker-boarded bands. Here, the artist wove the design using two different colors from the main background. The x is formed by a light tan color, perhaps out of sumac or yucca fiber. María Sebastiana formed her X’s using black fibers against the basket’s tan wefts. She also gave her basket rim ticking, which appears on the Museo Franz Mayer’s basket bowl, the unknown basket in a private collection, María Marta’s Hearst Museum bowl, and Juana Basilia’s NMAI

⁴⁸ Shanks, *California Indian Baskets*, 14.

⁴⁹ Shanks, *California Indian Baskets*, 16.

⁵⁰ Shanks, *California Indian Baskets*, 16-18.

tray (Figures 22, 23, 16, 20). Meanwhile, the baskets without Spanish inscriptions have similar patterns in their principal bands.

The artist who made the Museo Franz Mayer's basket bowl wove small diamond motifs throughout the principal band (Figure 22). These diamond motifs are almost identical to those in the principal band of the private collection basket (Figure 23). Yet, the rest of the basket's designs are unique. The basket has a radiating star motif at its center, which is surrounded by four repeating images of the Spanish coat of arms following by a principal band and rim ticking. The central star or flower-like motif is expertly woven with radial symmetry. It appears the weaver attempted to maintain symmetry as she continued to add to the basket, but encountered difficulty when executing the coin designs. Four Spanish coats of arms flanked by the Pillars of Hercules, from the portrait dollar, appear within the main body of the basket. The weaver filled the space between three of these motifs with a narrow vertical geometric design. Vertical motifs appear between the coin designs on all the other baskets, except for Juana Basilia's two trays. This appears to be a new convention that weavers created to complement the coin designs. Even though stepped designs appear frequently on Chumash baskets, they do not emerge on the baskets with coin designs. Since the coin designs take up large blocks of space it made more sense for weavers to design shorter, vertical designs in between. In some cases, these vertical elements are quite intricate.

Whereas the Museo Franz Mayer weaver placed narrow vertical columns on her basket, María Marta managed to place four vertical motifs in between the four main coin designs on the Hearst Museum basket (Figure 16). Each vertical motif begins with a pediment-like element from which descend four vertical, ladder-like strips of even length. These motifs are evenly spaced between four images of the Spanish coat of arms flanked by the Pillars of Hercules. A

zigzag line separates the coin designs from the center of the basket where María Marta wove two bands of repeating motifs on her basket bowl. Although it is difficult to detect a pattern at the very center of the basket, it appears María Marta used a different material from the rest of the basket. Then, it seems she switched to the main color that forms the background on which black patterns appear. Narrow black triangles point outward within the centermost band. This is echoed by the second row of black triangles that point inward. After the triangles we see vertical motifs in clusters of twos and threes that are separated by shorter columns of singular elements. The inverted Vs that form the zigzag line enclosing the center space reappear above the Pillars of Hercules. These Vs connect to the solid black line forming the border between the principal rim text and the basket's main body. Likewise, diamond motifs appear to hang from this line, occupying the space between the Vs and the vertical columns. The Vs and diamond motifs appear on other Chumash baskets from the 1800s, but the vertical column designs are unique to this basket.

In the early 1800s another Chumash weaver, whose identity remains uncertain, took a similar approach to designing her basket, which has the most complex designs (Figure 23).⁵¹ Typical rim ticks produce a striped pattern, but here the weaver made small checkerboard rim ticks. These are evenly spaced above the principal band of diamond motifs, which is like the band on the Museo Franz Mayer basket. The basket's main body features five coin motifs that

⁵¹ In 1993, Native American arts scholar Bruce Bernstein attributed the basket to a weaver named Lapulimeu. Bruce Bernstein, "Crafted from Nature: Kachina Dolls, Pueblo Pottery, and American Indian Baskets," in *Native Paths: American Indian Art from the Collection of Charles and Valerie Diker*, ed. Allen Wardwell (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 78, 91. Timbrook notes that as of 2008 Bernstein attributed the basket to María Marta Zaputimeu. Timbrook, "Six Chumash Presentation Baskets," 56. Very little information is available about Lapulimeu. This name does not appear in the mission baptismal, marriage, and death records through the Huntington Library's Early California Population Project Database. Perhaps at some point in the basket's history the name Zaputimeu was mistaken for Lapulimeu. In formal script, Z looks similar to L.

are spaced apart by complex geometric and figurative motifs. Each coin design depicts the Spanish coat of arms flanked by the Pillars of Hercules. These are separated from each other by various motifs, including inverted columns of interconnecting vertical lines and an anchor that hovers above an eagle with an elongated neck. The eagle stands on a platform-like shape that is part of the basket's center design.

Within the center of the basket, the weaver wove a complex network of designs that surround an undecorated foundation. Eagles and corn stalk motifs emerge from a series of undulating vertical and horizontal lines. Whereas other baskets have a single motif or pattern at their centers, this basket's center is composed of both recognizable and abstract designs. Perhaps the weaver saw this as an opportunity to experiment with new designs. Historian Natale Zappia has observed that "by 1800, corn and livestock raised by Chumash, Tongvas, Luiseños, and to a lesser extent, Kumeyaays quickly replaced earlier Native staples such as acorns and indigenous grasses at the missions along the Alta California coast."⁵² Corn was one of the main crops that the Franciscans introduced to California in the late 1700s.⁵³ However, it is possible that corn had reached coastal California prior to the Franciscans' 1769 arrival through overland Indian trade roads from the Colorado River basin.⁵⁴ Crop production varied at the twenty-one missions due to

⁵² Zappia, *Traders and Raiders*, 92.

⁵³ Fray Francisco Palóu noted in his biography of Junípero Serra that the soil at Mission San Antonio, the third Alta California mission, was ideal for growing corn: "The soil is very fertile and supplies abundant harvests of wheat, corn, beans, and other cereals brought out from Spain and with which the inhabitants now have supplied themselves." Francisco Palóu, *Francisco Palóu's Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Junípero Serra, Founder of the Franciscan Missions of California*, trans. C. Scott Williams (Pasadena: George Wharton James, 1913), 120.

⁵⁴ Zappia points out that the Quechans who occupy southeastern California, within the Colorado River basin, grew corn in pre-Columbian times. Zappia, *Traders and Raiders*, 30.

environmental conditions.⁵⁵ San Buenaventura was a successful grain-producing mission, which would have meant that more labor was required to gather and process the grain.⁵⁶ The weaver may have spent time working in the fields during the harvest season and became familiar with the corn stalks that represented the Spanish presence in California. Meanwhile, the eagle may stand in for the birds that were native to California.

Archaeologists have uncovered evidence that the Chumash people used eagle feathers in regalia and for ceremonial purposes before and after the Spanish invasion. In the late 1880s, feathered bands with condor, bald eagle, red-shouldered hawk, and smaller birds were also found in the Bowers Cave located in northern Los Angeles County, which may be of Chumash or Alliklik origin. It is believed that these headbands and other objects found in the cave cache may predate the missions.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the Southwest Museum (now part of the Autry Museum of the American West) owns a dance skirt made out of eagle and crow feathers from a cave in the Cuyama region of Santa Barbara County.⁵⁸ Anthropologists Albert Mohr and L. L. Sample suggested that the skirt predates Spanish colonization in the Santa Barbara region, but a Chumash artist may have added blue beads to it after the 1780s.⁵⁹ This skirt was part of a sacred bundle, which scholars postulate may have been used prior to the Spanish invasion but was

⁵⁵ R. Louis Gentilcore, "Missions and Mission Lands of Alta California," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51:1 (March 1961): 61.

⁵⁶ Gentilcore, "Missions and Mission Lands," 61.

⁵⁷ A. B. Elsasser, and Robert Heizer, "The Archaeology of Bowers Cave," *University of California Archaeological Survey* 59 (1963): 14-15, 38.

⁵⁸ Grant, *Rock Paintings*, 1-2, 40-41; and Albert Mohr and L. L. Sample, "The Sacred Bundle Complex among the Chumash," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 111:1 (February 17, 1967): 38.

⁵⁹ Mohr and Sample, "Sacred Bundle Complex," 41.

added to after the Franciscans established missions in the Santa Barbara region.⁶⁰ Evidently, this skirt was “connected with the mourning anniversary observances of the eastern Chumash. J. P. Harrington reports that every two to three years the Ventureño and Emigdiano performed the image-burning form of ceremony in late summer for prominent men.” Harrington’s informant, Candelaria Valenzuela, even recalled seeing dancers perform in such skirts in Ventura.⁶¹ Regardless of when eagle feather regalia were used, these examples represent the ongoing significance of eagles in Chumash religion.

Southern California’s first peoples wore feathered headbands and dance skirts in rituals, perhaps even while reciting stories. The Golden Eagle, for instance, played a prominent role in Chumash oral histories.⁶² He is known as *slo’w* or Chief of the First People. In the Chumash tradition, “The Upper World is supported on the wings of the giant Eagle of the Sky. The movements of his wings cause the phases of the moon and the eclipses of both sun and moon.”⁶³ The weaver may have grown up hearing Chumash oral narratives about *slo’w* and saw her elders use eagle feathers in regalia. This might have been the inspiration for her basket’s iconography, which could be tied to another source: the Habsburg coat of arms.

In the sixteenth century, Spaniards introduced the Habsburg eagle to their newly founded viceroyalty of New Spain. For instance, in 1558 a catafalque was constructed in honor of Emperor Charles V in the chapel of San José de los Naturales in Mexico City. Charles V, the

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Mohr and Sample, “Sacred Bundle Complex,” 44.

⁶² Janice Timbrook and John R. Johnson, “People of the Sky: Birds in Chumash Culture,” Paper presented at the 22nd Ethnobiology Conference, Oaxaca, March 10-13, 1999, <https://www.sbnature.org/crc/334.html>.

⁶³ Timbrook and Johnson, “People of the Sky.”

Holy Roman Emperor, had died the previous year in Spain where his body remained. Rather than serving as a support for the emperor's coffin, the imperial catafalque symbolized Charles and the Habsburg dynasty for a New Spanish audience.⁶⁴ Art historian Elizabeth Olton observed that the Habsburg eagle would have appeared several times on the catafalque: on the funerary textile, banners on the first level, and in decorations found on the second level. On the second story image she writes, "This structure would have contained a monumental image of the Imperial, double-headed eagle standing on two orbs that represented the earthly realm and the two worlds: America and Europe."⁶⁵ Although the Franciscans established the first Alta California mission over 200 years following Charles's death, the region remained under Spanish control for fifty-two years until Mexico won independence in 1821. Mexico City may have received the banners that decorated its imperial catafalque directly from Spain. However, that would not have been the case for early nineteenth-century California. In the early 1700s, the Habsburgs had lost power in Spain to rulers from the House of Bourbon, whose coat of arms did not contain an eagle. Whether or not the weaver copied the eagle directly from an image of the Habsburg coat of arms, the eagle likely evoked Spain's legacy in the minds of early nineteenth-century viewers. It could also be connected to Mexican eagle imagery, which first appeared on the national flag during the war of independence in 1821.⁶⁶

The eagle, which appears in the center of Mexico's flag, is based on pre-Hispanic Aztec imagery. For instance, the frontispiece to the Codex Mendoza, a sixteenth-century document,

⁶⁴ Elizabeth Olton, "To Shepherd the Empire: The Catafalque of Charles V in Mexico City," *Hispanic Issues On Line* 7 (2010): 13.

⁶⁵ Olton, "To Shepherd the Empire," 17.

⁶⁶ Enrique Florescano, *La bandera Mexicana: Breve historia de su formación y simbolismo* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1998), 93.

depicts the history of Tenochtitlan's (modern-day Mexico City) founding. "An eagle dominates the center, perched atop a prickly-pear cactus, or *nopal*, that grows from the Aztec glyph for a rock. The eagle stands at the center of a square of turquoise water, with two canals that intersect to form a Saint Andrew's cross. Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec's patron deity, had prophesied that his people would encounter a vision of this eagle when they arrived at the promised land, a small island in Lake Texcoco."⁶⁷ Like the Codex Mendoza frontispiece, the Mexican flag portrays the eagle perched atop a cactus plant while holding a serpent in its beak. After Mexico won independence and claimed control over California in 1821, national leaders may have disseminated images of the coat of arms depicting the eagle. If she made the basket after 1821, the weaver could have seen this symbol or was instructed by her patron to include it in her basket along with the Spanish coat of arms.

Like the artist behind the Codex Mendoza frontispiece, the basket weaver created an object for a non-Native audience using European pictorial conventions while possibly referencing an Indigenous story. The Codex Mendoza frontispiece is accompanied by explanatory text, but the basket is not. So, we can only infer the object's intended meaning. Naturalistic depictions of animals did not appear on baskets until after weavers came into contact with Europeans. Yet, animals were central to Chumash oral narratives and dances. To twenty-first century audiences symbols of the eagle, corn stalks, Spanish coat of arms, and geometric motifs evoke the coexistence of Indigenous and Spanish cultures in nineteenth-century California. People living in the Americas during the viceregal period did not necessarily see

⁶⁷ Diana Magaloni Kerpel, "History Under the Rainbow: The Conquest of Mexico in the Florentine Codex," in *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, ed. Ilona Katzew (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 85.

these cultural mixings as something extraordinary.⁶⁸ So, the introduction of European motifs into Chumash baskets likely did not change the objects' value or meaning within an Indigenous context. The basket with eagle motifs represents a traditional practice that pre-dated Spanish settlement in California. Chumash artists made the baskets discussed in this chapter for patrons interested in California Indian objects. Yet, it seems patrons asked the weavers to include non-Native elements such as signatures in their work. Timbrook argues "that these women were asked to do so shows the high regard in which their art was held."⁶⁹ Why is it that we are still valuing Native American objects by non-Native standards?

California's first peoples regarded basketry long before foreigners showed up -- as indicated by the fact that they gave baskets as gifts to the explorers who arrived in their villages. Some communities even sacrificed baskets as funerary offerings. While travelling along the Santa Barbara Channel, both Fray Juan Crespí and Pedro Fages saw baskets hanging from funerary poles in local cemeteries.⁷⁰ Fages wrote, "If the deceased is a woman, they leave strung on the rod some of the boxes and baskets which she was accustomed to weave."⁷¹ Basket weaving was no simple task and, as Fages's description indicates, weavers were remembered for their work. As Chumash elder Ernestine Ygnacio-De Soto points out,

Although they are sometimes called 'presentation baskets,' these baskets were not necessarily woven as gifts, but rather served as a means of supplementing the weaver's income and supporting her family. Perhaps in developing her artistry,

⁶⁸ Dean and Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents," 5-6.

⁶⁹ Janice Timbrook, "Infinity of Nations: Art and Art History in the Collections of the National Museum of the American Indian," Accessed January 8, 2016, <https://nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/infinityofnations/california-greatbasin/230132.html>.

⁷⁰ Crespí, *Description of Distant Roads*, 393; and Fages, *Historical, Political and Natural Description*, 43.

⁷¹ Fages, *Historical, Political and Natural Description*, 43.

Juana Basilia was able to be relieved of her daily mission work. Also, continuing her craft as a weaver would have allowed her to return to traditional gathering places and practice traditional rituals.⁷²

Weavers like Juana Basilia were possibly excused from other mission duties so that they could focus on weaving. Initially, she would have had to continue weaving upon entering the mission in order to attract the friars' attention to her work in the first place. While it is tempting to argue that basket weaving supplemented a weavers' income, it is doubtful many profited from the sale of their work. That seems unlikely since friars such as José Señán sold baskets to purchase church decorations. By the early twentieth century, however, enterprising weavers finally made a living by selling their baskets to non-Native collectors.⁷³ These baskets, along with those made at the missions are now part of prominent art collections that have been exhibited internationally.

California's first peoples are known for their rich basket weaving traditions, which survived due to weavers' efforts to preserve and revitalize their practices in the face of assimilation. The work of master basket weavers from the missions has even appeared in exhibitions at fine arts museums such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, NY, the Crocker Art Museum in Sacramento, CA, and the San Antonio Museum of Art in San Antonio, TX.⁷⁴ These exhibitions help to reaffirm that California Indian baskets are the products of master

⁷² Ernestine Ygnacio-De Soto, "Infinity of Nations: Art and Art History in the Collections of the National Museum of the American Indian," Accessed January 8, 2015, <https://nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/infinityofnations/california-greatbasin/230132.html>.

⁷³ Smith, "Three Inscribed Chumash Baskets," 64.

⁷⁴ Maria Marta's basket from the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum Collection was exhibited at the Crocker Art Museum during *The Fine Art of California Indian Basketry* in 1996. See Brian Bibby, *The Fine Art of California Indian Basketry* (Sacramento and Berkeley: Crocker Art Museum and Heyday Books, 1996), 9-10. The basket erroneously attributed to Lapulimeu (Figure 23) was displayed as part of the exhibition, *Native Paths: American Indian Art from the Collection of Charles and Valerie Diker* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art from May 7, 1998 to January 2, 2000. See Allen Wardwell, ed., *Native Paths: American Indian Art from the Collection of Charles and Valerie Diker* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 91. Juana Basilia's basket from the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History collection and the Basketry Hat from the British Museum appeared in the travelling exhibition, *The Arts of the Missions*

artistry and they call attention to individual artists such as María Marta Zaputimeu, Juana Basilia Sitmelelene, and María Sebastiana Suatimehue. By naming the artists behind these works, museums are calling visitors' attention to the California Indian artists who are typically overlooked in fourth grade curricula and mission museums. It is my hope that mission museums, like their fine art counterparts, will embrace this shift and give greater credit to the California Indian artists who played a central role in the missions' development. Basketry, like other artworks from the missions, demonstrates the ingenuity California Indian artists exercised in creating objects that appealed to European interests. Thankfully, some weavers signed their baskets so we can figure out who they were and from where they came. Unfortunately, this is not the case for all the artists who worked in the missions.

of Northern New Spain: 1600-1821, hosted by the San Antonio Museum of Art from October 17, 2009 to January 3, 2010. The six known "presentation" baskets and the padre's basketry hat are featured in the exhibition catalogue essay, Jan Timbrook, "Native American Arts in the Spanish Missions: Chumash Basketry," in *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain: 1600-1821*, ed. Clara Bargellini and Michael Komanecky, 327-332 (Mexico City: Antigua Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2009). For a summary of the exhibition, see Michael K. Komanecky, "The Art of the Missions of Northern New Spain," *The Magazine Antiques* (July 2009), accessed June 21, 2016, <http://www.themagazineantiques.com/articles/the-art-of-the-missions-of-northern-new-spain/>. Most recently, from August 17, 2013 to January 7, 2014, the Huntington hosted *Junípero Serra and the Legacies of the California Missions*, which included Juana Basilia's basket from the collection of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. See the gallery guide: Steven Hackel and Catherine Gudis, *Junípero Serra and the Legacies of the California Missions, August 17, 2013-January 6, 2014*. San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2013.

Chapter 4

Chumash Innovations in Sculpture and Architecture

Chapter Three examined the work of three Chumash basket weavers at Mission San Buenaventura who wove their names into baskets. Other California Indian artists who lived at the missions did not sign their work. Neither Spaniards nor Mexicans recorded the names of most California Indian artists who worked at the missions. This chapter will analyze three sandstone sculptures that originally adorned the exterior facade of the old church. Mission documents link these statues and two fountainheads found on the mission's *lavandería* (stone laundry basin) to a Chumash sculptor (Figures 4, 24, 25). These sculptures date to the early nineteenth century when California Indian artists built the current church at Mission Santa Barbara. Though it represents European stylistic influences, this church is the product of mainly California Indian labor and skill (Figure 26). Its exterior neoclassical facade and interior decorations can be linked to designs found in first century B.C. Roman architect Vitruvius Pollio's *The Ten Books on Architecture*. Mission Santa Barbara owns an original copy of the 1787 Spanish edition, so local Chumash artists might have referred to it when building the church in 1815. Formal artistic workshops did not exist in California so California Indian artists likely learned European styles by studying treatises or copying prints imported to the missions from Europe.¹ Mission Santa Barbara's church shows that California Indian artists mastered European artistic conventions.

The second half of the chapter will consider the likelihood that local Chumash artists constructed Santa Barbara's famous tabernacle (Figure 3). This chapter will provide pre-

¹ Neuerburg, "Indian Via Crucis," 330; Webb, "Pigments Used by the Mission Indians of California," *The Americas* 2:2 (October 1945): 141.

Hispanic examples to support the argument that a Chumash artist made the tabernacle and considers the artists' motivations for using local materials in a foreign object.² If California Indian artists did indeed decorate the church and carve the old tabernacle, then these examples demonstrate that Native American artists were capable of mastering European techniques. Not enough credit has been given to California Indian artists for their contributions to the missions. This case study of Mission Santa Barbara aims to underscore the role that California's first peoples played in shaping the missions' iconic appearance. Moreover, it seeks to highlight the adaptability of Indigenous art to European ideas.

Sculpture

Like Chumash weavers who wove baskets with unprecedented patterns to serve new purposes, Chumash sculptors also applied their carving skills to make sculptures for the missions, such as Mission Santa Barbara's *lavandería* animal spouts and its original church facade statues. Mission records and Fernando Librado's accounts confirm that a Chumash artist, Paciano Guilajahicet (nicknamed 'Paisano'), made these sculptures. Anthropologist Travis Hudson suggested in 1977 that Paisano built the *lavandería* and sculpted the three statues that originally adorned the church facade: "The statues of Adam and Eve on top of the roof between the two towers, and also the horse and lion statues of the *pilas*, all still to be seen, were the work of Paisano."³ Evidently, Librado told Harrington that Paisano carved two of the statues adorning the church facade, which he believed represented Adam and Eve. In 1965, Father Maynard Geiger pointed out that there were actually four statues representing Faith, Hope, Charity, and St.

² By *foreign* I am referring to the fact that tabernacles were not objects used in the coastal Southern California Indian belief systems. The Franciscan friars first introduced these ritual objects to California along with the Catholic faith in 1769. Mission records indicate that tabernacles were typically imported rather than made locally.

³ Hudson, "Some John P. Harrington Notes," 16.

Barbara rather than two statues of Adam and Eve.⁴ Therefore, according to Hudson, Paisano carved the three statues of Faith, Hope and Charity. The horse statue to which Hudson referred is yet to be uncovered. However, the lion statue remains in the mission collection. The original statue, in the form of a fountainhead, is currently on view in the mission museum (Figure 27). Twentieth-century replicas replaced the damaged lion and bear fountainheads.⁵ Oddly, Hudson only mentioned a lion, not a bear. Perhaps, Librado also mistook the bear for a horse? In any case, if Paisano carved the entire *lavandería* including its fountainheads, then it appears he was continuing a tradition of stone sculpting that predated the missions. What does this tell us about California Indian agency at the missions? California Indian artists were likely inspired by pre-Hispanic beliefs when they made art and architecture for the missions.

Stone effigies of whales, dolphins, pelicans and bears made before 1769 can be found in the collections of the Fowler Museum, the Bowers Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. These effigies indicate that southern California's first peoples were interested in representations of local fauna. Anthropologist Robert L. Hoover argued in his study of stone effigies from coastal southern California that these objects, which typically represent marine mammals and birds, had ritual significance.⁶ Or, as William McCawley suggests, they may have

⁴ Geiger mentioned that the statue of St. Barbara also stood in a niche on the facade. Unfortunately, it is unclear from Geiger's account if he saw the three statues in person in the 1960s, or this information is based on accounts of witnesses who attended the church's 1820 dedication. Maynard Geiger, O. F. M., *Mission Santa Barbara, 1782-1965* (Santa Barbara: Franciscan Fathers of California, 1965), 47-48; Hudson, "Some John P. Harrington Notes," 19.

⁵ As of 2012, the Santa Barbara Mission museum's object labels stated that the fountainheads are "modern" replicas. Another object label inside the mission museum stated that the damaged stone sculptures were repaired and replicated after the 1925 earthquake. Thus, the replicas were likely made in the twentieth-century.

⁶ Robert L. Hoover, "Some Observations on Chumash Prehistoric Stone Effigies," *The Journal of California Anthropology* 1:1 (Spring 1974): 33, 39.

represented spiritual beings or were used in rituals to channel supernatural powers.⁷ This interest in depicting animals appears to have carried over to the missions, particularly at Mission Santa Barbara. According to the Mission, the *lavandería* bear spout is a replica of the original sculpture that is now on display in the mission museum.⁸ Yet, the “mountain lion’s head forming the south spout ... may be the oldest public sculpture in California.”⁹ Although the existence of mountain lion effigies remains unknown, a rare example of a bear can be found in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 12). Though it measures only H 3 3/8 x W 2 1/4 x D 2 9/16 inches, this effigy’s head resembles the bear waterspout on Mission Santa Barbara’s *lavandería*. Both the waterspout and effigy are abstracted forms that show little detailing, but it is clear they are meant to represent bears. Shallow depressions representing eyes have been carved out on the front of the waterspout bear head (Figure 24), but unlike the effigy there are no shell inlays. Small ears protrude upward from the tops of both heads, which come to a point forming the snout. An incised line marks the bear’s mouth, which opens partially towards the end of the snout on both sculptures. In the case of the *lavandería*, this is where the water would have poured out to fill the washbasin below. Meanwhile, the mountain lion head that appears on the outward facing side of the wall opposite from the bear spout has a wider mouth opening (Figure 25). At one time, water might have drained out of the basin through the spout, contributing to its erosion.

⁷ McCawley, *First Angelinos*, 127.

⁸ The original bear’s head was replaced sometime after 1955. In his publication on Mission Santa Barbara, Kurt Baer noted that the bear’s head waterspout “is so badly cracked and weathered that it is impossible to tell whether it was carved from one or from several pieces.” Baer, *Painting and Sculpture at Mission Santa Barbara*, 209.

⁹ This information comes from Mission Santa Barbara’s explanatory text that, as of 2012, was mounted on the southern end of the *lavandería*.

In 1955, art historian Kurt Baer observed that the original bear's head waterspout was badly damaged.¹⁰ Although the sandstone waterspout was carved in about 1808, it appears to have suffered much greater damage than the Metropolitan Museum's soapstone effigy, which the museum dates from the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries.¹¹ Archaeologists have uncovered effigies in burials and middens where they were protected from erosion. If the Metropolitan Museum's effigy was handled regularly or exposed to erosive elements, it too would show more signs of wear like the bear fountain head. As archaeologist Constance Cameron pointed out, "Since steatite, or soapstone, has a hardness of 1 on the Mohs scale and is easily scratched with a fingernail, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between purposeful and accidental 'decoration'."¹² Likewise, sandstone is a soft stone which coastal peoples carved to make cooking vessels, mortars and pestles.¹³ Cameron even noted that archaeologists have uncovered examples of sandstone effigies in burials.¹⁴ Although we do not know what purpose stone effigies served, some scholars have suggested that they were used as shamanistic talismans or they held special powers for the individuals who owned them.¹⁵

Paisano may have grown up learning about stone effigies and would have been aware of their significance. He may have also carved effigies in his own lifetime since, as Cameron

¹⁰ Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 209.

¹¹ "Stone Bear," Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed May 9, 2017, <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/312617?sortBy=Relevance&ft=chumash+bear∓offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1>

¹² Constance Cameron, "Animal Effigies from Coastal Southern California," *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 36:2 (Spring 2000): 35.

¹³ Campbell Grant, "Island Chumash," *Handbook of North American Indians*. Volume 8, *California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 525.

¹⁴ Cameron, "Animal Effigies," 38.

¹⁵ McCawley, *First Angelinos*, 98; Cameron, "Animal Effigies," 50.

suggests, “fancy effigies were manufactured during Mission times.”¹⁶ It is unclear when the effigy carving tradition ceased. Some sculptors may have continued making them after the Franciscans arrived. The Franciscans, however, may have attempted to suppress this practice. If stone effigies were associated with rituals, then perhaps they were made less frequently as ritual customs declined after missionization. As California Indian stone carving became less frequent after missionization, artists like Paisano found new opportunities to carve objects that evoked ritual traditions and Chumash beliefs.

Publications on stone sculptures and rock art from coastal Southern California connect man-made forms and designs to shamanistic beliefs. However, little attention has been paid to the stone itself. What significance did local minerals such as steatite and sandstone hold for California’s first peoples? Perhaps other cultures’ beliefs can shed light on California Indian practices. For instance, art historian Carolyn Dean has argued that the essence of Andean rocks was sacred to the pre-Hispanic Inca people. “From what we know of Pre-Hispanic Inca visual culture, substance (what an object consisted of, or the materials of which it was composed) superseded surface (what it looked like).”¹⁷ According to Dean, stones did not have to visually resemble a person or thing to embody its essence. Although the Chumash and Tongva carved zoomorphic and nonfigurative stones, the objects may have held greater meaning to them beyond the figure it did or did not represent. In other words, the stone may have served as a reminder of the land from which it was extracted and that California’s first peoples called home.

Stones play a prominent role in Chumash oral narratives, such as “The Making of Man,” recorded in J. P. Harrington’s notes. In the story, the creators of humans discuss how they would

¹⁶ Cameron, “Animal Effigies,” 37.

¹⁷ Carolyn Dean, “Metonymy in Inca art,” in *Presence: The Inheritance of the Prototype within Images and Objects*, edited by Robert Maniura and Rupert Shepherd (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 105.

make people and what they should look like. During their discussions, *Šnilemun* (the Coyote of the Sky), Sun Moon, Morning Star, and *Slozw* (the great eagle) would gather around a white rock. In the story “they all gathered around a beautiful table-like rock that was there in the sky, a very fine white rock that was perfectly symmetrical and flat on top, and of such fine texture that whatever touched it left an exact impression.”¹⁸ In the story, Lizard reaches out and leaves an impression of his hand on the stone. Thus, humans were created with hands like that of the lizard. Petroglyphs found throughout the Chumash region also evoke the shape of Lizard’s handprint upon the white rock in the sky. Like Lizard who left his impression on the rock, early Chumash people left their imprint on the land by physically carving petroglyphs or in some cases reshaping stones altogether by sculpting charms and cooking vessels.

Stone effigies are typically carved out of steatite from local quarries in Santa Barbara County and on the Channel Islands. Mission sculptures carved out of local stone might have reminded Chumash people of their homelands where stone was quarried (e.g., the Channel Islands) as well as the oral narratives they heard in private. If Paisano was indeed the artist who carved the waterspouts, then it is possible that he drew inspiration from the mountain lions and bears roaming the hills surrounding the mission where Chumash men hunted. Or, he may have grown up hearing his elders tell stories about these animals and the shamans who channeled them. In their interviews with J. P. Harrington, Chumash informants such as Fernando Librado Kitsepawit and Ustaquio described men they knew who held positions as bear shamans.¹⁹ Librado was born on Santa Cruz Island around the year 1804.²⁰ He spent most of his youth in

¹⁸ Blackburn, *December’s Child*, 95.

¹⁹ Blackburn, *December’s Child*, 258-260.

²⁰ Blackburn, *December’s Child*, 18.

Ventura and he died in Santa Barbara in 1915. Librado recalled seeing the sculptor Paisano dance at Cieneguitas, near present-day Santa Barbara in celebration of San Francisco de Asís Day.²¹

This Bear Dance at Cieneguitas was merely a part of the celebration of San Francisco de Asís Day, for the chapel there was dedicated to San Francisco. There had been other dances before and after the Bear Dances that day; there were three bear songs during the morning and several during the evening. The dancers were Paisano of Santa Barbara, Carlos of Santa Inés, and Mamiliano of Ventura. They danced both morning and evening.²²

If Librado grew up learning about Chumash shamanism and oral narratives, then Paisano likely did as well. Although he left no written accounts, Paisano's role as a bear dancer is a strong indication that he knew the significance bears held in Chumash society, and was inspired to carve a statue for the mission where he lived. Paisano's bear water spout calls to mind the bear shamans and dancers who performed at the missions, but it may have also held significance within a Christian context. According to art historian George Ferguson, "Bear cubs were believed to be born shapeless, their form being given to them by the mother bear. This legendary act became a symbol of Christianity, which reforms and regenerates heathen people."²³ It would not be surprising if the Franciscans had this in mind when they instructed Paisano to carve the *lavandería*. However, it is impossible for us to know who made the decision to use a bear as the waterspout figure. Regardless, the bear would not have been out of place at a Franciscan institution considering that animals are often associated with St. Francis of Assisi.²⁴

²¹ Hudson, "Some John P. Harrington Notes," 18.

²² Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 83.

²³ George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 1-2.

²⁴ According to Ferguson, St. Francis's attributes are the stigmata, the skull, lily, crucifix, wolf and lamb. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 72.

St. Francis was born in Assisi, Italy in 1181 into a wealthy family. After a frivolous youth, he converted to Christianity and dedicated his life to serving God. In 1210, he started the monastic order named after him -- the Franciscan Order.²⁵ The Franciscan friars likely told stories about St. Francis to California Indians at the missions. They also imported sculptures and paintings of the saint for the mission churches. Art historian Pamela Huckins has identified the main depictions of the saint in the Alta California missions.²⁶ In these examples, the saint wears the Franciscan habit, his head is tonsured, and his hands and feet bear the stigmata of Christ. Statues of the saint show him standing alone, holding the crucifix in his right hand. Paintings of the saint from the late eighteenth through the early nineteenth century show the saint alone in a demure setting, reading from a book either inside or outdoors. Except for a statue and painting in the collection of Mission San Juan Bautista that show the saint with a small bird, animals rarely appear in Franciscan iconography from the missions.

Unlike the doves and lambs that are typically associated with Christ and St. John the Baptist, bears and mountain lions are not prominent figures in Catholic iconography.²⁷ Instead, it is more likely that Paisano drew inspiration from Chumash beliefs when deciding upon the iconography of the *lavandería* fountainheads. This connection to Chumash practices and

²⁵ Edward Mornin and Lorna Mornin, *Saints of California: A Guide to Places and Their Patrons* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009), 69.

²⁶ See Huckins, "Art in the Alta California Mission Churches," 243-250.

²⁷ In Christianity, the bear is associated with St. Corbinian, a bishop who was born in France in the seventh century, and St. Euphemia, a fourth-century virgin martyr from Chalcedon. Both saints lived before the founding of the Franciscan order. The bear of St. Corbinian appears on the coat of arms of Pope Benedict XVI. See Carol Glatz, "Pope drops papal crown from coat of arms, adds miter, pallium," *AmericanCatholic.org*, Accessed February 23, 2016, <http://www.americancatholic.org/News/BenedictXVI/BenedictArms.asp>. For a biography of St. Euphemia, see "St. Euphemia," *Catholic Online*, accessed February 23, 2016, http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=3232; Ferguson also mentions St. Euphemia "who, when thrown to the wild animals in the arena, was worshiped, rather than eater, by the bear." Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 2.

iconographies may or may not have been apparent to the mission friars. Even if the sculptor made the fountainheads to symbolize Chumash beliefs (perhaps as an act of rebellion against Catholic teachings), he also made sculptures that would have satisfied the friars' goals. The Franciscans used art, especially paintings, to teach California Indians about the lives of the saints, Biblical narratives, and Catholic doctrine.²⁸ Evidently, the missionaries also encouraged California Indian artists to make religious art.

As noted, Paisano, the sculptor Librado credited with building the *lavandería* and its fountainheads, also carved Mission Santa Barbara's statues of the theological virtues. The virtues are described in the New Testament: "And now abideth faith, hope, and love. But the greatest of these is charity" (1 Corinthians 13:13). These statues depict female personifications of the virtues that the Franciscan friars likely taught to California Indians at the missions. In addition to the Bible, the mission may have also owned a copy of St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* in which the thirteenth-century saint discussed the theological virtues. Theology scholar Daryl Fisher-Ogden pointed out that *Summa Theologica* would have been one of the main texts the Franciscans brought with them to California.²⁹ If Mission Santa Barbara owned a copy of *Summa Theologica*, the California Indians who lived there may have learned Thomas Aquinas's teachings on the theological virtues. Aquinas raised four questions regarding the existence of the theological virtues, their distinction from the intellectual and moral virtues, how many

²⁸ Serra, *Writings*, Volume I, 221, 223, 225; Junípero Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, Volume II, ed. Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1956), 319, 431.

²⁹ Fisher-Ogden also mentions that Mission San Gabriel has a set of *Summa Theologica* that was printed in 1727 in Barcelona. Yet, he does not include this set in the list of titles in the mission museum collection, only a set published in Lyon in 1903 (p. 48). Daryl Fisher-Ogden, "The Library at Mission San Gabriel Arcangel," (M.A. thesis, San Jose State University, 2005), 21.

theological virtues exist and what order they fall under.³⁰ Yet, he did not attribute faith, hope and charity to the female personifications with which they are associated in western art.

In thirteenth-century France artists depicted the theological virtues as female figures, as seen at the cathedrals of Chartres, Amiens, and Paris (Notre Dame). According to art historian Émile Mâle, “From primitive Christian times the Virtues took concrete and living form, and were conceived as heroic maidens, beautiful and simple.”³¹ Mission Santa Barbara’s sculptures represent the heroic maidens who, like their literary counterparts, are likely the product of a male imagination. The source that inspired Paisano’s depictions of the virtues remains unknown (Figure 4). Perhaps he saw a print portraying them, although he depicted only one of the three statues with her corresponding attributes. Before launching into an iconographical analysis of these statues it is important to examine their historiography and provenance.

In the twentieth century the mission replaced the original statues of Faith, Hope, and Charity with new statues that can be seen on the church pediment today (Figure 28). The original statues attributed to Paisano fell off the church pediment during the earthquake of 1925.³² In 1955, Kurt Baer published photographs of the damaged statues, which have since been restored.³³ Baer claimed that the standing figure with outstretched arms was Hope and the seated figure with the hand resting upon her heart was Faith. Yet, in 1977 Norman Neuerburg identified the standing figure as Saint Barbara and the seated figure as Hope. Both Neuerburg and Travis

³⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (Benziger Bros., 1947) First part of the Second part, question 62.
<http://dhspriority.org/thomas/summa/FS/FS062.html#FSQ62OUTP1>

³¹ Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France, XIII Century, A Study in Mediaeval Iconography and Its Sources of Inspiration* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1913), 98.

³² Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 146.

³³ Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 146-147.

Hudson consulted Maynard Geiger's publications for their own articles on the pediment statues. Neuerburg stated that "the central figure on the apex of the pediment, which most likely represented Faith, had already disappeared by the 1850s when the first photograph was taken of the mission, though it is not known whether it fell or was simply removed."³⁴ Hudson confirmed that a statue was missing in early photographs of the church facade, though he wrote that the central figure of Hope, rather than Faith, was missing (Figure 29).³⁵ So, which statue represents Hope and which statue represents Faith? All four scholars seemed to agree that the seated figure, typically shown on the right, holding a child in her arms is Charity. As Neuerburg claimed, the seated figure on the left with the fish on her lap (only the tail remained on the damaged original) is Hope (Figure 30). Can we be certain though that the standing figure is St. Barbara? Visual evidence may offer more clues regarding which virtues the statues do or do not represent and what role the artist played in their creation.

In both the original and the reproduction, Charity (Figure 31) is seated and holds a child in her arms, which is typical of Christian depictions.³⁶ A statue of Charity appears on Italian sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Tomb of Urban VIII* (1628-37). Bernini depicted a figure who "cradles a child sleeping after a satisfying meal at her breast (originally exposed, now covered) and turns to comfort the hungry baby squalling at her side and reaching up for attention."³⁷

³⁴ Norman Neuerburg, "Indian Carved Statues at Mission Santa Barbara," *Masterkey* 51:4 (October-December 1977): 148; The first photograph of the facade that Geiger identified dates to 1875. In the photo, the central figure is missing from the apex. See Maynard Geiger, *A Pictorial History of the Physical Development of Mission Santa Barbara from Brush Hut to Institutional Greatness 1786-1963* (San Francisco: The Franciscan Fathers of California, 1963), 26.

³⁵ Hudson, "Some John. P. Harrington Notes," 19.

³⁶ Helene E. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography: Themes Depicted in Works of Art* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998), 914.

³⁷ Ann Sutherland Harris, *Seventeenth-century Art and Architecture* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005), 104.

Although the standing child is missing from Mission Santa Barbara's sculpture, it depicts Charity and a sleeping child in her arms. The child reaches up towards the left shoulder of Charity whose breasts are concealed under a dress that flows in folded lines from her neckline towards her feet. Since before the Counter-Reformation European artists frequently depicted Charity holding a child and sometimes surrounded by them. Thus, it is possible that Mission Santa Barbara's artist (presumably Paisano) saw similar images of the theological virtues that inspired his sculpture. However, depictions of the virtues are rare in California missions. Neuerburg found only two representations of the theological virtues: a painted screen at Mission San Francisco de Asís and a drawing on the altar at Mission San José.³⁸ Neuerburg did not seem to think these images were the inspiration for Mission Santa Barbara's statues. Instead, he suggested that the artist referenced an engraved image of the three virtues, but Neuerburg was unable to identify an exact source. Though we may never identify a source for the sculptures, it appears the artist (if he was Chumash) exercised artistic license in depicting the theological virtues.

In the reproduction, Hope remains seated with a slender fish-like creature spread across her lap (Figure 30).³⁹ This may be a barracuda or dolphin, which sometimes appears in depictions of Hope. According to Baer, "The symbolism of the anchor, together with the dolphin -- the anchor is slowness, and the dolphin alludes to speed -- refers to the motto of the happy medium, 'Hasten slowly,' or 'festina lente.' In Christianity, it is a true symbol of salvation and faith. In early Christian art, the anchor was used as a disguised form of the cross as hope -- a

³⁸ Neuerburg, "Indian Carved Statues," 150.

³⁹ In Baer's photographs of the original sculpture, only the fish tail is visible. See Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 146, fig. 97.

symbol of Christ on the Cross (the dolphin and the anchor).”⁴⁰ Sixteenth-century depictions of the theological virtues show Hope with an anchor, but an anchor is missing from Paisano’s sculpture. If Paisano did not have access to prints, then the sculptures may be his own interpretations of the virtues. Moreover, the fish-like figure on Hope’s lap could also be tied to Chumash stone carvings. Marine mammals were common themes of stone charms as well as the subject of Chumash dances and oral tradition.

In his lifetime, Fernando Librado witnessed Island Chumash dancers perform the barracuda dance on the feast day of San Miguel. These dancers wore feathered aprons and painted a design in black and white on their faces.⁴¹ The Chumash not only continued to celebrate local animals through dance after missionization, but they also passed on oral histories in which they played a central role. In the Chumash creation story, the first human woman is born to the Creator Spirit and Dolphin (*Alûlkâi’*), and the first human man is born to the Creator Spirit and Shark (*Anoyâi’ko*). The children of the first woman and man would be the ancestors of the Chumash people.⁴² Possibly to commemorate their ancestors, the early Chumash carved stone effigies in the shape of dolphins and sharks. In 1983, archaeologists uncovered a dolphin-like effigy in a burial at Eel Point on San Clemente Island, which the ancestors of the Tongva people originally inhabited.⁴³ Whereas other stone effigies of dolphins, including one in the Southwest Museum collection (Figure 32), have a pronounced dorsal fin and small mouth

⁴⁰ Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography*, 917.

⁴¹ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 77.

⁴² Monique Sonoquie, *The Beginning of the Chumash* (Santa Barbara: Indigenous Youth Foundation, 1999). Deana Dartt points out that not all Chumash community members accept this version of the Chumash creation story. Dartt, “Negotiating the Master Narrative,” 29. I include Sonoquie’s retelling of the story, told to her by the late Chumash elder Semu Huaute, to give readers an example of the type of Chumash oral narratives that include dolphins.

⁴³ See figure 12.2 in Cameron, “Animal Effigies,” 32.

marked by an incised line, the Eel Point effigy has a flat dorsal fin and a larger mouth (Figure 33). Cameron noted that the effigy has a “sinewy, swimming appearance,” which gives it an elongated rather than curved body as seen in the Southwest Museum example. Could the Eel Point effigy be a precursor to the animal on the statue of Hope? The long incision suggestive of a large mouth is similar to that of the fish-like creature on Hope’s lap. Yet, unlike the latter, the effigy appears to be missing a tail. That is not to say that that statue of Hope is based on this particular stone effigy. Rather, this comparison shows that coastal stone carving was characterized by abstraction and ambiguity. Moreover, the dolphin, which inhabits southern California’s coastal waters, was significant to coastal California Indians, especially the Chumash and Tongva.

Even though Hope holds a dolphin in earlier Christian examples, the animal in Mission Santa Barbara’s sculpture bears a stronger resemblance to a barracuda with its large tooth-filled mouth and long, slender body. If the figure is a barracuda, why would the artist depict it rather than a dolphin? It is possible that the original creature’s head differed from the reproduced version. Today, visitors can see the reproduction at eye level -- it rests on the floor alongside the other two sculptures behind a fence-like barricade in the mission museum (Figure 4). Yet, the original statue was viewable from a distance -- as people entered the church they would see the statues looming above them on the church pediment. From a distance, it is unlikely viewers could see details like the species of fish accompanying Hope. Fernando Librado even confused the two remaining statues with Adam and Eve rather than the theological virtues. Early photographs show that there were only two statues on the church pediment in the late nineteenth century. If the missing central figure represented Faith, as Neuerburg stated, then what happened

to the statue of St. Barbara?⁴⁴ Did this statue remain on the pediment after the third virtue disappeared? Or, if the standing figure is St. Barbara and not Faith, then who carved it? Is it possible that Paisano carved four rather than three sculptures -- Faith, Hope, Charity and St. Barbara?

In the reproduced version, the standing figure's arms are outstretched as if welcoming someone (Figure 31).⁴⁵ Whereas Hope and Charity have shoulder-length hair, this figure has short-cropped hair that is tucked neatly behind her ears, as indicated by the carved lines of her head. Or, could this be a helmet? According to Roberts, "Faith is usually represented as a woman with her respective attributes of chalice, cross, candle, and font. Sometimes she wears a helmet and has the Decalogue at her feet. The open book of the Decalogue represents the Old and New Testaments, the source of learning and maintaining faith. The helmet that Faith wears protects her head, indicating that her mind is protected against the injuries and dangers of false doctrines."⁴⁶ The book of Decalogue, the chalice, cross, candle and font are all missing from Mission Santa Barbara's statue. She may be wearing a helmet, though it seems unlikely. It appears that a hairline rather than a helmet lines the figure's forehead. The absence of identifying attributes makes it difficult to identify the figure. Unfortunately, as Neuerburg noted, few artistic depictions of the theological virtues remain in the mission collections, and no other statues

⁴⁴ Lynn Bremer, formerly of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, concluded that "Faith had disappeared before the first photo of the Mission was taken in 1860's. Hope fell apparently during the earthquake, and Charity and St. Barbara were severely damaged and had to be removed. New statues were made (not copies) to take their places." The new statues she mentions are probably the statues that adorn the church facade today, but not the reproductions on display in the mission museum. "Did the statues of Faith, Hope and Charity at Mission Santa Barbara disappear in 1870? Were they ever returned?" California Missions Resource Center, Accessed February 25, 2016, <http://www.missionscalifornia.com/ate/statues-faith-hope-charity-mission-santa-barbara-disappear-1870-ever-returned>.

⁴⁵ The arms broke off the original statue. See Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 146, fig. 97.

⁴⁶ Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography*, 915.

(except the new ones on Mission Santa Barbara's church facade) are known to currently exist. Thus, we must turn to examples beyond California for comparison.

The figure of Faith that adorns the main facade of the Metropolitan Cathedral of the Assumption of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary into Heaven (*Catedral Metropolitana de la Asunción de la Santísima Virgen María a los cielos*) in Mexico City wears a helmet and holds a cross in her left hand. Manuel Tolsá designed the principal facade in the 1790s as well as the statues of the three theological virtues that still adorn the pediment today.⁴⁷ The facade for the Mexico City cathedral was designed in the neoclassical style, and so were Tolsá's sculptures of the theological virtues. Likewise, Mission Santa Barbara's church has a neoclassical facade (Figure 26).

Beginning in 1815, Father Antonio Ripoll oversaw the construction of the current church at Mission Santa Barbara. Although the construction of the church and its sculptures took place not long after Mexico City's Metropolitan Cathedral, Mission Santa Barbara's statues of Faith, Hope and Charity are quite different. As Neuerburg pointed out, the Metropolitan Cathedral's statues "are based on common iconographic types" and are not stylistically related to Mission Santa Barbara's statues.⁴⁸ Instead, Neuerburg argued that the standing statue "is a copy in stone of the wooden figure of the patron saint which still stands above the main altar of the church."⁴⁹ The polychrome wood statue of St. Barbara has an oval-shaped face like the statue as well as short-cropped hair (Figure 34). She also wears a long dress, with a fitted bodice, flared skirt, and a cape that hangs from her shoulders. Could this be the source for the standing statue?

⁴⁷ Manuel Toussaint, *Colonial Art in Mexico*, trans. and ed. Elizabeth Wilder Weismann (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1967), 411-412.

⁴⁸ Neuerburg, "Indian Carved Statues," 150.

⁴⁹ Neuerburg, "Indian Carved Statues," 151.

Neuerburg's comparison gives credence to the argument that the standing figure is St. Barbara. The polychrome wood statue holds a palm frond in her left hand and a silver monstrance in her right hand. Neither the palm frond nor the monstrance accompanies the stone sculpture believed to represent the saint. At one time objects like these may have rested in the stone statue's hands, which are positioned in similar gestures as the polychrome statue's hands. The fingers of the stone statue's left hand are curled inward so that the thumb and index finger meet, possibly to hold a missing palm frond. The right hand, which is raised higher than the left, also seems positioned to hold something like a monstrance, or possibly a book, which is one of the identifying attributes of St. Barbara.⁵⁰ Even without identifying attributes, her stance, arm gestures and garment are reminiscent of the polychrome statue. The fact that this figure stands upright also sets her apart from the two surviving personifications of theological virtues who are seated. Moreover, early photographs of the church facade show this statue standing in the central niche, where the patron saint would naturally appear.⁵¹ Given this evidence it is most likely that the statue represents St. Barbara. A closer look at the standing sculpture indicates that a second artist may have carved this statue.

When compared to the statues of Faith and Hope, the standing figure appears to be the work of a different artist. The figure's nose is narrower than the other two statues and the outline of the nose curves upward to form the eyebrows; there is no separation of the nose from the brows as seen in the other two statues. Whereas the eyes of Hope and Charity are carved to show the contours of eyelids, the standing figure (henceforth referred to as St. Barbara) has shallow impressions (not incised lines) that merely give the illusion of eyes. Likewise, St. Barbara's

⁵⁰ Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 63. Baer identified the attributes of St. Barbara to be the three-windowed tower, the Book, the palm, and a sword.

⁵¹ See Geiger, *Pictorial History*, 30-31, 40-41.

mouth is small and lacks definition whereas Charity and Hope each have noticeable lips that form a closed mouth. Although Hope and Charity have unique features, they appear to be more closely related to each other than to St. Barbara. Her features are less defined, giving the statue a somewhat abstract quality. If a different artist sculpted this statue, he or she may or may not have been Chumash. Scholars believe the stone statue of St. Barbara was made around the same time as the other two statues (and the missing third statue). So, it is possible that another Chumash stone mason carved St. Barbara. With a population of 1,240 people at the mission in 1815, it is likely that California Indian artists were responsible for much of the construction and decoration of the church at Mission Santa Barbara.⁵² The statues of Hope and Charity, if they were indeed sculpted by Paisano, signify the versatility of Chumash artists' skills. California's mission churches, including the church at Mission Santa Barbara are examples of California Indian artistic ingenuity at work.

Architecture and Decoration

Since its founding on December 4, 1786, four churches have been built at Mission Santa Barbara.⁵³ The architect of the 1815 church remains uncertain, but scholars believe creole architect José Antonio Ramírez may have played a role in its design. Evidently, Ramírez worked at Mission Santa Barbara twice. Schuetz-Miller found his name in the account books, but the dates do not correspond with the construction of the current church. The *Libro de cuentas, 1794-1802* from Mission Santa Barbara notes that "The master carpenter José Antonio Ramírez

⁵² Robert H. Jackson, "The Population of the Santa Barbara Channel Missions (Alta California), 1813-1832," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 12:2 (1990): 270.

⁵³ See Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 27-34. A chapel was constructed in the year of the mission's founding, 1786. The following year a semi-permanent chapel was constructed and then replaced in 1789 by an adobe church. In 1793, a third church was built, but it was destroyed in the 1812 earthquake. Construction of the fourth and final church began in 1815.

contracted to work for the Mission of Santa Barbara beginning Aug. 14, 1800 and ending July 20, 1802.”⁵⁴ The *libro de cuentas 1811-1822* listed Ramírez’s name again on February 9, 1811.⁵⁵ Schuetz-Miller also identified the names of four Chumash craftsmen who worked at Mission Santa Barbara: carpenters Christovál Sulnahuit, Juan Chrisostomo Sulnaichet, Primo José Culuyumchuit and the mason Vicente Lipuyatchet.⁵⁶ Did Ramírez or Father Antonio Ripoll, who supposedly oversaw the construction of the church, train these Chumash craftsmen in European building techniques? Or, did they learn independently by reading artistic treatises? Scholars have suggested that California Indian artists learned from treatises. Yet, I have not uncovered any mission documents that state whether or not California Indian artists at Mission Santa Barbara read or studied from a treatise.⁵⁷ Fernando Librado recalled that Juan Pacífico (Chumash) was the artist who painted the church walls at Mission Santa Barbara and Mission San Buenaventura.⁵⁸ Juan Pacífico was baptized at that mission in 1797 and appeared in San

⁵⁴ Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders*, 85, 195; Baer made no mention of Ramírez. Instead, he argued that “The new church was erected under the supervision of Father Antonio Ripoll, and possibly with the assistance of one Señor Rocha, who had just finished his labors at the San Luis Rey church, and of the master mason Martínez.” Baer gave no evidence to support these claims. Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 34.

⁵⁵ Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders*, 86.

⁵⁶ Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders*, 120-121, 196.

⁵⁷ In addition to *The Ten Books on Architecture*, builders and artists at the California missions may have used other treatises, such as Genaro Cantelli and Francisco Vicente Orellano’s *Treatise of Varnishes and Patent Leather*, which was published in Spanish in 1755 in Valencia, Spain. Edith Webb wrote that the friars at Mission San Gabriel requested a copy of “a book entitled ‘Painting without an Instructor’.” However, as of writing this dissertation I have yet to uncover any information proving that California Indian converts consulted these treatises directly. I would like to thank Dr. Maite Alvarez for bringing the treatise to my attention. For a theory on Indian artists using the treatise, see Webb, “Pigments Used by the Mission Indians of California,” 138.

⁵⁸ Hudson, *Breath of the Sun*, 8.

Buenaventura's 1825 census.⁵⁹ Like his contemporaries, he may have also attained literacy in Spanish, which would have enabled him to read treatises like *The Ten Books on Architecture*. It appears Juan arrived at Santa Barbara around 1825 after construction on the stone church had been completed. Juan Pacífico is the only known California Indian painter associated with Mission Santa Barbara whose name appears in the historical record. However, that does not rule out the possibility that other California Indian artists, including those mentioned above, also decorated the church before Juan's arrival.

If California Indian artists painted the interior of Mission Santa Barbara's church, then it is possible they used a combination of locally derived and imported paints. Studies of the friars' quarters and old church walls at Mission La Purísima uncovered traces of pigments that may be derived from local sources, so it is not unlikely that Mission Santa Barbara's church also bears local pigments.⁶⁰ Librado observed that "Juan would squeeze the meat of the red tuna cactus fruit into some vessel and add the whites of eggs or pitch. He used the tail of a duck or of some kind of animal for a brush."⁶¹ Hudson and Blackburn imply that the red paint was made from the tuna meat. It is possible, however, Juan used the insect that lived on the cactus fruit to make the red paint.

It is unclear if artists in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century California used the red pigment that is derived from the cochineal insect from central Mexico. Native peoples in central Mexico, mainly Tlaxcala, harvested the dye by extracting it from the female insect, which lived on prickly pear cactus plants. Beginning in the sixteenth century, cochineal-derived pigment

⁵⁹ Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders*, 110.

⁶⁰ Edith Buckland Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Los Angeles: Warren F. Lewis, 1952), 233.

⁶¹ Hudson, *Breath of the Sun*, 8.

gained popularity within European markets because of the brilliant red hues it yielded when used to dye textiles.⁶² The central Mexican species of cochineal (*Dactylopius coccus*) that produced the bright crimson dyes, which Europeans craved was not the same insect found in California. However, a related species, the cottony cochineal insect (*Dactylopius confusus* Cockerell) can be found throughout the southern United States and it excretes a “bright crimson color” when crushed.⁶³ This may have been Juan Pacífico’s source for red paint. Chemical analyses will help confirm if artists used insect or mineral derived paints in the missions. Until now, most research on the sources of California Indian paints has focused on mineral-derived pigments.⁶⁴

Red, orange, brown, black and white are the main colors found in Chumash pictographs.⁶⁵ These colors may be derived from local sources. For instance, archaeologists have discovered deposits of red ochre in Santa Barbara County, which the Chumash people may have used before Europeans arrived.⁶⁶ Green, blue and yellow sometimes appear in Chumash pictographs as well.⁶⁷ In a study conducted at the Chumash rock-painting site in San Emigdio, California, archaeologists David A. Scott, Stefanie Scheerer, and Daniel J. Reeves found traces

⁶² Elena Phipps and Nobuko Shibayama, “Tracing Cochineal through the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum” (paper presented at the *Textile Society of America, 12th Biennial Symposium*, Lincoln, NE, October 2010), 2. For an extensive study of the cochineal trade, see Carmen Padilla and Barbara C. Anderson, *A Red Like No Other: How Cochineal Colored the World: An Epic Story of Art, Culture, Science, and Trade* (New York: Skira/Rizzoli, 2015).

⁶³ L. O. Howard, *U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Entomology – Bulletin No. 109* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), 23.

⁶⁴ Hudson and Blackburn, *Material Culture*. Volume V, 180.

⁶⁵ Paul Douglas Campbell, *Earth Pigments and Paint of the California Indians: Meaning and Technology* (Los Angeles: Paul Douglas Campbell, 2007), 43.

⁶⁶ Jon M. Erlandson, J. D. Robertson and Christophe Descantes, “Geochemical Analysis of Eight Red Ochres from Western North America,” *American Antiquity* 64 (July 1999): 521.

⁶⁷ Campbell, *Earth Pigments and Paint*, 43.

of yellow pigments. Through chemical testing, they discovered that the yellow paint used in the San Emigdio rock painting is “a typical iron oxide yellow” or yellow ochre.⁶⁸ They believe that the blue paint found at San Emigdio is actually derived from “a mixture of white with finely ground charcoal black.”⁶⁹ In order to paint using these pigments, artists first would grind it into a fine powder. Then, the pigment would be mixed with a binder that would make the paint adhere to a surface like stone, wood or skin.

Fernando Librado recalled that the Chumash people painted numerous ceremonial objects as well as their own bodies. The *siliyik* was a ceremonial semi-circle constructed out of poles strung together by a cord. According to Librado, “the cord and the poles were painted with red ochre.”⁷⁰ For the Swordfish Dance, the dancer would paint his body with red, black and white paints, and he painted his dancing sticks red.⁷¹ At Mission Santa Barbara, Librado also saw a performance by a Blackbird dancer who had painted his body “black, with tiny spots of red, yellow and white.”⁷² The dancers Librado saw performing at the missions likely used locally derived pigments as well as imported paints.

In his 1782 letter addressed to the fiscal secretary of the royal treasury in Mexico City, Fray Francisco Pangua listed the paints Fray Pedro Cambón brought from Manila to Mission San Francisco de Asís. According to Pangua, case 13 contained “some papers of paints: blue, red,

⁶⁸ David A. Scott, Stefanie Scheerer, and Daniel J. Reeves, “Technical Examination of Some Rock Art Pigments and Encrustations from the Chumash Indian Site of San Emigdio, California,” *Studies in Conservation* 47:3 (2002): 189.

⁶⁹ Scott, “Technical Examination,” 190. Campbell also notes that the blue from San Emigdio was “derived from finely ground charcoal black mixed and closely bound with larger gypsum particles.” Campbell, *Earth Pigments and Paint*, 49.

⁷⁰ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 39.

⁷¹ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 75.

⁷² Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 85.

and yellow, two crates of each color.”⁷³ Materials were likely distributed from San Francisco to the other missions, including Santa Barbara. In his discussion of the church at Mission Santa Inés, Baer noted that the friars requested paints for the missions. Baer wrote:

In the *memorias* of the Santa Barbara archives there are lists of paints requested by the padres between 1797 and 1809. The reds include *almagre* (a red ochre), *vermellón* (vermilion), orange, indigo (which was also used as dye), *cardenillo* (a verdigris green), and purple or violet “ochre,” as well as blues made from copper compounds, these in addition to the colors which were used by the natives.⁷⁴

It is unclear if the friars received the requested paints. To produce the color palette of Mission Santa Barbara’s church interior artists likely used a combination of local and imported paints.

In her study of local pigments archaeologist Edith Webb suggested that California Indian artists referenced Vitruvius’s instructions on how to prepare pigments.⁷⁵ Yet, as Librado inferred, some artists like Juan Pacífico might have also used Chumash techniques to prepare paint at the missions. Even so, the paint that we see today is not representative of the colors originally applied to the church walls. Church leaders restored the church walls beginning in 1926 after the earthquake of June 20, 1925 damaged the mission buildings.⁷⁶ According to Baer, “Some of the original work on the walls at Santa Barbara endured until 1925, particularly in the running borders of fruit and flowers. The remaining designs and areas even before the complete restoration of 1926-1927 were ‘restorations’ of earlier Indian work.”⁷⁷ Baer argued that the only

⁷³ Francisco Pangua, Letter to FISCAL of the Royal Treasury TYP, January 25, 1782, Mexico, Doc 885, Junípero Serra Collection, San Barbara Mission Archive Library, Santa Barbara, CA.

⁷⁴ Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 49.

⁷⁵ Webb, “Pigments Used by the Mission Indians of California,” 140.

⁷⁶ Michael Redmon, “Question: ‘How many times has the Santa Barbara Mission been restored,’ *Santa Barbara Independent*, January 31, 2008, <http://www.independent.com/news/2008/jan/31/question-how-many-times-has-santa-barbara-mission/>.

⁷⁷ Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 49.

elements that remain true to the pre-1925 walls are the marbled pilasters and dado.⁷⁸ The original wall paintings are no longer visible, however, some of the original ceiling decorations survived. Polychrome wood rosettes and stars that adorned the church ceiling prior to the 1925 earthquake are on display in the Mission Santa Barbara museum.

The carved ornaments adorning the church ceiling represent the intersection of California Indian craftsmanship and European design systems (Figure 35). Baer wrote that “the wood carvings and designs on the ceiling are pagan motifs, and winged lightning and thunderbird are Vitruvian and Indian respectively.”⁷⁹ This can be pushed further by considering the reasons why such motifs could be Indigenous. Mission Santa Barbara’s ceiling motif is based on Vitruvius’s drawing, but it is not an exact copy (Figure 36). The feather-like element that appears in Vitruvius’ design may have appealed to the Indigenous interest in plumage. California’s first peoples use feathers in ceremonial headdresses and baskets. The Chumash also adorned poles with feathers for ceremonies like the *Kakunupmawa*, or Sun Festival. Fernando Librado recalled that “In the early morning hours the feather poles were erected. After breakfast, several old men and as many others as cared to go, went out to the hills to erect the feather poles at their customary places. Two of the men carried the feather poles, with the feather bunches nicely tied so as to carry them placed together without ruffling the feathers.”⁸⁰ Condor feathers adorned the poles, which were painted dark vermilion.⁸¹ At the base of these poles people left items belonging to ancestors who had passed away. This was a practice that predated the missions.

⁷⁸ Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 52.

⁷⁹ Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 51.

⁸⁰ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 61.

⁸¹ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 63.

While travelling through the Chumash region, Pedro Fages saw a burial take place in a cemetery marked by painted poles:

When this sort of solemn response is ended, the four ministers take up the body, and all the Indians follow them, singing, to the cemetery which they have prepared for the purpose, where it is given sepulture; with the body are buried some little things made by the deceased person himself; some other objects are deposited round about the spot where the body rests, and over it, thrust into the earth, is raised a spear or very long rod, painted in various colors.⁸²

Fray Pedro Font also saw polychrome funerary poles while travelling along the Santa Barbara Channel during the second Anza Expedition of 1775-76.⁸³ Neither Font nor Fages mention feathers in their descriptions of the poles, but it may be that the feathers had disintegrated. When Librado visited a Chumash cemetery in 1912 he noticed that feathers no longer remained on the only remaining pole.⁸⁴ Feathers are ephemeral materials that disintegrate when exposed to natural elements. By carving feathers in wood that would be protected indoors, the artists at Mission Santa Barbara accomplished something their forebears could not. It may be a coincidence that the thunderbolt designs on the church ceiling have featherlike detailing and that the Chumash used feathers were in ritual settings. Even so, one cannot ignore the parallel aesthetic associations.

Tabernacle

Scholars have long believed that a tabernacle at Mission Santa Barbara may also reflect California Indian ideas. This polychrome tabernacle with shell inlay, which the mission dates to 1786, is on view in Mission Santa Barbara's museum (Figure 37). A Chumash artist may have constructed the tabernacle, but no documentation exists to prove that this was the case. The

⁸² Fages, *Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California*, 43.

⁸³ Font, *Font's Complete Diary*, 253-254.

⁸⁴ Hudson et al., *The Eye of the Flute*, 63.

tabernacle sits on top of a trapezoidal shaped altar table, which some scholars describe as the mission's first altar.⁸⁵ Nowadays the tabernacle sits in front of four columns that support a pediment, but photographs from the 1950s show that this structure was not always displayed with the tabernacle.⁸⁶ Thus, this chapter focuses on the tabernacle and the altar, which can be seen in the mission museum.⁸⁷

Although displayed together today, the tabernacle and altar may not have been made together. The mission museum dates the altar-like table to 1786 and Baer dated both the tabernacle and table to 1789, but no written or photographic documents exist to prove either date.⁸⁸ Moreover, the tabernacle has been attributed to a Chumash artist, but there does not appear to be any information about its maker. It is unclear if an artist made the altar at the mission. It is possible that the tabernacle is a Chumash-made object, but it could be a foreign (e.g., Mexican Indian or non-Native) object.

Chumash laborers built a temporary chapel upon Mission Santa Barbara's founding in 1786. A semi-permanent chapel replaced this structure in 1787, and in 1789 Chumash builders constructed an adobe church.⁸⁹ It is improbable that a Chumash artist would have made a tabernacle in the same year of the mission's founding, or even in 1789. The Franciscans had already established Mission San Luis Obispo in 1772 and Mission San Buenaventura in 1782 and

⁸⁵ Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 138.

⁸⁶ See figures 89 and 90 in Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 139.

⁸⁷ Donald Francis Toomey stated in 2001 that the tabernacle was in the baptistery chapel, which is located on the left (altar facing) side of the church. The chapel is accessible through a door from outside the main church. Donald Francis Toomey, *The Spell of California's Spanish Colonial Missions* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2001), 114.

⁸⁸ Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 140.

⁸⁹ Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 27-34.

the Presidio of Santa Barbara in 1782, so it is possible that a baptized Chumash artist from one of those settlements made the tabernacle, perhaps as a gift for the new mission.⁹⁰ Or, a foreign-born carpenter may have constructed the tabernacle. In 1791, the Mission Santa Barbara hired the presidio's carpenter, who remained there until his retirement in 1803. Then, creole master carpenter Lorenzo Esparza came to Santa Barbara from Mission San Diego in 1804.⁹¹ Esparza was born in Aguascalientes, Mexico (then New Spain) to Spanish parents and he travelled with Serra to San Diego in 1774.⁹² If Esparza or his predecessor had any connection to the tabernacle, then that would mean the object should have a later construction date. Alternatively, the friars may have imported the tabernacle to Santa Barbara from overseas.

In 1781 Fray Pedro Cambón arrived in the Port of San Francisco aboard a ship bringing supplies for the missions and presidios from China.⁹³ On January 25, 1782, Francisco Pangua wrote a letter to the Royal Treasury describing the inventory of the ship that Cambón had returned on the previous year.

No. 3 Case: First a large gilt Tabernacle of wood, filled with silk and paper flowers.

Also 3 lecterns of painted wood, one of fine lacquer from China.

No. 12 Case: First one large painted and gilt Tabernacle of carved wood with its half cane that opens and closes instead of its regular curtain.

No. 13 Case: First a middle-sized wood tabernacle, gilded inside and all carved outside.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builder*, 187. Schuetz-Miller pointed out that California Indians even helped build the Santa Barbara Presidio.

⁹¹ Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders*, 189.

⁹² Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders*, 68.

⁹³ Francisco Palóu, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, ed. Herbert Eugene Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), 197-198.

⁹⁴ Francisco Pangua, Letter to FISCAL of the Royal Treasury TYP, January 25, 1782, Mexico. Doc 885, Junípero Serra Collection. San Barbara Mission Archive Library, Santa Barbara, CA.

The descriptions of these tabernacles do not correspond to Mission Santa Barbara's tabernacle, which is neither gilded nor enclosed with a curtain. Even so, the inventory tells us that tabernacles were being imported to the California missions in the years leading up to Mission Santa Barbara's founding in 1786. In the seventeenth century Asian imports inspired the creation of new artworks in New Spain such as *enconchado* paintings. These works, which typically depicted religious scenes, combined oil paint and inlaid pieces of mother-of-pearl shell, or *concha*. Scholars link these paintings and their frames with inlaid shell pieces to Japanese lacquer objects.⁹⁵ Perhaps imported lacquer wares, like the objects Cambón acquired, also inspired artists in California. Or, a New Spanish artist familiar with the *enconchado* tradition could have made the tabernacle. *Enconchado* paintings can be linked to workshops that specialized in the technique. Examples of the paintings can be found throughout museum collections in the Americas and Europe. Yet, the tabernacle with shell inlay is an anomaly.

As seen with the church at Santa Barbara, the missions only occasionally commissioned foreign artists to work on large-scale projects like murals. Otherwise, local Chumash artists like Paisano made portable objects to meet the specific needs of a mission. It was more cost effective for the underfunded missions to commission local artists to make artworks rather than pay to import art from a master artist's workshop in Mexico City.⁹⁶ Thus, it makes sense that either a California Indian or non-Native artist made the tabernacle at Mission Santa Barbara.⁹⁷ Placing

⁹⁵ Sonia Ocaña-Ruiz, "Enconchado Frames: The Use of Japanese Ornamental Models in New Spanish Painting," in *Asia and Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange, 1500-1850*, ed. Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009), 129.

⁹⁶ Komanecky, "Tabernacle," 326. Michael Komanecky even suggests that the friars were too impatient to wait for a tabernacle to arrive from Mexico City so they went ahead and ordered one to be made locally.

⁹⁷ Komanecky, "Tabernacle," 326.

the tabernacle within the context of California Indian and Catholic ideas helps us to better understand how these cultures converged at the missions.

Archaeological evidence indicates that Chumash artists created objects with shell inlay before foreign goods arrived in modern-day California. Approximately thirty-nine pieces of carved abalone shell appear within four sections of the tabernacle's facade: thirty on the upper pediment, and three on each of the three front panels. An opalescent shell cross and the paint covering the tabernacle's exterior surface may be derived from local materials as well. If the tabernacle was made in California, then the artist could have used the shells of locally available abalone (*Haliotis rufescens*) or other mother-of-pearl producing mollusks.⁹⁸ In the early seventeenth century Fray Antonio de la Ascensión saw that the oysters living in the coastal waters produced pearls. Although they gathered oysters, Ascensión observed that the local Indigenous people did not use the pearls. "I will say that the wealth and abundance of pearls in this sea is very great, a thing which is well known and remarked upon by persons who have coasted along the sea; and they are, indeed, large and beautiful, choice, and very perfect."⁹⁹ Ascensión claimed that these pearls came from oysters. *Ostrea conchaphila* is the species of oyster that is native to the California coast, particularly the central coast, where Chumash people live.¹⁰⁰ Prior to missionization, coastal peoples collected abalone and other mollusks, which were a staple of their diet. They also carved the shells to make beads, fishhooks, and polished pieces to inlay in other objects.

⁹⁸ Gamble, *Chumash World*, 230; Fagan, *Before California*, 175.

⁹⁹ Fray Antonio de la Ascensión, *A Brief Report of the Discovery in the South Sea, by Fray Antonio de la Ascension, 1602-1603* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 2003), 112.

¹⁰⁰ Kent Lightfoot and Otis Parrish, *California Indians and Their Environment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 232.

A few artifacts that are now housed in museum collections show that the Chumash inlaid shell into objects before missionization. The Autry Museum has a “ceremonial wand” made of a whale rib, which is inlaid with an oval-shaped white shell (Figure 38). The whale rib was discovered on San Nicolas Island, which was originally inhabited by the Tongva people. The wand’s original purpose remains unknown, but it may have been used in ceremonies. In 1930, archaeologist Ronald Olson discovered a shaman’s fetish bundle that included “five awl or spatula-like batons with quartz crystals” within the Chumash region.¹⁰¹ The wand in the Autry Museum collection may have been part of a shaman’s bundle like the one Olson found. Little is known about Chumash religion before the Spanish incursion, but shamans may have believed that embedding minerals or shells into baton-shaped objects imbued them with spiritual power. Although early California Indian religious beliefs and practices are challenging to study, it appears from surviving objects that shell was an important material along California’s coast.

This tradition of decorating objects with shell continued after the Franciscans’ arrival in California. Pedro Fages observed the people at Mission San Luis Obispo inlaid stone vessels and adorned their garments with shells. He wrote:

They know how to make very beautiful inlaid mother-of-pearl on the rims and sides of stone mortars, and various other utensils. The women weave nearly all their baskets, pitchers, trays, and jars for various uses, interweaving with the reeds or willows, or embroidering upon them, long, flexible, fibrous roots, which keep their natural color, white, black, or red. They also do the same with shells, and small stones of the same three colors for decorating their cloaks and embroidering the bands of their headgear.¹⁰²

Examples of stone vessels with rims of shell inlaid in asphaltum have survived in museum collections. The Autry museum also owns a “steatite cup” inlaid with nine round shell pieces

¹⁰¹ Ronald L. Olson, “Chumash Prehistory,” *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 28:1 (1930): 19.

¹⁰² Fages, *Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California*, 51.

(Figure 39). In 1878, Léon de Cessac collected the wooden bowl with shell inlaid along its rim, which is now in the Musée de l'Homme collection (Figure 9).¹⁰³

Fernando Librado also recalled seeing ceremonial objects inlaid with abalone shell pieces used during the Harvest Festival celebrated in Ventura. “The procession was led by three boys who grasped with both hands wooden images inlaid with abalone shell representing wind, fire and water. The inlay faced forward as the procession marched. These images were called *tsaqwitii lokapenhes*, and they would not be burned.”¹⁰⁴ No photographs exist of the objects Librado described, but his description tells us that the iridescent abalone shell was not just a decorative material. Even if the artist who made the tabernacle was not Chumash, his or her decision to inlay the tabernacle’s surface with abalone was not arbitrary.

Iridescent materials, particularly mother-of-pearl are also significant to Catholics. In the New Testament Matthew wrote, “Again, the kingdom of heaven is like a merchant searching for fine pearls. When he finds a pearl of great price, he goes and sells all that he has and buys it.” (Matthew 13: 45-46) Matthew refers to a pearl as the symbol of the kingdom of Heaven. The Catholic Church teaches that through Christ’s death, his followers can enter the kingdom of Heaven. The Gospel according to Matthew was written specifically for a Jewish audience with the intention of converting them to Catholicism. The Franciscan friars who set up the California missions would have introduced the Gospel of Matthew to the California Indians who they sought to convert. The tabernacle also bears Christian symbols that were essential to the Franciscan teachings.

¹⁰³ Grant, “Island Chumash,” 515.

¹⁰⁴ Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 48.

Two red hearts appear on the tabernacle's pediment, which signify the sacred hearts of Mary and Jesus. Two open hands flank the sides of the tabernacle's pediment (Figure 3). The "Right hand open" stood for "plenty" and the "uplifted right hand" symbolized "Benediction."¹⁰⁵ The hand on the left side reaches toward a three-dimensional object that appears to represent the column of flagellation, which is typically depicted in scenes of Christ's Passion (see Figure 6a, Station 1, *Via Crucis*, Mission San Gabriel). A cord is wrapped around it to symbolize the rope that tied Christ to the column.¹⁰⁶ This icon of the Passion is appropriate for a tabernacle that houses the Eucharist, which symbolizes Christ's sacrifice. The hand on the right side of the pediment gestures toward a pitcher that symbolizes the act of pouring wine during the moment of transubstantiation, in which the bread and wine become the Body and Blood of Christ during the Catholic Mass. The white cloth (carved in wood) that stretches across the crucifix stands for Christ's Resurrection. Scholars claim the mother-of-pearl cross on the tabernacle's pediment came from the Holy Land, while others argue it consists of pieces of abalone shell.¹⁰⁷ The origins of the cross remain a mystery.¹⁰⁸ In any case, one can see images of the crucified Christ and his mother are engraved on the cross. This cross stands out against the tabernacle's polychrome painted surface.

The artists who made the tabernacle used a colorful palette to paint its wood surface. A light red coat of paint covers the outer edges of the tabernacle as well as the main surface of the

¹⁰⁵ "Notes," c. 1950s, Folder: Mission Santa Barbara – Symbols in Religious art, Kurt Baer Collection, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Santa Barbara, CA.

¹⁰⁶ Baer thought this object was meant to represent the bag "with the thirty pieces of silver" that Judas Iscariot received for betraying Christ (Matthew 26:15). Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 140.

¹⁰⁷ Lee and Neuerburg, "Alta California Indians," 472; Baer, *Painting and Sculpture*, 138.

¹⁰⁸ Lee and Neuerburg claimed that the cross came from the Holy Land. See Lee and Neuerburg, "Alta California Indians," 472.

tabernacle's pediment. The artist created a marbled effect by painting dark red, curving lines against a lighter layer of red paint. Teal colored leaf-shaped carvings adorn the left and right sides of the tabernacle's base and the top edges of the pediment. Teal painted wood moldings frame the mirrors and abalone inlays on the tabernacle's three front doors. Publications on the tabernacle do not identify the pigments used to paint the tabernacle. Fortunately, Komanecky learned that "the red paint, in fact, is oil-based, indicating a European rather than Native technique."¹⁰⁹ Komanecky also noted that the tabernacle is made out of "a northern conifer readily available in the Santa Barbara region."¹¹⁰ The wood in question could be Coast Redwood (*Sequoia sempervirens*), which is the main conifer that grows within California's southern coast region.¹¹¹ The suggestion that the tabernacle is made out of a conifer wood is not surprising considering California's pre-existing wood carving traditions.

Librado noted that the Chumash used driftwood that floated south along the coast from Monterey to create a red cedar box.¹¹² The ceremonial box from the Harvest Festival that Librado described was adorned with shells. No images of this box exist, but based on Librado's description it sounds like a possible precursor to Mission Santa Barbara's tabernacle. Woodworking was not a new trade for coastal peoples, especially the Chumash and Tongva. Yet, Indigenous skills have been downplayed in much of the scholarship on mission art. Komanecky made a crucial observation when he wrote: "Baer's argument for Native participation is based on

¹⁰⁹ Komanecky, "Tabernacle," 326.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Lightfoot and Parrish, *California Indians*, 266.

¹¹² Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 57.

his reasoning that, if unsophisticated, the object must be by a Native.”¹¹³ Baer missed an opportunity to closely explore California Indian artistic ingenuity, and he overlooked possible connections that might be drawn between the California missions’ art and new styles emerging in other parts of New Spain.

Mission Santa Barbara’s tabernacle may not look like other mission tabernacles, and perhaps that was intended. Future studies may uncover similar tabernacles, but that seems unlikely.¹¹⁴ Instead, we should look at the tabernacle as part of a larger artistic movement in which California Indian and non-Native artists produced art using a combination of local and imported materials and techniques. Mission Santa Barbara’s tabernacle is a complex construction that can be tied to Catholic and Chumash symbolic references and local materials. Regardless of who made it, Mission Santa Barbara’s tabernacle is unique and reflective of the new artistic styles emerging in New Spain.

¹¹³ Komanecky, “Tabernacle,” 326.

¹¹⁴ Mission La Purísima Concepción has a similar version of the tabernacle. This is probably a replica made when the mission was reconstructed by the CCC beginning in 1934. For a discussion of its reconstruction, see Christine E. Savage, *New Deal Adobe: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Reconstruction of Mission La Purísima, 1934-1942* (Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1991).

Chapter 5

California Indian Identity and Mission Paintings

Chapter Four illuminated sculptures and decorative arts that can be linked to Chumash artists and pre-existing Indigenous traditions. It is possible that Chumash and other California Indian artists also produced portable canvas paintings at the California missions, but their signatures do not appear on the paintings that survived in the mission collections. California Indians did not have a pre-existing tradition of producing portable paintings nor did they depict anthropomorphic subjects, thus it is difficult to identify pre-1769 Indigenous precedents for canvas paintings at the missions. Even so, religious paintings in the collections of Missions Santa Inés and San Gabriel have been linked to California Indian artists. This chapter questions assumptions about the paintings and the lack of evidence to support the claims that California Indian artists made them. Rather than attempting to attribute these paintings to a particular artist or artists, this chapter examines their iconography. Were the artists responding to current trends in painting? How do these paintings relate to other works produced in early modern New Spain? Through close visual analysis of the paintings and comparison with artworks made in other parts of New Spain, this chapter suggests that the paintings of Saint Raphael the Archangel at Mission Santa Inés and the Stations of the Cross at Mission San Gabriel reflect trends in early nineteenth-century art-making practices on the northern periphery of New Spain. Moreover, it argues that artists across ethnic groups worked in similar styles, thus visual evidence is not proof of an artist's ethnicity.

The Challenges of Attribution

The names of most Indigenous artists who worked in New Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are missing from the historical record. California Indian artists rarely signed their work and mission administrators typically left these artists' names out of written documents. Why did California Indian artists rarely sign their work? Is it possible to determine the identity of an artist in the absence of a signature? Instead of searching for the artist's identity or ethnicity, art historians ought to focus on the information available. First, it is important to point out the reasons why so little is known about Indigenous artists who lived in viceregal New Spain.

Art historian Patricia Rubin pointed out that the European practice of signing one's work "goes back to the monastic tradition."¹ Scribes signed their manuscripts because they were meant as offerings to God, rather than as proud claims to authorship. By the fifteenth century Italian artists began to sign their work to authenticate and market their work.² By the time Europeans arrived in the Americas in the fifteenth century artist signatures were an established practice in western Europe. Artists who trained in Mexican art schools and who practiced in workshops sometimes signed their work. Unfortunately, little research has been conducted on the history of artists' signatures in New Spain. In 1953, Abelardo Carillo y Gariel examined the signatures of painters who worked in New Spain. With Manuel Toussaint's assistance, Carillo y Gariel compiled a list of colonial painters, the dates and places when and where they worked, and any

¹ Patricia Rubin, "Signposts of Invention: Artist's Signatures in Italian Renaissance Art," *Art History* 29:4 (September 2006): 567.

² Rubin, "Signposts of Invention," 570.

bibliographical references to each artist.³ Scholars, like Carillo y Gariel, who study signatures typically focus on issues of authenticity, rather than the reasons why New Spanish artists did or did not sign their work.

Patronage may be a factor that determined if an artist would sign his work. Friars typically commissioned artists to paint murals for New Spain's churches where they functioned as didactic images for Indigenous converts.⁴ Therefore, the friars did not place attention on who painted these works, but rather on the lessons they conveyed. Even if they did not sign their work, friars outside of California sometimes recorded the names of artisans in mission account books and letters. Archival documents have also helped to answer questions regarding the artists' behind New Mexico's hide paintings.

In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, New Mexican artists painted religious and secular scenes on buffalo, elk, and deer hides.⁵ By studying archival documents, art historian Kelly Donahue-Wallace learned that hide paintings hung in both American Indian and Spanish churches and that Spanish patrons commissioned hide paintings with religious imagery. The hide paintings typically depict subjects of Franciscan devotion, such as the Virgin and the Crucified Christ.⁶ Donahue-Wallace argued that hide painters drew inspiration from prints imported to New Mexico from Europe and New Spain. These prints "appear in church inventories as well as

³ Abelardo Carillo y Gariel, *Autógrafos de Pintores Coloniales* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1972).

⁴ For information on didactic murals in southwestern Mexico, see Jeanette Favrot Peterson, *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco: Utopia and Empire in Sixteenth-century Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).

⁵ Ned Blackhawk, "Toward an Indigenous Art History of the West: The Segesser Hide Paintings," in *Contested Spaces of Early America*, ed. Juliana Barr and Edward Countryman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 294.

⁶ Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "The Print Sources of New Mexican Colonial Hide Paintings," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 18:68 (1996): 46.

private wills.”⁷ Although she identifies European prints as the sources for the hide paintings’ iconographies, Donahue-Wallace did not argue that certain paintings look more European or Indigenous. Instead, she looked for specific characteristics that represent individual artists’ styles such as the rendering of human faces, proportions of the human body, and the complexity of the painted scenes.

The names of the painters are unknown, but Donahue-Wallace attributed specific hides to individual artists who she identified with names such as the “Wavy Hem Painter.” This is a method that scholars of Renaissance art use to name anonymous artists. Italian art historian Giovanni Morelli instituted this method in the nineteenth century. Morelli believed art studies depended on two conditions: observable attributes and documentation.⁸ Morelli was interested in visual details that represented the individual artist’s hand at work in a painting. Morelli’s method may be useful in determining if more than one artist worked on a project at the missions. Visual details, however, are not sufficient evidence to determine an artist’s race. Therefore, scholars like Donna Pierce have turned to written documents for more information on the hide painters.

Pierce described New Mexico’s hide paintings as “the earliest documented form of bicultural art in New Mexico.”⁹ The Plains Indians first introduced hide tanning to New Mexico, where the practice continued after the Spanish invasion. Archival documents indicate that Indigenous, *mestizo*, and Spanish artists made hide paintings in the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Like Donahue-Wallace, Pierce noted that hide paintings appeared in churches attended by the Pueblo

⁷ Donahue-Wallace, “Print Sources,” 52.

⁸ Richard Wollheim, *On Art and Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974; reprint 1983), 180.

⁹ Pierce, “Hide Paintings in New Mexico,” 138.

¹⁰ Pierce, “Hide Paintings in New Mexico,” 141.

Indian as well as Hispanic and *mestizo* communities. The archival evidence Pierce uncovered has reshaped our assumptions about the racial identities of hide painters. Even though New Mexico's hide paintings have roots in Native American traditions, they are not exclusively the product of Indigenous craftsmanship. Meanwhile, scholarship on the choir loft paintings in the church at Tecamachalco in Puebla, Mexico proves that what was long believed to be the work of a European artist, can be linked to an Aztec painter.

Early academics assumed that Juan Gerson, the artist who painted the choir loft ceiling at Tecamachalco, must have been Flemish because of the similarities between his work and European imports.¹¹ In 1962, scholars found Juan Gerson's name listed in the *Anales de Tecamachalco*, which proved that he was an Indigenous artist.¹² Gerson likely belonged to the one of main Aztec families in Tecamachalco, and he may have even been related to the local chief.¹³ As a high-ranking member of the Aztec community, Gerson possibly received formal training at the nearby art school, San José de los Naturales in Mexico City. However, no source explains where Gerson studied. Art historian Jeannette Peterson has suggested that the Franciscans sent the children of the Aztec elites to art schools in Mexico City (San José de los

¹¹ Xavier Moyssén observed that in 1932, Mexican art historian Manuel Toussaint argued that the color scheme Gerson used in the choir loft at Tecamachalco indicated that he was Flemish. Then, in 1948 George Kubler claimed that Gerson's name and work were characteristic of Northern Europe. Kubler even identified similarities between the choir loft paintings and illustrations in the Wittenberg Bible. Xavier Moyssén, "Tecamachalco y el pintor indígena Juan Gersón," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* IX:33 (1964): 23-39.

¹² Rosa Camelo Arredondo, Jorge Gurría Lacroix, and Constantino Reyes Valerio, *Juan Gersón: tlacuilo de Tecamachalco* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Departamento de Monumentos Coloniales, 1964). *Tlacuilo* is the Nahuatl word for artist or scribe. María Elena Landa Ábrego and Juan Gerson, *Juan Gerson, tlacuilo* (Puebla: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, Comisión Puebla V Centenario, 1992).

¹³ Moyssén, "Tecamachalco y el pintor," 29.

Naturales) and Tlatelolco (Santa Cruz) where they learned European artistic techniques.¹⁴

Historian Rosa Camelo Arredondo also considered the possibility that the mendicants taught painting skills to the local Aztec peoples at the monasteries.¹⁵ Therefore, Gerson and his contemporaries might have trained in European traditions either at one of Mexico's art schools or at Tecamachalco. In any case, Juan Gerson's work demonstrated that Indigenous artists were capable of working in both Native and European traditions.

The discoveries made about Juan Gerson's work and the New Mexican hide paintings demonstrate that visual evidence is not proof of an artist's ethnicity. Indigenous artists throughout New Spain followed the friars' instructions to create murals, paintings and architectural ornament that resembled European antecedents. Native American and non-Native artists also adopted new artistic styles that combined diverse cultural traditions and techniques.

Painting in California

Unlike New Mexico, where *santeros* produced artworks in workshops for private patrons, formal painting workshops did not exist at the California missions. So, the friars imported artworks from Mexico, Europe, and Asia. For instance, on June 20, 1771, Junípero Serra wrote to Father Rafael Verger in Mexico City asking for paintings of the patron saints of missions San Luis Obispo, San Antonio de Padua, Santa Clara, and San Francisco de Asís. In his request, Serra gave specific notes as to how the saints should appear in the paintings. For the painting of San Luis Obispo, Serra asked that the saint appear "with his episcopal insignia, showing below the level of his rochet, the Franciscan habit and cord plainly to be seen, a mitre on his head, the

¹⁴ Peterson, *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco*, 50.

¹⁵ Camelo Arredondo et al., *Juan Gerson*, 46.

cope decorated with flowers, and his royal crown and sceptre at his feet.”¹⁶ San Antonio de Padua should be “attractive in appearance, and, above all, with the Infant Jesus.” Serra noted that Santa Clara should be depicted “with her Franciscan habit, and her veil, not as nuns here wear it, but falling on the shoulders, as she is painted in Europe.” Finally, Saint Francis of Assisi should be shown “receiving the stigmata, or as Your Reverence may prefer, so long as they do not paint him in blue.”¹⁷ Baer pointed out that the Franciscans from the College of San Fernando in Mexico City wore gray instead of blue habits, which is why Serra wanted artists to portray the Franciscan saints in the same color that the missionaries in California wore.¹⁸ Depictions of the Franciscan habit varied due to a lack of uniformity regarding the color, which ranged from gray, brown, or blue.¹⁹ Serra’s specifications indicate his concern that the saints be depicted so as to remind the California Indian converts of the friars instructing them. Each time Serra and his successors established a new mission they named it after the Franciscan saint whose feast day coincided with the event. The portraits Serra requested commemorated these saints who represented the Franciscan order, but also served to introduce the faith to California Indian audiences. Thus, it was imperative that the patron saint of each mission appear with his or her attributes. Each time converted California Indians attended mass in the mission churches they would have seen the paintings of the saints who represented ideal Catholics. The paintings also

¹⁶ Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*. Volume I, 221.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Kurt Baer, “Spanish Colonial Art in the California Missions.” *The Americas* 18:1 (July 1961): 44n26.

¹⁹ Raphael M. Huber, O. F. M. *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order (1182-1517)* (Milwaukee and Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of American, 1944), 669; and Gloria Fraser Giffords, *Sanctuaries of Earth, Stone, and Light: The Churches of Northern New Spain, 1530-1821* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007), 257.

may have served as models for California Indian artisans who created religious art for the missions.

Serra's letters suggest that he was aware of the current trends in religious art of the eighteenth century. Although the California missions operated on limited funds, Serra requested artworks by famous artists. In a letter addressed to Father Francisco Pangua on August 22, 1775, Serra requested that the Mexico City painter José de Páez or another master artist paint a portrait of San Juan Capistrano.

As to Saint John Capistrano's picture that has to be painted for his mission, may I ask Your Reverence that it should not be painted by any kind of painter, of the *alcaysería* -- I think that is the way it is called -- and his habit should not be blue, as in other pictures which have come here. But they should find a good engraving and have Páez paint it, or some other good artist.²⁰

Serra specifically requested that a master artist such as José de Páez depict the Franciscan saint Juan Capistrano. Serra's request was fulfilled. Páez's painting of the saint now hangs in the Serra chapel at Mission San Juan Capistrano.

José de Páez (c. 1720-1801) was a Mexico City-based painter known for his religious artworks and paintings of New Spain's mixed-race castes or *castas*. Ten of his paintings can be found amongst the California mission collections today.²¹ The mission collections also include artworks attributed to prominent New Spanish artists such as Juan Correa, Cristóbal de Villalpando, and Antonio Torres.²² Along with Páez, these artists' works reflected then-current

²⁰ Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*. Volume II, 319.

²¹ This information is based on the paintings attributed to Páez in Pamela Huckins's 2011 dissertation. Huckins, "Art in the Alta California Mission Churches." For a close study of paintings in the California missions attributed to Páez, see Cynthia Neri Lewis, "Serra's Painter: José de Páez," *Boletín: Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* 29:1 (2013): 79-98.

²² Mission San Gabriel has paintings by Juan Correa (*Saint Ursula and Companions*, seventeenth century), Cristobal del Villalpando (*Saint John the Baptist's Head on Platter*, eighteenth century), Antonio Torres (*Saint Joseph and the Christ Child*, 18th c.), and Pedro Vegas (*Virgin Sleeping*, eighteenth

trends in religious painting. Art historian Cynthia Neri Lewis has identified qualities within Páez's paintings that "are typical of Mexican Rococo paintings from the late 18th-century."²³ Though little information is known about Páez's life, his style is evocative of master artists, like Miguel Cabrera (1695-1758), who trained in Mexico City's workshops.²⁴ Páez likely studied in an academy or perhaps in the workshop of New Spanish artist Nicolás Enriquez.²⁵ Serra would have been proud to own paintings by professionally trained artists like Páez, thus elevating the status of the missions' collections. Owning art made by master artists was prestigious for religious institutions. Art historian Clara Bargellini observed that "The Franciscans followed the Jesuit practice of giving greater preference to imported pieces in certain genres, such as painting on canvas and polychromed and gilded sculptures."²⁶ The Franciscans even used art from the abandoned Jesuit missions of Baja California to adorn the early mission churches of Alta California. In addition to importing portable artworks, the friars commissioned foreign artists to paint murals for the missions. The absence of guild regulations in California may have contributed to the lack of resources for California Indian artists to gain equal footing with their

century). For information on Juan Correa see Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Repertorio de Artistas en Mexico: Artes plásticas y decorativas*. Tomo I (Mexico: Grupo Financiero Bancomer, 1995), 286. For information on Antonio Torres and Cristobál de Villalpando, see Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Repertorio de Artistas en Mexico: Artes plásticas y decorativas*. Tomo III (Mexico: Grupo Financiero Bancomer, 1997), 340, 388.

²³ Lewis, "Serra's Painter," 81.

²⁴ Lewis, "Serra's Painter," 80; Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 21.

²⁵ Tovar de Teresa, *Repertorio de Artistas en Mexico*. Tomo III, 26; Lewis, "Serra's Painter," 80.

²⁶ Bargellini and Komanecky, *Art of the Missions of Northern New Spain*, 87.

non-Native counterparts. The Franciscans treated California Indians as disposable laborers rather than accomplished master artists.²⁷

According to art historian María Concepción García Saíz the *Ordenanzas* of 1557 provided a set of statutes for the guilds to follow in New Spain. She noted that “the *Ordenanzas* required that an artisan exercise his own trade exclusively, in accordance with the statutes stipulated therein,” but artists infrequently complied with these regulations.²⁸ She also adds that clients commonly gave specific instructions to artists as to how they wanted artworks executed. Native American and non-Native artists received formal training in European techniques at workshops and art schools such as the college of San José de los Naturales in Mexico City.²⁹ A 1686 ordinance even prevented Native American artists from producing images of the saints without passing an examination.³⁰ These restrictions did not appear to apply to California Indian artists.

Schuetz-Miller suggested that an informal guild system for masons, blacksmiths and carpenters might have existed in California.³¹ Yet, no extensive study has been conducted regarding guilds for painting and sculpture in Alta California in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the absence of formal guilds, it is unlikely that California Indian artists would have been held to the same standards and regulations as their counterparts in Mexico City.

²⁷ Madley has written, “After stripping California mission Indians of substantial rights, Spaniards forced many of them into unfree labor.” Madley, *American Genocide*, 27.

²⁸ María Concepción García Saíz, “Artisans and Artists in Ibero-America from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Arts in Latin America 1492-1820*, ed. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 90-91.

²⁹ García Saíz, “Artisans and Artists,” 93.

³⁰ See Toussaint cited in Lewis, “Serra’s Painter,” 80.

³¹ Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders*, 38.

Further research may uncover information regarding guilds for the fine arts as well as the training of California Indian artists. However, currently published research indicates that no California Indian artists attended Mexico City's art schools.³² This may explain the emergence of new artworks at the missions that diverged from mainstream eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century styles.

San Rafael

A painting of Saint Raphael the Archangel in the collection at Mission Santa Inés has a distinctive appearance that some scholars have attributed to a Chumash artist (Figure 40).³³ Visual analysis shows, however, that there was no precedent for this painting style in Chumash culture. Moreover, my investigations of archival documents, including mission inventories, letters, and questionnaires, did not yield any evidence that links the painting to a Chumash artist. Can we interpret the saint's unique depiction as a reflection of the artist's ethnic identity? What does this painting tell us about California's connection to the rest of northern New Spain? A comparison of the Saint Raphael painting with *santero* (saint making) art highlights the

³² The only California Indians known to receive a formal education (based on western standards) outside of California during this period were Pablo Tac and Agapito Amamix, both Acjachemen Indians of Mission San Luis Rey.

³³ Holway, *Art of the Old World*, 104; Abbott, *Santa Inés Hermosa*, 67; Baer, "California Indian Art," 34; Kurt Baer, *Treasures of Mission Santa Inés* (Fresno: Academy of American Church History, 1956), 227-228; Kristina W. Foss, "Preserving the Native American Artistic Legacy in the California Missions," *Boletín: The Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* 23:2 and 24:1 (2006/2007): 78; Norman Neuerburg, *Saints of the California Missions: Mission Paintings of the Spanish and Mexican Eras* (Santa Barbara: Bellerophon Books, 2001), n.p.; and Kimbro and Costello, *California Missions*, 137. Haas notes that "the image of the Archangel Rafael appears in the final inventory of goods at Mission Santa Inés in 1845 with the reference 'painted by an Indian' (*pintado por indio*)." And she cites the inventory as: Ms. 89/95, Inventario – Cuentas de los bienes, 24 January 1846, Mission Santa Inés, Miguel Cordero, SBMA. See Lisbeth Haas, *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexico California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 85-90n21. I consulted documents at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, the Bancroft Library, and the Special Collections of the University of Southern California and I was unable to find this reference in the inventories for Mission Santa Inés.

possibility that New Mexican workshops sent art to the California missions in the early nineteenth century. Moreover, this chapter considers the possibility that the artist responsible for the Saint Raphael painting was aware of current paintings trends in northern New Spain.

In 1804 Father Estévan Tapis founded Mission Santa Inés, the nineteenth mission in Alta California. By 1825, California Indians, mainly Chumash, rebelled against Missions Santa Inés, Santa Barbara, and La Purísima in response to the oppression of local culture and the violence they faced at the hands of Mexican soldiers.³⁴ Historian James Sandos pointed out that despite the Franciscans' missionizing efforts, the Chumash people fought to maintain their customs and languages. Seeing that California Indians often fled the missions, the friars allowed converted Indians to visit their home villages and routinely encouraged unconverted Indians to enter the missions to increase the mission population and replace the thousands that died in the missions. Thus, as Sandos noted, "these people could and did retain old cult ritual and encouraged traditional Chumash behavior."³⁵ On the feast day of Saint Michael the Archangel, Fernando Librado witnessed a boy's Catholic baptism and Chumash naming ceremony at Mission Santa Inés.³⁶ Although the celebration took place on the archangel's feast day, it does not appear that this saint or the other archangels were especially popular amongst California Indians nor within their art. *Bultos* (wooden statues) of Saint Anthony of Padua at Asistencia San Antonio de Pala and Saint Benedict at Mission San Carlos Borromeo are the only other portraits of saints that the mission museums attribute to California Indian artists. These objects may be related to the Saint

³⁴ Sandos, "Levantamiento!" 109-133.

³⁵ Sandos, "Levantamiento!" 114-115.

³⁶ Hudson, *Breath of the Sun*, 130.

Raphael painting, which is possible since California Indians exchanged art as they moved throughout the state. However, further investigation is required to make such a connection.

Each mission typically owned a painting of its patron saint. So, why would a mission named after a female martyr own a painting of one archangel? Was Saint Raphael significant to the Chumash people? The portrait of Saint Raphael that now hangs in the mission museum does not appear in any of the photographs of the church interior from the early 1900s.³⁷ Without knowing where the painting was originally displayed, it is difficult to gain a sense of how it was perceived by different audiences. Though mentioned in publications beginning in the early twentieth-century, the painting lacks a provenance record that would explain its origins. No mission inventory states when the painting was made nor where it was originally displayed at Mission Santa Inés. The painting is absent from early church photographs (Appendix A). Thus, it is possible that the painting never hung in the church. Even so, the painting must have arrived at the mission no later than 1922 when state chairman of the art department of the California Federation of Women's Clubs Mary Gordon Holway first mentioned it in a publication on the missions.³⁸ While the painting's provenance remains a mystery, its iconography can be linked to an Old Testament narrative.

In 1730 Spanish theorist Juan Interián de Ayala published *El pintor cristiano, y erudito*, which outlined the Inquisition's mandates regarding representations of religious subjects in art. In the section on Saint Raphael, Interián de Ayala stated that a large fish should hang from a

³⁷ Photographers C. C. Pierce, G. P. Thresher and unidentified photographers photographed the mission grounds and church interior in the early 1900s. The painting of Saint Raphael does not appear in any of these photographs. See Appendix A for photographs.

³⁸ The painting first appeared in print in 1922. See Holway, *Art of the Old World*, 104. For biographical information on Holway, see "California Bookshelf," *The California Alumni Monthly* 15:6 (September 1922): 203.

string held in the saint's hand, though he did specify which hand.³⁹ In the Book of Tobit, Saint Raphael accompanies Tobias on a journey to find the remedy that would cure his father's blindness (Tobit 5-6). In the story a large fish leaps out of the Tigris River, and Raphael tells the boy to save the fish's gall to cure his father's cataracts. Thus, images of the archangel typically depict Raphael carrying a fish, either on a string or under his arm. In Mission Santa Inés's painting, the archangel holds a large fish under his left arm. The right forearm stretches down across the left side of the angel's ribcage to hold the fish in place. His left hand reaches out, holding the typical pilgrim's staff associated with archangel Raphael. The fingers wrapped around the staff are visible, but the arm is disguised under a cape-like garment that flows out from his neck. As he extends his arms to hold these two objects, the angel's wings appear to rise from behind his shoulders, which are covered by the large cape. The wings seem to be in motion, but the rest of the saint's body remains still as he stands in the center of the canvas, occupying nearly the entire space. He wears red boots on his feet, which seem to float within a cloud at the bottom of the scene. Both legs are turned towards the left side of the canvas, but his torso and head face out towards the viewer with a stern expression on his face.

Few images of California's first peoples exist from the early nineteenth century (when the painting was supposedly made) by which to compare the saint's likeness. In 1816, German-Ukrainian explorer Louis Choris travelled along the coast of California. During his visit to San Francisco Bay he visited the presidio and mission where he observed the Ohlone peoples living there. He described the food they ate and the activities that they performed. He also witnessed men performing in their traditional regalia, which he described:

³⁹ "La segunda es, que quando se pinta solo al Arcangel S. Rafael, le pintan como victorioso con el pez pendiente de su mano." Juan Interián de Ayala, *El pintor christiano, y erudito: ó tratado de los errores que suelen cometerse frequentemente en pintar, y esculpir las imágenes sagradas* (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1782).

On Sunday, when the service is ended, the Indians gather in the cemetery, which is in front of the mission house, and dance. Half of the men adorn themselves with feathers and with bits of shell that pass for money among them, or they paint their bodies with regular lines or black, red, and white. Some have half their bodies (from the head downward) daubed with black, the other half red, and the whole crossed with white lines. Others sift the down from birds on their hair.⁴⁰

Choris even drew scenes depicting the peoples he saw in San Francisco (Figure 41). In a scene recorded during his voyage, Choris portrayed Ohlone men with dark shoulder-length hair. The dancers in the foreground wear headdresses adorned with feathers. They are shirtless and some wear skirts or loincloths. Several of the men hold long sticks while they crouch in a dancing position. One might notice parallels between these figures and Saint Raphael, such as the staff in the right hand, headgear, skirt-like garments and dark hair. The saint may be modeled after California's first peoples, but he has exaggerated and flattened features. Even if he made sketches from live models, Choris's drawings may not be accurate depictions of real people.

Choris's image shows men from the San Francisco region, not the Chumash. Spanish artist José Cordero and German-Russian naturalist Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff also produced drawings of California Indians during their visits in the 1780s-90s and 1800s, respectively (Figure 13). Their drawings depict Rumsen and Ohlone Indians at Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Cordero) and Mission San José (Langsdorff), which are located north of Mission Santa Inés and the Chumash region. The earliest depictions of Chumash peoples appear in photographs taken in the late 1800s by French archaeologist Léon de Cessac.

A Cessac photograph from 1878 portrays a Chumash man wearing a headdress and dance skirt made of milkweed fiber and eagle down (Figure 42).⁴¹ The man in the photograph was

⁴⁰ Choris, *San Francisco One Hundred Years Ago*, 9-10.

⁴¹ F. F. Latta, *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* (Oildale: Bear State Books, 1949), 203.

probably Rafael Solares who worked with Cessac during excavations in Santa Ynez.⁴² Solares was known to be a dancer and possibly an *zantap* initiate. Even though Solares appears to wear traditional ceremonial attire, he cannot possibly represent all Chumash men, especially those who lived at Mission Santa Inés in the 1820s when the Saint Raphael painting was supposedly made.⁴³ Chumash men might have dressed in this manner in the 1820s, but there is no precedent for such depictions by Chumash artists. When human figures appear in pre-1769 California Indian art their features are abstracted rather than naturalistic (Figure 43).⁴⁴ Artist and anthropologist Campbell Grant identified a rock painting in the Chumash region, which offers the only depiction of human figures in profile riding horses.⁴⁵ Yet, human figures did not appear with frequency in southern California Indian art until after European settlement.

It is tempting to argue that the fish represents a Chumash zoomorphic stone effigies, but surviving pre-1769 examples are typically small, no larger than an adult hand. The fish in the Saint Raphael painting appears life-size. The head of this dark green specimen has a large eye and gill slit, similar to that of trout or salmon. A dorsal fin appears to peek out from behind the archangel's arm that cuts across the fish's body at a diagonal angle. Its slender body ends in a tail, like that of a trout. If the painting was made at Mission Santa Inés, then it is possible that the artist had local fish species in mind when depicting this particular fish.

⁴² Thomas Blackburn, "Further Information on the de Cessac Photograph," *The Journal of California Anthropology* 2:1 (1975): 127.

⁴³ Different dates have been associated with the painting: c. 1820 and c. 1825. See Kimbro et al., *The California Missions*, 137 and Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 86.

⁴⁴ Fagan, *Before California*, 198.

⁴⁵ Grant, *The Rock Paintings of the Chumash*, 80, figure 26; and Joshua Paddison, ed., *A World Transformed: Firsthand Accounts of California Before the Gold Rush* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1999), 8.

California mission records reveal that artists from the Baja California missions moved north to work at the Franciscan missions. Beginning in 1773, friars at the Alta California missions recruited Native Cochimí, Mayo, and *mestizo* peoples from missions in Baja California and Sonora.⁴⁶ Baja California was colonized beginning in the 1680s, so it is likely that its Indigenous inhabitants learned new artistic techniques and possibly brought those skills to Alta California.⁴⁷ For instance, Miguel Blanco was an Indian master stonemason, perhaps of Cochimí descent, from Mission San Ignacio in the present-day state of Baja California Sur whose name appears in Alta California mission records in 1794. The *libro de cuentas* for Mission Santa Barbara notes that an Indian mason, possibly Miguel Blanco, worked there from 1805-1806.⁴⁸ Individuals like Blanco with diverse backgrounds were moving in and out of the Alta California missions, bringing new ideas and objects with them. The painting of Saint Raphael, like other objects in the California mission collections may have come to Mission Santa Inés from outside the region. Unfortunately, the painting's origins will remain a mystery until substantial evidence surfaces. Nonetheless, its iconography offers clues as to possible connections with larger artistic trends that emerged in northern New Spain in the eighteenth century.

Spanish cartographer Bernardo Miera y Pacheco is credited with starting New Mexico's *santo* (saint making) tradition. He was born in Burgos, Spain in 1713. Around the age of

⁴⁶ Father Jose Seán and Father Jose Joaquin Calvo responded to the 1814 questionnaire that soldiers had come to Mission Santa Inés from Sonora and Antigua California. "Respuestas," 1814, Folder: Respuestas/Answers March 8, 1814 Santa Inés 4 pp PRA-8, California Mission Documents, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. Deana Dartt also wrote that most people who lived at the presidios in San Diego and Monterey were "Indians from northern Mexico, an area that had only recently been colonized by Spain. From archival documents of the Loreto Presidio in Baja California, it appears these people were mostly Cochimí and Mayo Indians some of whom were of mixed Native American and African heritage and originated from Sinaloa (colonized in the 1530s) and Sonora (colonized in the 1620s)." Dartt, "Negotiating the Master Narrative," 78.

⁴⁷ Aviles and Hoover, "Two Californias, Three Religious Orders and Fifty Missions," 11.

⁴⁸ Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders*, 58.

seventeen he left Spain for Chihuahua, Mexico. There he met his wife, María Estefanía de los Dolores Domínguez de Mendoza. During the early years of their marriage, Miera served in the militia and in the 1740s he began drawing maps of the lands he visited while accompanying New Spanish explorers on expeditions throughout Texas and New Mexico.⁴⁹ In 1780 he painted a *retablo* (altar screen) depicting Saint Raphael with an inscription that reads: “Saint Rafael, God’s medicine, pray for us. Amen. By devotion of doña Polonia Sandoval. Year 1780” (Figure 44).⁵⁰ Miera painted this panel for a private donor as a devotional piece.⁵¹ He also carved and painted *bultos* of the archangels Michael and Gabriel for the mission church at Zuni Pueblo in New Mexico (Figures 45-46).⁵² These examples reflect a New Mexican interest in the archangels. Moreover, Miera’s iconography bears a resemblance to Mission Santa Inés’s Saint Raphael painting. Whereas the saint in Miera’s 1780 *retablo* has a thin nose, the figures in his stone altar screen for the Cristo Rey Church in Santa Fe share similar features with California’s Saint Raphael (Figure 47).

In the early 1760s Governor Marín del Valle commissioned Miera to create an altar screen for the military chapel called Nuestra Señora de la Luz, which was built on the south side of Santa Fe’s plaza.⁵³ Miera carved the altar screen in sections, out of blocks of stone. In the

⁴⁹ John L. Kessell, *Miera y Pacheco: A Renaissance Spaniard in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 75; Thomas E. Chávez, “Because Within Me There Burns a Desire: Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, A Life and Times,” *The Art and Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco: New Spain’s Explorer, Cartographer, and Artist*, ed. Josef Díaz (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2013), 18.

⁵⁰ Kessell, *Miera y Pacheco*, 152.

⁵¹ Díaz, Preface to *The Art and Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco: New Spain’s Explorer, Cartographer, and Artist* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2013), 8.

⁵² Chávez, “Bernardo Miera y Pacheco,” 19.

⁵³ Chávez, “Bernardo Miera y Pacheco,” 17.

lower right section Miera depicted San Francisco Solano baptizing the Indigenous peoples of Argentina and Paraguay in the sixteenth century. Though representative of missionary work in South America, the scene is appropriate in a New Mexican setting where the Spanish missionaries struggled to convert the Pueblos and other Indigenous peoples to Catholicism. Meanwhile, the figure of Saint Joseph appears in the upper left corner holding the Christ Child in his left arm. Both Saint Joseph and Saint Francis of Solano have broad noses and almond shaped eyes, which evoke Saint Raphael's prominent features (Figures 48-49). Miera also placed the saints' heads directly on their shoulders, as is the case with Saint Raphael. Taking these similarities into account, it seems possible that Miera or one of his followers painted the portrait of Saint Raphael. While we know that Miera y Pacheco carved this *retablo*, other religious artworks from eighteenth-century New Mexico pose attribution challenges.

The altar screen in the mission church at the Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico has been attributed to an artist known as the Laguna Santero who worked in New Mexico from 1796 to 1808. Some scholars claim that the Laguna Santero was a member of the Laguna Pueblo. Others argue that he came from present-day Mexico.⁵⁴ The artist's actual name remains unknown. In the 1940s, E. Boyd was the first historian to associate this anonymous artist with five altar screens found in New Mexican churches, including a *retablo* at the Laguna Pueblo (Figure 50).⁵⁵ In the *retablo*'s central painting the artist has rendered the figures of Saint Joseph, the adoptive father of Christ, and the Christ Child in bold outlines (Figure 51). A plain background appears behind

⁵⁴ Marianne L. Stoller, "The Early *Santeros* of New Mexico: A Problem in Ethnic Identity and Artistic Tradition," in *Transforming Images: New Mexican Santos In-Between Worlds*, edited by Claire Farago and Donna Pierce, 116-137 (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 2006), 130; and Paula B. Kornegay, "The Altar Screens of an Anonymous Artist in Northern New Spain: The Laguna Santero," *The Journal of the Southwest* 38:1 (Spring 1996): 63.

⁵⁵ The other screens are in the Chapel of San Miguel in Santa Fe, the altar screen at the Acoma mission, and the screens in the churches at the Santa Ana and Zia Pueblos.

the saint while he stands on a tiled floor framed by *trompe l'oeil* curtains. He holds a flowering staff in his right hand and the Christ Child in his left arm, which are the two main attributes of the saint. The staff signifies his role as Mary's husband. In apocryphal legends, the flowering staff signified to Mary that Joseph was the man she would marry and the flowers were meant to represent his purity. The Laguna *Santero* likely saw Josephine iconography in paintings or prints imported to New Spain from Europe. Likewise, the artists who painted Christian subjects on animal hides drew inspiration from imported print sources.

New Mexican artists began painting religious subjects on hides for ecclesiastical and private patrons in the sixteenth century, within the initial years of Spanish colonization in the region.⁵⁶ Pueblo people destroyed the hides during the Pueblo Uprising of 1680. Thus, artists likely made the hide paintings that appear today in churches, museums and private collections between 1693 and the end of the 1700s, around the time the *santo* tradition gained popularity. The buffalo and deer hides found in New Mexico were obtained through trade with the Plains tribes or from local sources.⁵⁷ However, primary sources reveal that these paintings were not exclusively the work of Native American artists. Moreover, the hide paintings decorated churches within both Pueblo and Spanish communities. Like canvas paintings, hide paintings could be transported and stored easily. They typically portrayed “devotions of the Franciscan Order and advocations of Christ and the Virgin popular in Spain and New Spain.”⁵⁸ Donahue-Wallace has identified a variety of styles among the surviving hide paintings. She argued that the paintings demonstrate the artists' awareness of the prominent American and European styles.

⁵⁶ Donahue-Wallace, “Print Sources,” 44.

⁵⁷ Donahue-Wallace, “Print Sources,” 45.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Yet, she noted that the paintings' "compositions were simple and uncluttered in marked contrast to the direction of Mexican Baroque painting in the eighteenth century."⁵⁹ The New Mexican hide paintings are characterized by bold outlines enclosing sections of colored pigment. Some of the artists attempted shading, as seen in the Museum of New Mexico's *Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Santa María la Redonda* (Figure 52). In this painting, the artist depicts the Virgin Mary standing at the center of the composition wearing a crown and blue cloak over her gown. Subtle lines trace her eyes, nostrils and lips. Black lines define the neckline of her dress and the edge of her robe, in which the artist created the illusion of wrinkles within the painted fabric. Similarly, the artist who painted Saint Raphael used shading in the angel's cape to create a billowing effect. The archangel's features are also rendered in bold outlines filled in with earth-tone pigments. Whereas multiple examples of hide paintings can be found in New Mexico, the Saint Raphael painting is the only one of its kind in Mission Santa Inés's collection. If this is the only painting of its kind, that depicts a solitary subject, to enter the mission's collection, then what does this tell us about its production?

The painting may have been imported from New Mexico or elsewhere.⁶⁰ Of the expeditions European and New Spanish explorers made to California during the late eighteenth century, only two began in what is now the southwestern United States. In 1774, Juan Bautista de Anza led the first of two overland expeditions from the Tubac Presidio in southern Arizona to Mission San Gabriel in Alta California. Some expedition members might have come from New Mexico and may have been familiar with the art of the region. Or, perhaps the overland travelers

⁵⁹ Donahue-Wallace, "Print Sources," 47-48.

⁶⁰ California's first peoples had engaged in long-distance trade with communities in the present-day southwestern U.S. before Spanish settlement. In his diary from the second Anza expedition, Font wrote that he saw an Indian in California "who wore a cotton blanket like those made by the Gila Pimas." Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, 257.

transported art from California to New Mexico and other parts of New Spain. The Franciscans may have distributed ecclesiastical objects manufactured in Alta California to other parts of New Spain. In the 1960s, excavations of the Santa Gertrudis chapel near Ventura, California uncovered a bronze-cast crucifix that resembles crucifixes found at Quibiri in southern Arizona, Mission San Xavier del Bac in Tucson, and in a Franciscan cemetery at Magdalena, Sonora.⁶¹ Archaeologists Roberta Greenwood and R. O. Brown have raised the possibility that such crucifixes were manufactured in Alta California and distributed by the Franciscans.⁶² No one has seriously considered the role that the California missions played in shaping the artistic landscape and material culture of northern New Spain. This is an area worthy of closer study. Though many questions remain unanswered, the style seen in the Saint Raphael painting was not unique to the region. Similar points are true of Mission San Gabriel's Stations of the Cross paintings, which represent a Franciscan devotional practice.

Via Crucis

The Way of the Cross, or *Via Crucis*, is a Franciscan devotion that emerged in early modern Europe in which devotees re-enact Christ's Passion during Holy Week. The Franciscans introduced this devotion to the so-called New World, where devotees carried out processions in outdoor settings and adorned mission churches with images representing the fourteen Stations of the Cross.⁶³ Each of the California missions owned a set of the Stations, typically in the form of

⁶¹ Greenwood and Browne, "Chapel of Santa Gertrudis," 28.

⁶² Greenwood and Browne identified a letter that mentions the crucifixes, which they believe were made in Ventura. See Greenwood and Browne, "Chapel of Santa Gertrudis," 28.

⁶³ For a close study of the early modern devotion, see Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, "Alternate Routes: Variation in Early Modern Stational Devotions," *Viator* 40:1 (2009): 249-270.

prints or paintings.⁶⁴ Stations were also set up on mission grounds for outdoor processions. Most of the missions' original stations sets were imported to California. Some still exist today. Others have disappeared or have been replaced with new sets of paintings. Mission San Gabriel is believed to have originally owned a set of prints that were later transferred to Mission San Fernando.⁶⁵ Mission San Gabriel later acquired a set of paintings in 1798, which were replaced by a set of prints that appears in photographs of the church taken in the early 1900s (Figure 53).⁶⁶ The San Gabriel Mission Museum Board discovered an incomplete set of prints in storage in 2014, which may be the same prints from the early 1900s.⁶⁷ The photograph from 1900 shows the prints hung between large canvas portraits of saints. These paintings are currently in storage and copies of the mission's famous Stations of the Cross paintings now hang in the old church.

All the mission churches display sets of the fourteen stations, yet Mission San Gabriel's current set has garnered the most attention (Figures 6a-n). They are often attributed to a Tongva man from the *Ranchería de Topanga* or *Tujunga* named Juan Antonio who was baptized at Mission San Fernando in 1798.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, the surviving documentation does not support

⁶⁴ For more information on depictions of the Stations of the Cross in Alta California, see Huckins, "Art in the Alta California Mission Churches," 158-178.

⁶⁵ Huckins, "Art in the Alta California Mission Churches," 172; and Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis," 329-330.

⁶⁶ Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis," 330; Huckins, "Art in the Alta California Mission Churches," 172. This does not rule out the possibility that other sets of prints were at the mission before the early 1900s.

⁶⁷ The author was part of this group that viewed the Stations of the Cross prints in the basement of the parish office at Mission San Gabriel.

⁶⁸ Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders*, 114; The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project, Database, 2006; Baer, "California Indian Art," 33-34; Engelhardt, *San Fernando Rey*, 145; Lee and Neuerburg, "Alta California Indians," 474; Neuerburg, "Indian Via Crucis," 352; Phillips, "Indian Paintings," 97; Francis J. Weber, "The Stations at San Fernando," 7; Lanier Bartlett, ed., *Mission Motifs: A Collection of Decorative Details from Old Spanish Missions of California* (Los Angeles: Works

this claim. No scholar has yet to identify an artist's signature amongst the fourteen paintings, which may or may not have been recorded in mission inventories. Father Blas Ordaz of Mission San Fernando noted in the 1849 inventory for Mission San Fernando that the mission owned a group of Stations of the Cross paintings.⁶⁹ Official mission inventories rarely list California Indian-made objects. So, it is puzzling that Father Ordaz included a group of paintings attributed to a Tongva artist in the inventory. If the paintings in the inventory are indeed the same ones under discussion, then how can we be certain that an artist made them at the mission in the early 1800s? Moreover, why would the mission's pastor list a group of paintings if a California Indian painted them? Despite numerous attempts to trace the paintings' provenance, their origins remain shrouded in mystery.⁷⁰

By 1849 the missions had undergone secularization for 15 years. Is it possible that the paintings arrived at the mission after secularization? By this time California saw an influx of immigrants from the eastern United States, Mexico, Russia and other parts of Europe seeking gold, land and new opportunities. These hundreds of thousands of newcomers brought new objects with them, including domestic goods and art. So, it is not improbable that the paintings arrived after 1833 or even after statehood.

Neuerburg suggested that the paintings originally moved in 1887 from Mission San Fernando to Downtown Los Angeles where they were found in the bell tower of the Plaza

Progress Administration, 1940), 5; and Nancy Dustin Wall Moure, *Loners, Mavericks and Dreamers: Art in Los Angeles before 1900* (Laguna Beach: Laguna Art Museum, 1993), 14.

⁶⁹ Baer, "California Indian Art," 33-34; Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Fernando Rey: The Mission of the Valley* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1927), 145.

⁷⁰ For a close study of the paintings' travels before their final arrival at Mission San Gabriel, see Yve Chavez, Cynthia Neri Lewis, and John Macias, "Imagery, Materiality, and Evolving Histories at Mission San Gabriel," *Boletín: Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* 31:1 (2015): 93-97.

Church, also known as *la Iglesia de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles*.⁷¹ Then, in 1892, the paintings traveled to the California State Fair in Sacramento where the organizers exhibited them as examples of Indian artwork from Mission San Gabriel.⁷² The 1892 newspaper article that mentioned the paintings did not explain why these paintings were the work of California Indian artists. Moreover, there is no evidence that the paintings had even reached Mission San Gabriel at this point. Even so, these unsubstantiated claims came to be understood by many as fact. The *Final Report of the California World's Fair Commission*, which described all the exhibits representing California at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, referred to the fourteen paintings as the “work of early Indian converts.”⁷³ The exhibition of California's *Stations of Cross* paintings was deceiving in two ways. First, the fair told visitors that Indian artists painted them. Second, the canvases they viewed had been altered.

As Kurt Baer pointed out, “In preparation for their exhibition at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, they were trimmed of broken canvas, cleaned, and mounted on wooden panels.”⁷⁴ Frames were also added to the paintings for display in Chicago.⁷⁵ By the 1940s, the Index of American Design created copies of the paintings, which are now on display in the old

⁷¹ Neuerburg, “The Indian Via Crucis,” 330.

⁷² “California's Constitution. The Desk on Which It was Signed Now at the State Fair. Many Other Curios on Exhibition. Los Angeles Has by Far the Largest and Finest Array of Relics in the Historical Section,” *The Morning Call*, September 9, 1892.

⁷³ *Final Report of the California World's Fair Commission: Including a Description of All Exhibits from the State of California, Collected and Maintained Under Legislative Enactments, at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Sacramento: State Office, A.J. Johnston, Superintendent State Printing, 1894), 171.

⁷⁴ Baer, “California Indian Art,” 34.

⁷⁵ Neuerburg, “The Indian Via Crucis,” 353.

church.⁷⁶ Despite the Index's efforts to preserve the paintings by making copies, the latter are not true facsimiles. When the copies were made, the original paintings had likely undergone significant damage from years of being displayed outdoors and improperly stored.⁷⁷ According to Norman Neuerburg, conservators Donaldo Manuel and Corita H. de Manuel restored Mission San Gabriel's Stations of the Cross paintings, except station eleven, in 1954.⁷⁸ It is unclear if they removed the frames during the restoration process. For his 1997 article, however, Neuerburg had the frames removed to show the paintings' hidden details. Without their frames it is clear that significant portions of the paintings were cropped in the 1890s, thus compromising our reading of their iconography. It would have been more appropriate to conserve the paintings rather than cutting off the damaged edges. Traces of the stations' missing painted borderlines were lost with the canvas that was removed. Fortunately, the main figures are still visible, which make it possible to identify stylistic variations.

The fourteen paintings depict the events of Christ's Passion beginning with his trial before Pontius Pilate and ending with his interment in the tomb. The canvases vary not just in size but also in style, thus indicating that more than one artist contributed to the set. Station one is the only painting of the set in which a cartouche appears. In the bottom, left corner of the scene appear the words "1^a Estacion Casa de Pilato" in gold letters against a brown background enclosed by an ornamental, leaf-like frame.⁷⁹ Cartouches were common features of early modern maps as well as the *casta* paintings of New Spain. They typically contained inscriptions

⁷⁶ Oral history interview with Lorser Feitelson, 1964 May 12-1964 June 9, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

⁷⁷ Feitelson observed the paintings hanging outdoors in the mission courtyard. Oral history interview.

⁷⁸ Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis," 353.

⁷⁹ The words are currently covered by the painting's frame.

describing the places and figures represented, and it appears that the artist who made station one attempted to do so by labeling the scene as the house of Pilate. Why is station one the only painting in the set with a cartouche? The other paintings may have had inscriptions that were cut off during restoration or framing. However, that seems unlikely given that the cartouche in station one takes up almost an eighth of the painting. Also, cartouches are rarely seen in Stations of the Cross paintings from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The paintings in sets from the other missions, such as Mission Santa Barbara, Mission San Juan Bautista, Mission San Juan Capistrano, Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, and Mission Santa Inés instead have Roman numerals painted on their surfaces. Or, in some cases, like at Mission San Luis Obispo, the number appears on each painting's frame. Although they have frames today, it appears that Mission San Gabriel's paintings were not meant to be framed.

Photographs of the unframed paintings reveal large sections where the frames left marks on the paintings' surfaces.⁸⁰ For instance, lines of paint are missing from the perimeter of Station three. Variations in color (that are particularly evident on the bottom of the cross) can even be seen in station nine between the peripheral space previously covered by a frame and the central space that remained uncovered. With the frames removed, it also become apparent that at least five of the original fourteen paintings – stations two, seven, nine, ten and eleven – have colorful border-like lines painted along their edges. In station two, red and gray undulating lines appear above the main surface along the top and side edges of the scene. It appears the bottom edge has been cut off as evidenced by the cropped fourth borderline and missing feet of Christ. Station eleven has a complete painted border of red and white that has also been painted over the scene, perhaps as an afterthought. Even though the painted border covers part of the main scene, it

⁸⁰ For photographs of the original paintings without their frames, see Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis." They are reproduced here in figures 6a-n.

appears this is the only painting within the set that has not been cut down from its original size. Aside from variations in size, each painting represents a unique event in the passion narrative.

The first station depicts the scene in the house of Pilate in which Christ was whipped before the column of flagellation. Pilate sits upon a chair at the left side of the scene. He points towards the figure of Christ, whose hands are tied together with rope. He looks down towards his bound hands that rest upon a white column that is waist-high. Christ only wears a white cloth around his waist while the other men in the scene are fully clothed. In the gospel narrative, the soldiers who arrested Jesus brought him before Pontius Pilate who was pressured by the crowds to condemn Jesus (Matthew 27:11-26, Mark 15:1-15, Luke 23:1-25, John 18:28-40). The artist has captured multiple events within the painting of station one: Pilate's decision, the angry crowds, and Christ's flagellation. After Pilate released Barabbas to the crowds and sentenced Jesus, the soldiers stripped him of his garments, enrobed him in a purple cloak and placed a crown of thorns on his head (Matthew 27:27-31; Mark 15:16-20, John 19:1-3). While Christ's appearance corresponds to the Biblical narrative, the other men wear garments typical of early modern European depictions. The artists followed a basic stylistic repertoire when depicting the soldiers and Jesus' accusers. Throughout the set the male figures typically wear hats, tunics, breeches and boots. Exceptions can be found in the scenes in which the disciple John, who is recognizable by his red tunic, and who appears without a hat. In station eleven, one of the soldiers who nails Jesus to the cross is hatless and another figure, possibly another soldier wears a tall, double-domed hat (Figure 6k). This is the only hat of its kind in the set. Aside from John and the domed-hat soldier, the male characters' costumes vary in terms of color and embellishments. This lack of variation makes it difficult to differentiate the crowds from the

soldiers. Although most of the male figures hold spears, a few do not, thus setting them apart from the soldiers.

In station one the man standing next to Jesus holds a spear and he wears a specific type of hat that can be seen throughout this set of paintings. A red feather pokes out of his pointed hat, which is similar to those worn by Jesus' accusers who raise their arms in protest towards Pilate. The choice of a red hat for a soldier seems odd since most early modern depictions of soldiers show them wearing steel helmets. In subsequent scenes the soldiers' hats take on a similar shape but represent an array of colors. It appears the artists have taken artistic liberties by giving the soldiers colorful garments. Yet, the hat shapes are not unprecedented. In other paintings of the Passion, such as those at Mission Soledad, the soldiers wear helmets that curve back and upward from the forehead, ending in a point from which plumes of feathers emerge. In station six of Mission Soledad's set (ca. 1817), a man wearing pointed turban also appears amongst the soldiers (Figure 54). These parallels indicate that the artists responsible for Mission San Gabriel's paintings were aware of contemporaneous depictions of the Passion. Yet, in this set the figures' garments seem to follow a standardized model for the hats, tunics, breeches and boots.

Whereas the male costumes evoke those in other paintings, the female garments in Mission San Gabriel's set call to mind Spanish fashions. The main female figures in the set are the Virgin Mary, a woman in green, a woman in black, and Veronica.⁸¹ The Virgin appears in stations two, three, four, six, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve and thirteen. In each of these scenes a woman wearing a green robe who may represent Mary Magdalene accompanies the mother of Christ who is distinguished by her red dress and blue robe. Veronica appears in station six kneeling before Christ to wipe his face with a white cloth (Figure 6f). A mourning woman

⁸¹ In the Catholic tradition, Veronica is a local woman who takes pity on Jesus and offers him a cloth to wipe his face on the way to Golgotha.

dressed in black stands on the left side of the scene in station eight. In her arms she holds a baby, which is barely visible except for the face that appears upside down. All four of these women wear strands of white pearls around the necks. This was a popular element of eighteenth-century women's fashion. Women throughout the *casta* paintings wear strands of pearls, which were considered a sign of status and wealth.⁸² Spanish women who moved to the Californias in the early years of the missions' founding brought European fashions with them. Thus, the artists behind Mission San Gabriel's stations would have been aware of the eighteenth-century taste for pearl necklaces. Alternatively, the pearl necklace motif may be connected to New Spanish paintings of the *Virgen del Refugio*.

The *Virgen del Refugio*, also known as Our Lady the Refuge of Sinners, is the patron saint of Zacatecas, Mexico. Art historian Claire Farago noted that "settlers who emigrated north from northern Mexico to what is now New Mexico brought devotions and images with them, including Our Lady Refuge of Sinners."⁸³ These images inspired New Mexican artists like José Aragón, who painted a *santo* of *Our Lady of Refuge of Sinners* in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Though Aragón's Virgin of Refuge does not appear to wear jewelry, she is typically depicted wearing a string of pearls around her neck. Farago argued that a nineteenth-century Mexican painting of the crowned Virgin holding the Christ child bears a strong resemblance to the image found in the Zacatecas shrine (Figure 55). Similar images of the Virgin wearing pearls may have also reached California. Alternatively, an artist from the region where her devotion

⁸² For a discussion of eighteenth-century fashions in New Spain, see Katzew, *Casta Painting*.

⁸³ Claire Farago, "Competing Religious Discourses in Postcolonial New Mexico," in *Transforming Images: New Mexican Santos In-Between Worlds*, ed. Claire Farago and Donna Pierce (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 203-204.

spread might have painted the Stations of the Cross that are located today in San Gabriel, California.

Even though we may never know who painted them, the stations' iconography reflects the artists' awareness of trends in devotional imagery, architecture and landscape painting. It has been observed that the structures depicted in the stations are reminiscent of Islamic architecture. In station three, "Two striped pillars, topped with little finials, flank an opening with a pointed arch of a shape often dubbed 'Moorish' though it appears in Mexican colonial architecture" (Figure 6c).⁸⁴ As Neuerburg observed, Islamic influences can be seen in New Spanish architecture. The church at Mission San Gabriel, for instance, has been associated with the *mudéjar* style, which "is used to describe features of ultimately Islamic provenance in a Christian context, or to mean late medieval Christian buildings in Spain with Islamic elements."⁸⁵ The sixteenth-century fortress churches and monasteries of Huejotzingo, Tula, Cholula, and Acolman, located outside of Puebla and Mexico City, feature "parapets and merlon cresting" that were "derived from *mudéjar* decoration."⁸⁶ There may be a connection between Mission San Gabriel's church architecture and the paintings, but it would be a distant one. The church exemplifies trends in architectural decoration of which the stations artists likely would have been aware. Whereas the architectural elements in the paintings evoke Spanish antecedents, the large

⁸⁴ Neuerburg, "Indian Via Crucis," 360.

⁸⁵ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Islam, Art, and Architecture in the Americas: Some Considerations of Colonial Latin America," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 43 Islamic Arts (Spring 2003): 47. The term *mudéjar* raises issues that scholars like Kaufmann and José Manuel Aguilar Moreno have addressed. Aguilar compared *mudéjar* to the Aztec word *tequitqui*, since both terms mean "one who pays tribute." This definition is highly pejorative and refers to the power relationship between Spaniards and Native (in the case of *tequitqui*) and Muslim (in the case of *mudéjar*) peoples. Moreno, "Tequitqui Art of Sixteenth-Century Mexico," 106.

⁸⁶ Kaufmann, "Islam, Art, and Architecture," 47.

hills call to mind the glyphs that sixteenth-century map-makers used to depict towns in New Spain.

In her studies of sixteenth-century maps, art historian Dana Leibsohn has identified traces of pre-Hispanic influence as seen in the hill glyphs used to represent towns. According to Leibsohn, “Prior to the conquest it was not necessary to visually differentiate natural features from towns: hill glyphs were sufficient markers for mountains, hills, canyons, and communities. This was not so in the regions mapped by European cartography. Landscape -- mountains, rivers, and coast line -- were rendered in conventionalized but naturalistic detail.”⁸⁷ One of these hill glyphs appears in the late sixteenth-century *Map of Otumba and nearby communities, Mexico* (Figure 56). In this map, trees emerge from the surface of the hill situated behind the church glyph representing the town of Ajuatepeque. Neither the trees nor the hill are shown in naturalistic proportions. Though, as Leibsohn pointed out, naturalism was not the Indigenous artist’s goal. Instead, the hill tells the viewer that a town is located in that portion of the map.

A similar hill with disproportionate trees appears in the tenth station at Mission San Gabriel. This hill, which occupies the left half of the scene represents Golgotha (“place of the skull”) or Calvary, the hill where Christ was crucified. However, like the hill glyphs in the *Map of Otumba*, it seems to serve a symbolic rather than naturalistic function. The hill reappears in the background of the eleventh through fourteenth stations as a reminder of where the events of Christ’s crucifixion occurred. The paintings show the human figures standing at the base of the hill, which in some cases rises no higher than the foreground figures. Though out of proportion, the presence of a hill in five of the station scenes hints at the possibility that the artist was aware of the pre-Hispanic cartographic tradition of using hill glyphs to represent towns. Unlike a map,

⁸⁷ Dana Leibsohn, “Colony and Cartography: Shifting Signs on Indigenous Maps of New Spain,” in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 272.

however, the paintings include human figures that dwarf the hill. This was not uncommon in maps from New Spain. Miera y Pacheco's map of New Mexico also shows human figures in a landscape characterized by miniature hills (Figure 57). The stations are neither maps, nor are the hills meant to function as glyphs. Even so, the similarities are thought provoking. Why would a painter depict a landscape element such as a hill without any regard for proportion or naturalism? The analogy to maps suggest that naturalism was not the goal of the Stations of the Cross artists.

The figures' costumes, architectural design and landscape elements demonstrate that the artist, or artists, who painted the stations was aware of pictorial and stylistic conventions popular in New Spain. At the same time, the artist also imbued the paintings with unusual characteristics such as the baby-like figure that floats on the left side of the eighth station (Figure 6h). This figure, like the hill in the tenth station, appears to be a later addition. It is unclear why the baby was added next to the woman in black who already holds a baby in her arms. Whereas the hill serves a pictorial purpose – to represent Golgotha, the baby is out of place in a scene from the Passion narrative. Is this unclothed baby meant to represent the Christ Child? Is it an angel? Or, is the painting incomplete? The paintings represent the basic narrative of Christ's Passion, but the manner in which they are depicted is unusual for this genre.

Even though the provenance of the paintings before 1850 is murky, it is not impossible that they came to the missions from somewhere outside New Spain.⁸⁸ Art historians Barbara E. Mundy and Dana Leibsohn have pointed out that artists from the California missions “were part of diverse networks of circulation that operated within both indigenous and ‘imperial’ zones.”⁸⁹

⁸⁸ For a discussion of the provenance of the Stations, see Chavez et al., “Imagery, Materiality, and Evolving Histories,” 93-97.

⁸⁹ Barbara E. Mundy and Dana Leibsohn, “History from Things: Indigenous Objects and Colonial Latin America,” *World History Connected*, June 2012, Accessed August 2, 2016, http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/9.2/forum_mundy.html.

These artists, they suggest, were active agents in the trade networks that circulated foreign goods within the Americas. Perhaps the Stations of the Cross paintings came from outside of California before finally arriving at Mission San Gabriel. After 1850, the stations continued to move and change as they ended up in new hands.

The paintings gained attention through their international exposure at world's fairs and in publications. With this increased exposure, the myth that an Indian painted the Stations took hold. Writing in 1902, mechanical engineer W. L. Judson expressed a Eurocentric view of the paintings: "Considered as fine art, from the modern standpoint, they are worthless, but as relics of the most interesting period in the development of Southern California they become endowed with great interest."⁹⁰ Even though he did not view the Stations of the Cross as examples of fine art, Judson made a keen observation. It is remarkable that California Indian artists continued to work as people were dying in the missions.

Both the painting of Saint Raphael and the Stations of the Cross ought to be considered within the greater context of artistic production in New Spain – this was a time of change. Mexico won independence from Spain in 1821 and mission secularization began in 1833. Though located on the northernmost edge of New Spain, the California missions were very much part of the exchange networks that shaped the missions and their inhabitants. Whether they were made at the missions or outside of California, the paintings covered in this chapter were the products of those networks that brought new materials and ideas to the region.

⁹⁰ W. L. Judson, "Early Art in California," *Historical Society of Southern California and of the Pioneers of Los Angeles County* 5:3 (1902): 216.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Future Studies

The preceding chapters addressed Indigenous artistic agency within the Alta California missions, focusing on those within the regions historically inhabited by Chumash and Tongva peoples. The case studies examined the artistic practices of dancing and body adornment, basket weaving, sculpture, architecture, and painting. This list is not representative of all the traditions California's first peoples practiced before and after missionization. Moreover, this project is only a starting point for future research on the rich artistic customs California Indians performed at the missions. Nonetheless, this dissertation may open new ways of thinking about California Indian art, ingenuity, and resistance. Within the sixty-five years (1769-1834) that the Franciscans oversaw California's missions, California Indians actively decolonized these spaces by creating and performing art that sustained California Indian worldviews. They fashioned art that "contributes to decolonization by disrupting colonialism's linear ordering of the world and its conditioning of possibility."¹ Indigenous artists continued to use traditional materials and techniques as seen in their baskets and dance regalia. Artists also incorporated foreign artistic concepts into their visual vocabulary by painting Catholic images on church walls and carving them into local stone.

The preceding chapters underscore the artistic contributions California's first peoples made to the Alta California missions and the pivotal role these artists played in preserving their traditions at a time of great adversity. Chapter one covered the historiography of California Indian and mission art, underscoring the lack of up-to-date and accurate scholarship on

¹ Martineau and Ritskes, "Fugitive Indigeneity, v.

Indigenous art from this period in California's history, from 1769 until the end of the nineteenth century. It referenced anthropological evidence of pre-1769 California Indian material culture to foreground the analysis of art made at the missions. When speaking of the National Museum of the American Indian's exhibit, *Pathways of Tradition*, curator Rick Hill (Tuscarora) explained that Native American art is not "an evolutionary process," but a reflection of "how ideas and beliefs remain strong through time."² This dissertation has demonstrated that California Indian artistic practices are part of a continuum of long-established traditions. This dissertation has also made contributions to California mission art studies by investigating traditions previously overlooked. Publications on California Indian and mission art, for example, have paid little attention to body adornment and California Indian performances at the missions. Chapter Two treated these topics as objects of art historical study, as is customary in the field of Native American art. Meanwhile, Chapters Three and Four examined baskets, sculpture, architecture, and decoration in light of the artistic exchange taking place at the missions and pre-existing Chumash traditions. Chapter Five challenged misguided assumptions regarding California Indian artistic talents and the twentieth-century fascination with Indigenous survivals. This final chapter continues that discussion by addressing issues of authenticity and the limitations of stylistic categories.

California mission art occupies a unique position with art historical discourse. It does not fall neatly into one category such as colonial Latin American, Native American, American or European art.³ Instead, one could argue that the missions' art collections fall under all four

² Rick Hill quoted in Nabokov, *A Forest of Time*, 168. For the original statement, see Rita Reif, "Museum Displays Indian Artifacts," *New York Times*, November 15, 1992.

³ The California missions also have objects from Asia that were imported through the Manila galleon trade (1565-1815). This is an underexplored area worthy of future art historical scholarship. One of the only publications devoted to this topic is J. M. Mancini, "Pedro Cambon's Asian Objects: A Transpacific

categories. Individuals from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds inhabited and constructed the missions, bringing an array of ideas that inspired the architectural and artistic practices carried out within these spaces. This dissertation focused on art California Indian peoples made at the missions, which reflects the intersection of Indigenous and foreign ideas. The fields of colonial Latin American and Native American art informed this study which elucidated the circumstances that shaped Indigenous artistic production in this period. Words like hybrid, Indo-Christian, and *mestizo* have been used to describe the art and architecture of the early modern Americas. These terms do not account for the true nature of these sites as exemplars of Indigenous ingenuity. Artworks produced at the missions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, like basketry with Spanish designs, was not unusual. Moreover, California Indian artists were probably used to incorporating outside influences into their work. Yet, that did not make their art any less Indigenous, thus rendering the term hybridity irrelevant within the context of this study. When used to describe art from the early modern Americas, hybridity implies it is the product of a colonial, and therefore, hegemonic relationship. This approach privileges the colonizing power, which was Spain in the case of the California Missions. It also infers that Native American material culture only became fine art after it was crossed with something European. Referring to the art in the California missions as “California Indian” lends agency to the artists who produced the art, as a form of resistance to Spanish power and influence over them.

Indigenous and decolonizing methodologies are useful tools for addressing the dearth of Native voices in scholarship on contemporary American Indian issues. However, more attention

Approach to Eighteenth-Century California,” *American Art* 2:1 (Spring 2011): 8-51; for information on Asian influences in New Spanish art, see Gauvin Alexander Bailey, “Asia in the Arts of Colonial Latin America,” in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, ed. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, 57-69 (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006); see essays in Donna Pierce and Ronald Osuka, eds. *Asia and Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange, 1500-1850* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009), 3.

ought to be given to the challenges facing scholars of historical Native American art. How can art historians examine Native American-made art from the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries without overlooking outside influences? How can we talk about art made after European colonization without running into the pitfalls of “authenticity”? What is “authentic” Native American art? Authenticity is a category that scholars imposed on American Indian (and other so-called non-western) material culture to distinguish objects made for the tourist trade from those made for use within the community. As anthropologist Shelly Errington has argued, “‘Authentic primitive art’ is a set of objects constructed by the conjunction of three distinguishable discourses: of the ‘authentic,’ the ‘primitive,’ and ‘art.’ Like the discipline of art history itself, the discourses of ‘authenticity’ and ‘the primitive’ were made possible by the metanarrative of progress. The idea of progress, in turn, rests on the notion of linear time, which took its modern form during the course of the nineteenth century.”⁴ This dissertation challenges the linear time approach by examining artistic practices as ongoing traditions that artists continuously reshape.

Although this is not intended to be an ethnographic study, ethnographic sources informed the discussion of the changes Chumash and Tongva material culture underwent after 1769. Artists living at or near the missions adopted ideas from other cultures, yet their work remained authentically Indigenous. In the friars’ eyes, California Indian peoples were primitive and thus needed to adopt European lifestyles in order to make progress. California Indian artists were not only innovative, but they were already used to changing their traditions in response to new ideas. As they incorporated new materials and designs, artists continued using the same basic principles as their ancestors. Their art was also used for new purposes, such as celebrating Catholic feast

⁴ Shelly Errington, *The Death of Authentic Primitive Art and Other Tales of Progress* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 4-5.

days, presenting gifts to non-Native recipients, and decorating churches. Yet, California's first peoples retained their values, which they passed on to their descendants. Nowadays, the descendants of Indians who lived at the missions perform dances to their ancestors' songs, they make regalia to wear during ceremonies, and they weave baskets for their communities. They also work in non-traditional media such as oil paints, pen and paper, recycled materials, and film. By studying contemporary artistic practices perhaps California Indians can better understand the struggles our ancestors faced while living in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century California.

California Indian Art in the Aftermath of the Missions

California Indian communities have long traditions of basket weaving that predate missionization. However, assimilation and discrimination caused weaving to decline in southern California in the first half of the twentieth century. The basket collecting trend underwent a resurgence in the late nineteenth century when "the United States was swept up in a veritable 'basket craze'."⁵ Whereas baskets collected in the eighteenth century ended up in international collections, baskets acquired in the late nineteenth century decorated the homes of wealthy Americans. This interest in developing "curios" emerged as non-Native Americans toured the western United States. Tourists who travelled west on the transcontinental railroad encountered Native American artists who sold their art at the major railroad stops like Santa Fe in New Mexico.⁶ Pueblo potters, for instance, began making pottery that appealed to Euro-American

⁵ Sherrie Smith-Ferri, "The Development of the Commercial Market for Pomo Indian Baskets," *Expedition* 40:1 (1998): 15.

⁶ Jonathan Batkin, *Pottery of the Pueblos of New Mexico, 1700-1940* (Colorado Springs: Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, 1987), 30.

interests in the 1880s.⁷ Likewise, California Indian weavers made baskets in response to non-Native patrons' tastes while continuing to make baskets for traditional and everyday use.

The "basket craze" reached its height in the early 1900s. Whereas some artists sold their baskets directly to collectors, enterprising individuals like American art collector and dealer Grace Nicholson became basket dealers. Nicholson ran a curio shop in Pasadena where she sold baskets to wealthy collectors.⁸ The tourist trade provided some weavers with a source of income, which changed as dealers seized the opportunity to redirect profits. Dealers could purchase baskets from weavers at low prices and resell them to affluent patrons at a markup. In some instances, however, "philanthropically minded Native rights activists, including missionaries and relief workers (the latter mainly women), often functioned as dealers to direct profits toward Native assistance."⁹ The curio trade provided some weavers with a source of income, but it did not necessarily sustain weaving practices.

After the curio trade years, which art historian Marvin Cohodas has placed between 1880 and 1920, basket weaving declined as California Indians assimilated into American society. According to basket scholar Brian Bibby, "by the 1940s market for basketry began to ebb, and the Second World War brought further disruptions."¹⁰ California Indians, and other Native

⁷ Batkin, *Pottery of the Pueblos*, 30; Jonathan Batkin, "Tourism is Overrated: Pueblo Pottery and the Early Curio Trade, 1880-1910," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, eds. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher Burghard Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 283; and Jonathan Batkin, *The Native American Curio Trade in New Mexico* (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 2008), 36.

⁸ Marvin Cohodas, *Basket Weavers for the California Curio Trade: Elizabeth and Louise Hickox* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 1.

⁹ Cohodas, *Basket Weavers for the California Curio Trade*, 5.

¹⁰ Bibby, *The Fine Art of California Indian Basketry*, 4.

Americans, relocated to major cities for jobs after the war.¹¹ Rather than weaving, young California Indians pursued mainstream jobs that provided steady incomes. As the older generation of weavers passed away, so did their knowledge of traditional weaving practices. The last Chumash master weavers, Petra Pico, Donaciana Salazar, and Candelaria Valenzuela passed away in the 1910s without training a new generation of weavers.¹² Fortunately, a handful of weavers in neighboring communities continued to weave baskets during this period. By turning to weavers outside the community and by studying baskets in museum collections, members of the Chumash community are revitalizing their ancestors' customs and making baskets with new designs.

In November of 2012, master weaver Tima Lotah Link (Chumash) won Best in Show at the American Indian Arts Marketplace at the Autry Museum of the American West (formerly the Autry National Center) for her coiled basket (Figure 58). Tima's basketry reflects years of dedication to learning her ancestors' techniques and language, as seen in the Shmuwich prayer woven into the primary band of her award-winning basket.¹³ The prayer, told in the language of the Santa Barbara Chumash people, is a reminder of their connection to the land:

kiynono hi'l alapay (our grandfather in the sky)
kaqina hi'l alishaw (thank you for the sun)
kaqina hi'l a'way (thank you for the moon)
taniqilik hi hol kuhk'u (please watch over the people)

¹¹ For a close study of Native American migration and the Urban Indian Relocation Program, see Nicolas G. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

¹² Timbrook, "Native American Arts in the Spanish Missions," 327; Christopher L. Moser and Justin F. Farmer, *Native American Basketry of Southern California* (Riverside: Riverside Museum Press, 1993), 45.

¹³ Tima Lotah Link, "Using My Hands with Patience," *News from Native California* 26:1 (Fall 2012): 7.

Tima is not the first Chumash weaver to include text in a basket, but she is the first known weaver to weave text in a Chumash language. This anticolonial practice not only subverts the colonial narrative embedded into the “presentation” baskets, but it also sustains her community’s language revitalization efforts. The Chumash bands and their coastal southern California neighbors are now offering language courses. Studying our languages brings us closer to our ancestors who established the artistic traditions our communities are striving to preserve. Tima writes, “I am so grateful that I can use our language to name our basket plants and to sing to those plants.”¹⁴ Using Chumash words reinforces Tima’s connection to her ancestors who spoke fluent Chumash at the missions.

Contemporary stone sculptors also celebrate their ancestors who used local materials. In the 1990s Tongva/Acjachemen artist L. Frank was the first California Indian to carve a soapstone bowl in 200 years. She remarked on the connection she made to her ancestors through this experience: “Sometimes when I’m working with soapstone, I can hear the voices of the ancestors. Once I made a bowl that was so perfect, so flawless, I knew it was the ancestors who had made it.”¹⁵ Frank obtained the soapstone from Catalina Island, which the ancestors of the Tongva people inhabited when Spaniards invaded California. Artists like Tima and L. Frank celebrate their ancestors by making art that responds to the missions.

In the winter of 2014/15 *News from Native California* featured an article of contemporary California Indian art titled “Saying Our Share: Surviving the Missions.” The project highlighted artworks by Gerald Clarke Jr. (Cahuilla), Lewis deSoto (Cahuilla), James Luna (Luiseño), L. Frank, Annelia Hillman (Yurok), Catherine Nelson-Rodriguez (Luiseño/Choctaw), and Judith

¹⁴ Link, “Using My Hands with Patience,” 7.

¹⁵ L. Frank, *Acorn Soup* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1999), 10.

Lowry (Mountain Maidu/Pit River).¹⁶ Through their art, these artists respond to the history of European colonization, particularly the devastating impacts of the missions on California Indians. L. Frank, for instance, presents a painting of Coyote wearing street clothes while standing in an empty landscape in front of a mission (Figure 59). The caption represents the words Coyote speaks into the microphone that he holds in his right hand as he turns his head to his left, towards the mission church behind him. Coyote is the main character in L. Frank's *Acorn Soup* series, a group of cartoons published in a book by the same title.¹⁷ Coyote is a prominent figure in California Indian folklore. According to Malcolm Margolin and Yolanda Montijo, "Coyote represents a little of everything, and often all at once: good and bad, foolish and crafty, creative and unimaginative, ridiculous and godlike. Stories about him are often so hilarious and absurd that they appeal to everyone, young and old."¹⁸ Although Indigenous communities from various regions of California have different stories about Coyote, he was the most popular trickster character in the state. In *Acorn Soup*, L. Frank does not specify which tribal stories her Coyote character represents. Nevertheless, she uses Coyote in her drawings from "Mission Times" to represent the Indigenous peoples from California's missions.

L. Frank introduces Coyote in the Introduction to *Acorn Soup*, where she tells the story about Wiyoot, the son of creation.¹⁹ Wiyoot is the main god in the Indigenous traditions of the Tongva and Acjachemen communities. Wiyoot was the son of the first people on earth, and he was the first human being to perish from death. In L. Frank's version of the story, when Wiyoot

¹⁶ James Luna, ed., "Saying Our Share: Surviving the Missions," *News from Native California* 28:2 (Winter 2014/2015): 4-16.

¹⁷ L. Frank, *Acorn Soup*.

¹⁸ Margolin and Montijo, *Native Ways*, 100.

¹⁹ Frank, *Acorn Soup*, 12.

died, Coyote stole the heart from Wiyoot's body. One of her drawings, *No Greater Love Hath Any Coyote for his Father*, depicts the moment when Coyote steals Wiyoot's heart from the ashes of the cremated corpse. L. Frank writes that, "It's Coyote's nature to grab the heart or whatever else is around that he can get at the moment, and yet he's acting from some kind of profound love, all at the same time."²⁰ After Wiyoot died and Coyote ate his heart, Wiyoot resurrected in the sky as the moon.²¹ Therefore, it makes sense that, "In Southern California, especially among the Shoshonean peoples, the milky way and the stars were the abode of the dead."²² In *stop the dance*, star-like shapes appear in the sky behind Coyote, who also juggles stars and crosses above his head (Figure 60). These stars might represent the abode of the dead where Wiyoot and the ancestors of California Indians went after they left the earth. While the stars signify an Indigenous belief system, the crosses he juggles and those on the ground in front of the church symbolize the Catholic Church. *stop the dance* suggests that because Catholic and Indigenous worldviews are so different, California Indians who lived at the missions and their descendants struggle to identify with both religions. In the scene, Coyote stands with his left foot on a cross that represents the land occupied by the mission church, and his right foot covers the middle of a star. The star symbolizes the world before the missionaries arrived -- this was a time when Indigenous belief systems governed how California's first people lived. Unlike the right side of the painting, which depicts the mission church, the space behind Coyote, on the left, is empty. No structures appear within this open landscape except crosses that have fallen on the ground surrounding the church building. These crosses, which seem to sink into the earth, symbolize our ancestors who passed away at the missions. The missions, which offered salvation

²⁰ Frank, *Acorn Soup*, 14.

²¹ Gifford and Block, *Californian Indian Nights*, 65.

²² Gifford and Block, *Californian Indian Nights*, 53-54.

to California's first peoples who converted to Christianity, left them with little faith in the foreign colonizers after Mexico lost control over California and broke Spain's promise to return mission lands to their rightful owners. The sadness conveyed by L. Frank's drawings evokes the resentment that some California Indians feel towards the Catholic Church today. California's first peoples make art not only to express their anger towards the missions, but also to decolonize the misguided and romanticized narrative about the Indigenous experience. Our ancestors figured this out well before their descendants made art.

Indigenous artists actively resisted colonization. The goal of this dissertation has been to underscore the achievements of individual artists who refused to abandon their beliefs and traditions. It has focused on the years between the Franciscans' arrival and California's statehood (1769-1850). Though mentioned in this dissertation, the next step is to expand this discussion to include the years after statehood through the present-day to underscore the continuity of practices and the obstacles California Indians continue to face in preserving their traditions.

Future Studies

The art discussed in this dissertation is inherently political and unique to the California Indian experience. Moreover, the experiences of Native peoples varied across the twenty-one missions, and that is reflected in their art and mission architecture. I focus on the missions of San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, and Santa Inés. However, strong examples of California Indian artwork can be found at Mission Dolores (Mission San Francisco de Asís), Mission San Carlos Borromeo, Asistencia San Antonio de Pala, Mission San Juan Capistrano, and Mission San Luis Rey, to name a few. The Franciscans did not establish an artistic program across the missions. The friars also had different attitudes towards California Indians and their practices, which may explain why European visitors witnessed instances of traditional dance at

only some of the missions. This is the first time that California Indian dances have appeared in an art historical study of the California missions. A topic worthy of closer investigation, dance was and remains a vital component of coastal Southern California Indian culture. Spanish colonists also introduced new ritual traditions to the Americas that Native peoples adopted into their performative repertoire.

Throughout the Spanish vicerealties, Indigenous peoples performed traditional ceremonies in combination with Catholic rituals. Such performances have been the subject of art historical studies, but that has not been the case in California.²³ Publications on Indigenous rituals at the Catholic missions in New Mexico, Mexico and Peru are useful models for theorizing the California Indian experience. However, some questions remain unanswered. Did California Indians perform Indigenous ceremonies inside the mission churches? Did they carry religious art in feast day celebrations (e.g., Feast of Corpus Christi)? If Chumash celebrants carried Native objects in traditional ceremonies, then it is possible they also used Catholic ritual objects like statues in church celebrations. Friars' accounts reveal that young Native boys sang and played instruments in the mission choirs. They would have also filled the role of altar servers, thus carrying candles, the crucifix and incense during church processions. While travelling through Pala in 1895, Charles Franklin Carter recalled meeting an old Indian man who served as an altar boy at Mission San Luis Rey. When Carter asked the man about his youth at the mission he replied:

I was one of the two boys who waited on the padres at meal times, swept the mission rooms and walks, and were ready to do any errands the padres wished. Then, for three years, I was one of the altar boys, until I could play well enough to

²³ For publications on Indigenous performances in the Spanish vicerealties, see Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*; Nabokov and Robert, *Native American Architecture*; and Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).

go into the choir. And that is what I liked better than anything else -- to play on my violin. I began to learn when I was twelve years old. I used to listen to the boys of the choir, when they were practising their mass music, and again on Sundays in the church, and wish I, too, could learn to make the beautiful music.²⁴

This man was eighty-one years old when Carter met him in 1895, so he would have lived at the mission in the last years before secularization. During that time he participated in the mass as an altar boy and musician. In the early years of missionization, Serra wrote about California Indian boys participating in Corpus Christi celebrations “as acolytes and altar boys.”²⁵ In addition to learning Spanish, and probably Latin, these young altar boys would have learned the order of mass and the significance of Catholic rituals.

Though mentioned in historical narratives, the feast of Corpus Christi is given little attention in studies of the California missions. In viceregal Peru the feast of Corpus Christi was a prominent celebration that Inca elites participated in. Perhaps young California Indian boys, like the man Carter met, who earned the friars’ favor, were granted the privilege of participating in feast day masses. Serra’s account of the Corpus Christi mass at Mission San Diego lacks description. Yet, the celebration Serra oversaw among the Pame people in central Mexico may shed some light on California’s Corpus Christi events. According to Palóu:

He instructed them to prepare and decorate arches in the road where the procession of Corpus Christi would pass. Four chapels were placed along the way with their respective altars where our Crucified Lord might rest, and after the singing in each one of them of the corresponding anthem, verse and prayer, an Indian stood up (generally a little boy) and recited a praise to the Divine Sacrament, of which two were in Spanish and two in the Pame dialect, which were very touching and increased the devotion of all. When they had returned to the church a Mass was sung and a sermon preached on this most Holy Mystery.²⁶

²⁴ Charles Franklin Carter, *Stories of the Old Missions of California* (San Francisco: Paul Elder, 1917), 35.

²⁵ Hackel, *Junípero Serra*, 177.

²⁶ Palóu, *Francisco Palou’s Life and Apostolic Labors*, 30.

If Serra carried out a similar tradition in California, then California Indian boys may have helped to set up chapels in mission plazas and could have even carried the statue of Christ that rested on the altars. Like the Pame, California Indian choirboys might have incorporated Indigenous songs and prayers into the mass.

In his studies of mission music, music historian Craig Russell has observed that California Indian musicians played both Indigenous and European instruments at the missions. In the early 1800s Fray Juan Bautista Sancho y Literales lived at Mission San Antonio de Padua where he established the choir and orchestra. According to Russell, Sancho “wrote about the musical instruments and singing of Native peoples and became fluent enough to translate Latin and Spanish texts in the local indigenous languages (presumably Mutsun and Salinan). Evidence suggests that he might have been the composer -- not merely the scribe -- for some of the concerted works that we find in his hand.”²⁷ If Sancho composed songs in California Indian languages, then it would make sense that the compositions also accounted for Indigenous instruments. Although it is not the focus of this dissertation, I bring up Catholic music and celebrations to contextualize modern-day celebrations. Feast day masses at the missions like that of Corpus Christi ought to be examined closer. To foreground a discussion of contemporary practices I turn to pageantry of the early twentieth century that reflected (at times, inaccurately) the intersection of Indigenous, Spanish and Mexican cultures.

On April 29, 1912, John McGroarty’s *Mission Play* debuted in San Gabriel, California.²⁸ Audiences believed that the play offered a realistic depiction of the missions and that it “allowed

²⁷ Craig H. Russell, *From Serra to Sancho: Music and Pageantry in the California Missions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 228.

²⁸ William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 162.

them to travel back in time.”²⁹ The reality, however, was that the play romanticized the mission experience and California’s Spanish heritage, as celebrated in La Fiesta of Los Angeles. The Fiesta parade, which took place in downtown Los Angeles emerged in the 1890s as a celebration of the city’s diverse heritage while seeking to strengthen its economy and population. It included “the desert float, covered in cacti and succulents; the floral ship, a Spanish galleon manned by schoolchildren; the missions, a float decorated with the flowers and vines brought to the New World by the Franciscan padres” and “the Indian float, complete with fifty Yuma Indians brought to Los Angeles from Arizona, each paid a dollar to participate.”³⁰ The 1894 Fiesta not only presented the Yuma Indians, in Deverell’s words, as an “exotic spectacle” meant to stand in for Aztecs, but it also failed to represent the original inhabitants of Los Angeles.³¹ This issue repeated in subsequent fiestas. In 1895, Pueblo Indians appeared on the Aztec float, and the 1896 fiesta included fifty Native Americans from Temecula.³² The Indians from Temecula may have represented the Cupeño, Payomkowishum, or Acjachemen communities. Whereas the Fiesta featured Indians from outside of Los Angeles, the *Mission Play* included some local Tongva actors.

Though it glorified California mission history, the *Mission Play* offered audiences a glimpse of Native American culture as portrayed by the descendants of Indians who lived at Mission San Gabriel. Tongva community members like Bea Alva and (my grandmother) Vivian

²⁹ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 162.

³⁰ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 53-54.

³¹ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 54, 61.

³² Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 63-64, 67.

Barthelemy performed in the play, which was revived in the 1930s.³³ Though based on Mission San Gabriel, the play offered a general, yet loose history of the California missions. It also reflected the fiesta culture of missions within and beyond the Los Angeles basin. Tongva and Mexican residents of Los Angeles travelled to and performed in Mission Santa Barbara's annual fiesta, which was first held there in 1936.³⁴ In the early days of the fiesta, California Indians performed at the Santa Barbara fiesta. My grandmother recalled that people from different backgrounds participated: "We were very close with the Santa Barbara people involved with the fiestas. They were also a combination of Spanish and Indian. They did talk about being related, but no one ever wrote anything about it."³⁵ While my grandmother performed Spanish-style dances, her Tongva father performed Native dances. Little is written about the Native performances at the fiesta (and I was unable to ask my grandmother about it before her passing in 2015), but we know they were part of the fiestas. In an interview, my grandmother recalled that her father (my great-grandfather), Arthur Morales, Sr. and her uncle, Joseph Morales "danced at some of the fiestas and they would dress in regalia."³⁶ While the Native dancers turned to neighboring tribes for inspiration, "the dance traditions of Andalusia, *escuela bolera*, Spanish folklórico, and Spanish-inspired flamenco" performed at the Santa Barbara fiesta could

³³ Claudia Jurmain and William McCawley, *O, My Ancestor: Recognition and Renewal for the Gabrielino-Tongva People of the Los Angeles Area* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2009), 36-38.

³⁴ "History of Fiesta," Old Spanish Days - Fiesta, accessed August 5, 2016, <http://oldspanishdays-fiesta.org/history/history-of-fiesta>.

³⁵ Vivian Barthelemy quoted in Jurmain and McCawley, *O, My Ancestor*, 45.

³⁶ Vivian Barthelemy quoted in Jurmain and McCawley, *O, My Ancestor*, 63.

be traced back to Spain.³⁷ While the Spanish dances represented a continuation of long-standing traditions rooted in Spain, California Indian dances had to be relearned.

Tongva and Chumash dancing traditions declined in the late nineteenth century, but the fiestas presented the communities with opportunities to revive them in the twentieth century. The cultural memory of these dances survived and communities are building upon the foundation that their ancestors established and then maintained at the missions. When discussing Tongva dances Andy Morales (dance captain of the Gabrieleno/Tongva Tribal Council of San Gabriel), points out that “we didn’t lose the root because it’s still there -- a meaning from the past to the future to carry us forward. It always changes as time went on, generations went on, the stories change, the dance patterns change. We grow from that. It’s not stuck on one specific step. It’s like a growing continuous circle of life. That’s what we’re doing today, we’re continuing on, growing, even though it’s modern time.”³⁸ The process of continuing traditions is not without its challenges, such as modern day lifestyles and discrimination, yet Native peoples are celebrating their cultures and passing them onto younger generations. Since 2004, members of the Tongva, Chumash, Acjachemen, Costanoan, Luiseño, and Kumeyaay communities have danced and performed traditional songs at the annual Moompetam festival held at the Aquarium of the Pacific in Long Beach, CA.³⁹ Through this event, the descendants of coastal California’s first peoples are maintaining their cultures while sharing them with others.

³⁷ Patricia Ann Hardwick, “The Old Spanish Days Fiesta in Santa Barbara, California: Cultural Hybridity, Colonial Mythologies and the Romanticization of a Latino Heritage,” *Humanities Diliman* 7:2 (2010): 79.

³⁸ Andy Morales quoted in Jurmain and McCawley, *O, My Ancestor*, 286-287.

³⁹ “Moompetam: Native American Festival,” Aquarium of the Pacific, accessed August 10, 2016, <http://www.aquariumofpacific.org/events/info/moompetam/>.

As of 2009, approximately 150,000 California Indians were living in California.⁴⁰

Though small in comparison to the greater population of the state, this number is a testament to the perseverance of California Indians who resisted colonial powers that sought to eradicate the people and their cultures. Citing California Indian historian, William Bauer, Jr. (Wailacki and Concow of the Round Valley Indian Tribes), Madley has made an important point about the survival of California Indians:

That California Indians survived is remarkable. As historian William Bauer Jr. has observed, while ‘the specter of genocide and the drastic population decline hangs over the narrative’ of California Indian history, the epic of California Indian survival is ‘a story worthy of marvel.’ That thousands endured and maintained their traditions is a testament to their tenacious defiance and intelligent survival strategies against overwhelming odds.⁴¹

California Indians overcame incredible odds to survive the disaster of the Franciscan missions. Unfortunately, this story is rarely told in the mission museums. In her critical study of the mission museums, anthropologist Deana Dartt has argued that these institutions continue to promote a fantasy narrative about the past that dismisses the individual identities of the California Indian men, women, and children who occupied these spaces.⁴² She also pointed out that “the struggles of artisans to find weaving materials in an altered landscape, or the difficulty of maintaining traditional knowledge during such a tumultuous time” remain unacknowledged in the museums.⁴³ This dissertation aims to fill that gap in the mission museum narrative. Thus, the next step is to engage mission museum staff by developing new educational materials and

⁴⁰ Madley, *American Genocide*, 348.

⁴¹ Madley, *American Genocide*, 348; original Bauer quote can be found in William J. Bauer, Jr., *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California’s Round Valley Reservation, 1850-1941* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 204.

⁴² Deana Dartt, “California’s Sites of Conscience: An Analysis of the State’s Historic Mission Museums,” *Museum Anthropology* 34:2 (2011): 97.

⁴³ Dartt, “California’s Sites of Conscience,” 101.

museum didactics that tell the true story of the California Indian and mission experience. In my role as a member of the San Gabriel Mission Museum Board I strive to update the narrative told in the museum and bring the Tongva community to public awareness.

The goal of this dissertation is to dignify California Indian art on its own terms and acknowledge the men and women who built California's historic mission churches. Ironically, these structures were meant to replace California Indian religions. Yet, as the dissertation has argued, California Indians reclaimed these spaces through acts of micro-resistance. By expanding this study, I aim to acknowledge "the hard truths of mission life" that impeded California Indians from practicing their cultures.⁴⁴ Through close study of other missions and artworks we can better understand and appreciate the incredible accomplishments of California's first peoples.

⁴⁴ I borrow the concept of "hard truths" from Deana Dartt. Dartt, "California's Sites of Conscience," 104.

FIGURES

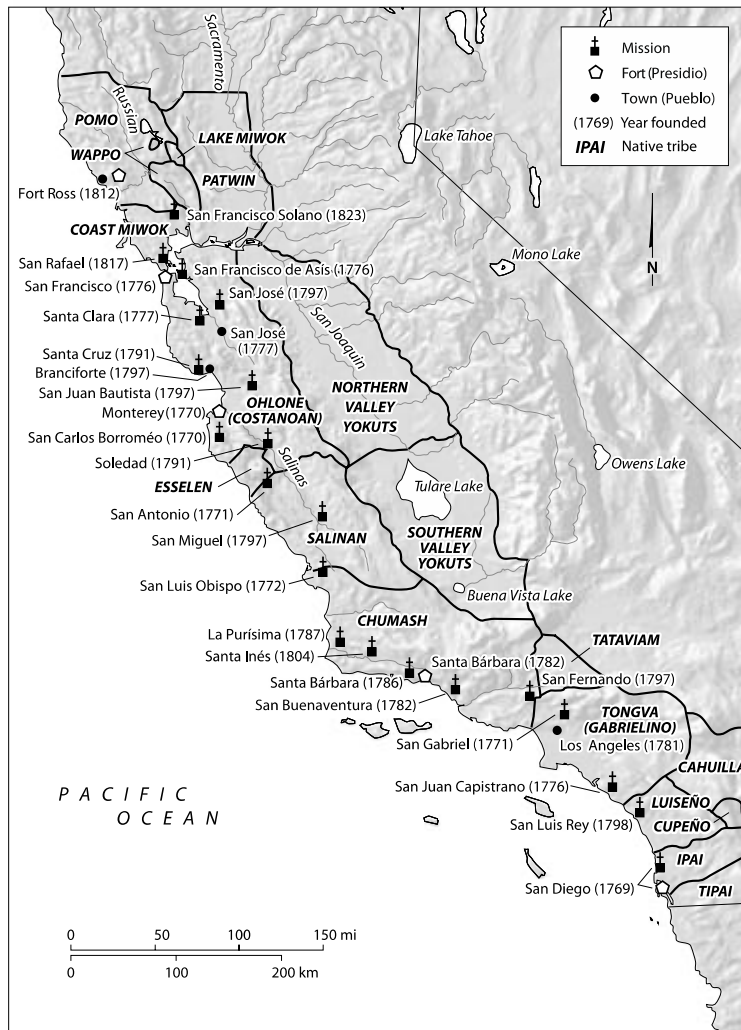


Figure 1. *California missions, forts, and towns, 1769-1823.* Map reproduced from Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 28.

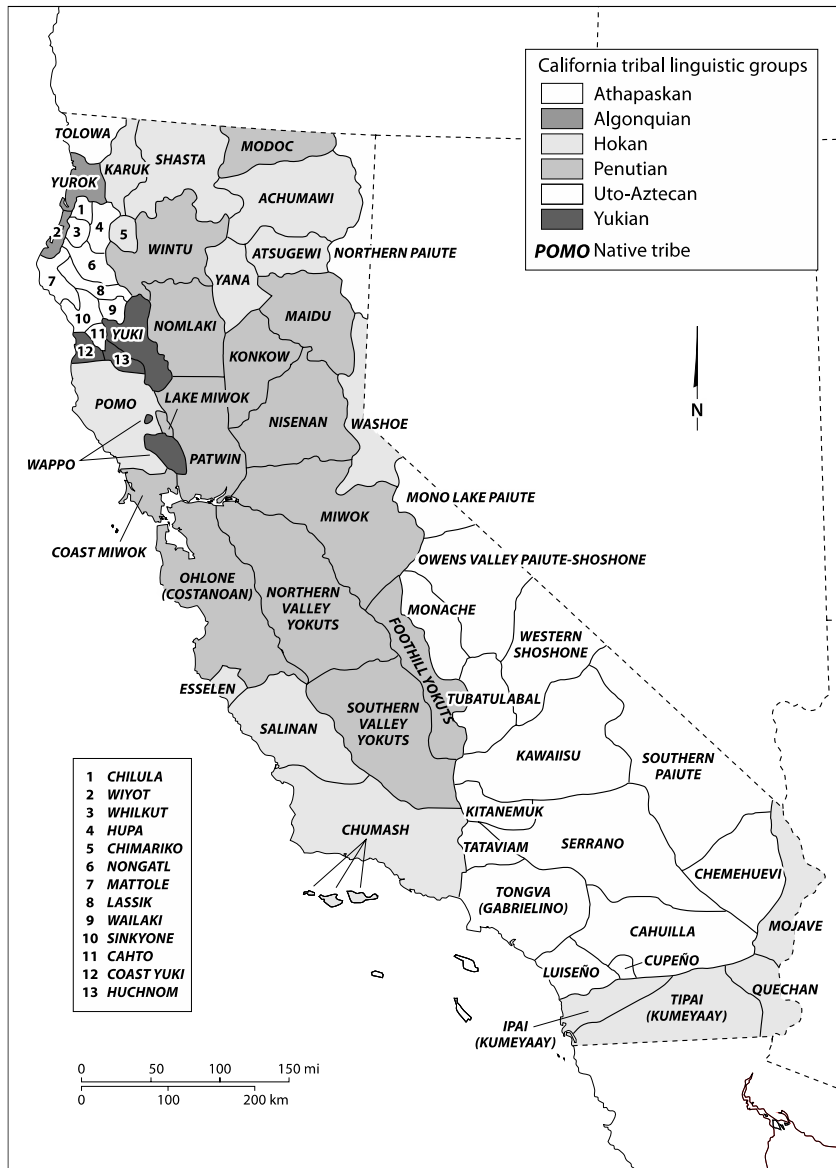


Figure 2. *California Indian tribes and language groups*. Map reproduced from Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 24.



Figure 3. *Tabernacle*, late eighteenth century. Shell, mirrors, wood, pigment, W 28 x H 36 x D 24 in. (71 x 91.5 x 61cm). Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photo by author, 2012.



Figure 4. Attributed to Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash), from left to right: *Hope*, *St. Barbara* and *Charity*, reproductions of the originals sculpted in the early nineteenth century. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photo by author, 2012.



Figure 5. Attributed to Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash), *Bear waterspout*, 1815-1820. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photo by author, 2013.



Figure 6a. *First station: Christ is condemned to death, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 1.



Figure 6b. *Second station: Christ receives the cross, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 2.



Figure 6c. *Third Station: Christ falls for the first time, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 3.



Figure 6d. *Fourth station: Christ meets his mother, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 4.



Figure 6e. *Fifth station: Simon of Cyrene helps Christ carry the cross, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 5.



Figure 6f. *Sixth station: Veronica wipes the face of Christ, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 6.



Figure 6h. *Eighth station: Christ meets the women of Jerusalem, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 8.



Figure 6i. *Ninth station: Christ falls for the third time, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 9.



Figure 6j. *Tenth station: Christ is stripped of his garments, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 10.



Figure 6k. *Eleventh station: Christ is nailed to the cross, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 11.



Figure 61. *Twelfth station: Christ dies on the cross, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 12.



Figure 6m. *Thirteenth station: Christ's body is taken down from the cross, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 13.



Figure 6n. *Fourteenth station: Christ's body is laid in the tomb, Stations of the Cross*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission San Gabriel, San Gabriel, California. Image reproduced from Norman Neuerburg, "The Indian Via Crucis from Mission San Fernando," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (Fall 1997): fig. 14.



Figure 7. Chumash, *Padre's hat made of grass*, late eighteenth century. Sedge root, bulrush root, H 2.76 x D 16.3 in. (7 x 40 cm). Collected by George Goodman Hewett, The British Museum, London, United Kingdom, Am,VAN.196. (©Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 8. Tongva, *Kiys* (thatched hut), early twenty-first century. Tule. Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden, Claremont, California. Photo by author, 2011.



Figure 9. Chumash, *Carved wooden bowl with shell inlay*, ca. 1760s. Oak, shell, maximum D 5.9 in. (15 cm). Collected in the Santa Ynez Valley in 1878 by Léon de Cessac, Musée de l'Homme, Paris, France. Image reproduced from Campbell Grant, "Eastern Coastal Chumash," in *Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 8, California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 515, fig. 5.



Figure 10. Juana Maria (Tongva), *Twined water bottle*, 1840s or 1850s. Asphaltum, juncus (?). Image reproduced from Ralph Shanks, *California Indian Baskets: San Diego to Santa Barbara and Beyond to the San Joaquin Valley, Mountains and Deserts* (Marin: Costaño Books, 2010) 49.



Figure 11. *Basket*, late eighteenth century (?). Grass (?), D 11.8 x H 2.8 in. (30 x h 7 cm). Collected by George Goodman Hewett, The British Museum, London, United Kingdom, Am,VAN.188. (© The British Museum)



Figure 12. Chumash, *Bear effigy*, sixteenth-seventeenth century. Steatite, red cinnabar, shell, H 3.4 x W 2.25 x D 2.6 in. (8.6 x 5.7 x 6.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, 1979.206.397. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, www.metmuseum.org)



Figure 13. Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, *An Indian Dance at the Mission of San Jose, in New California*, 1806. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California. Image reproduced from Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California: 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 81, Plate 7.

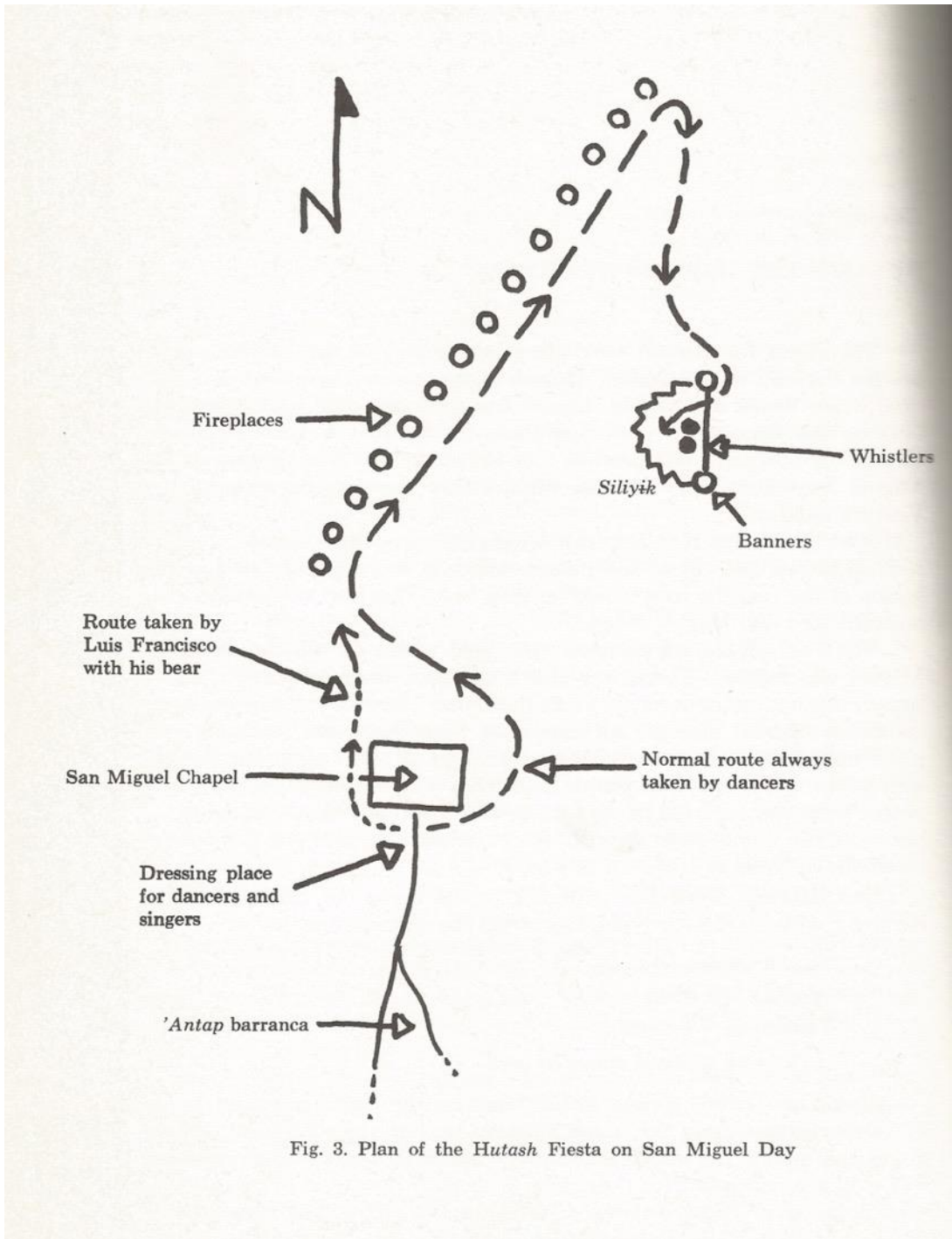


Figure 14. Campbell Grant, *Plan of the Hutash Fiesta on San Miguel Day*. Drawing reproduced from Travis Hudson, Thomas Blackburn, Rosario Curletti, and Janice Timbrook, eds., *The Eye of the Flute: Chumash Traditional History and Ritual as Told by Fernando Librado Kitsepawit to John. P. Harrington* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, 1981), 44, fig. 3.



Figure 15. Taos Pueblo, *San Gerónimo Church*, built after 1847, photographed May 1939. Taos Pueblo, New Mexico. Photograph reproduced from John L. Kessell, *The Missions of New Mexico Since 1776* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2012), 113, figure 100.



Figure 16. María Marta Zaputimeu (Chumash), *Basket bowl*, early nineteenth century. Juncus, sumac, approximately D 16.25 x H 6.5 in. (41.3 x 16.5 cm). Phoebe Hearst Museum, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California, 1-22478. Photograph reproduced from Janice Timbrook, "Six Chumash Presentation Baskets," *American Indian Art Magazine* 39:3 (Summer 2014): 51, fig. 3.

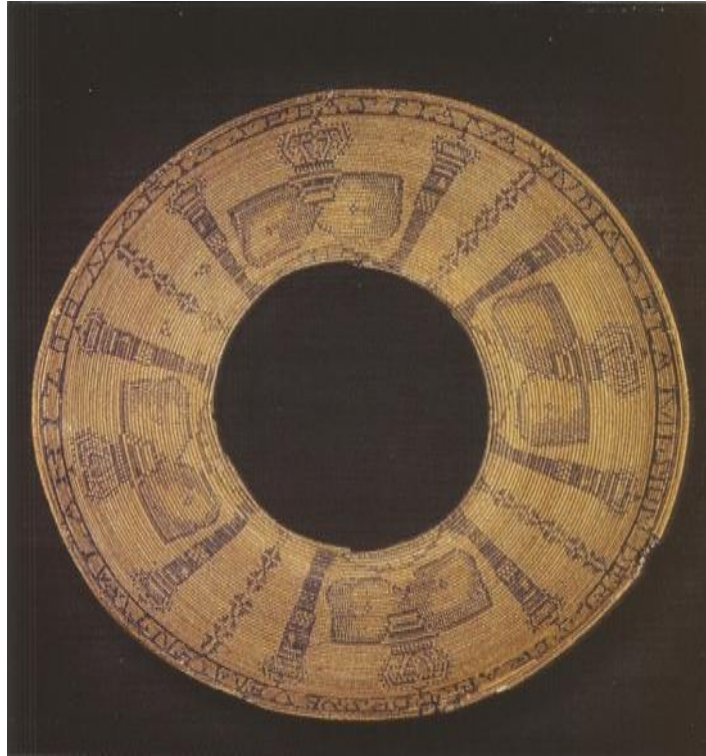


Figure 17. María Sebastiana Suatimehue (Chumash), *Basket*, early nineteenth century. Juncus, sumac, flicker-feather quills, approximately D 15 x H 4.5 in. (38 x 11.4 cm). Private collection. Photograph reproduced from Janice Timbrook, "Six Chumash Presentation Baskets," *American Indian Art Magazine* 39:3 (Summer 2014): 55, fig. 6.

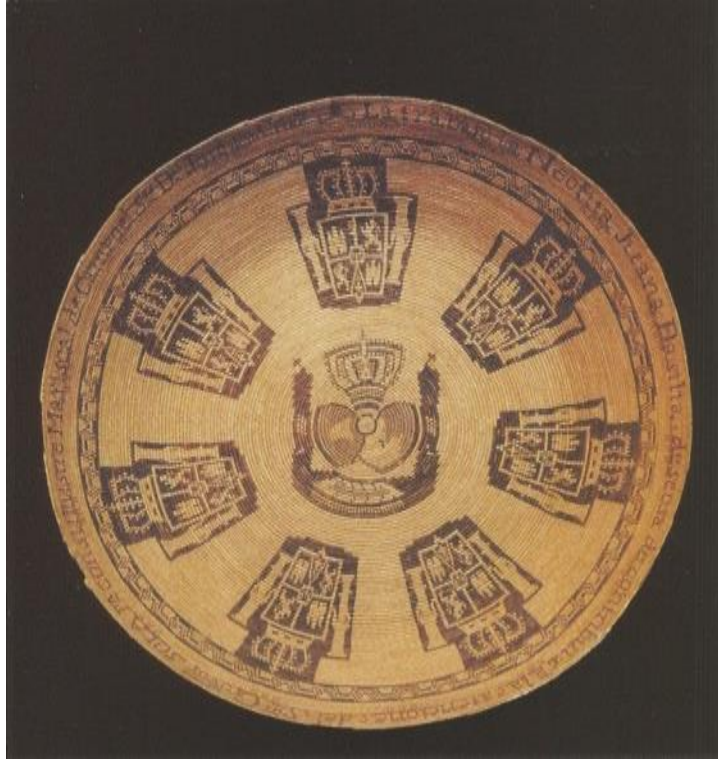


Figure 18. Juana Basilia Sitmelelene (Chumash), *Basket tray*, ca. 1820. Juncus, deergrass, sumac, approximately D 24 x H 4 in. (61 x 10.2 cm). Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, Santa Barbara, California, NA-CA-CH-4F-3. Photograph reproduced from Janice Timbrook, "Six Chumash Presentation Baskets," *American Indian Art Magazine* 39:3 (Summer 2014): 52, fig. 4.



Figure 19. Juana Basilia Sitmelelene (Chumash), *Basket tray*, ca. 1820. Juncus, dye, L 22.6 x W 18.4 x D 3.1 in. (57.5 x 46.8 x 7.8 cm). National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 25/1. (National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution)



Figure 20. Juana Basilia Sitmelelene (Chumash), *Basket tray*, ca. 1825. Juncus, sumac, dye, D 19 x H 3.25 in. (48.26 x 8.26 cm). National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 23/132. (National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution)



Figure 21a. *Pillar Dollar* (obverse), 1771. (Image Courtesy of Heritage Auctions)



Figure 21b. *Pillar Dollar* (reverse), 1771. (Image Courtesy of Heritage Auctions)



Figure 22. Chumash, *Basket*, early nineteenth century. Juncus, sumac, approximately D 12.25 x H 4 in. (31.1 x 10.2 cm). Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico City, Mexico, GCE 0001. Photograph reproduced from Janice Timbrook, "Six Chumash Presentation Baskets," *American Indian Art Magazine* 39:3 (Summer 2014): 55, fig. 7.

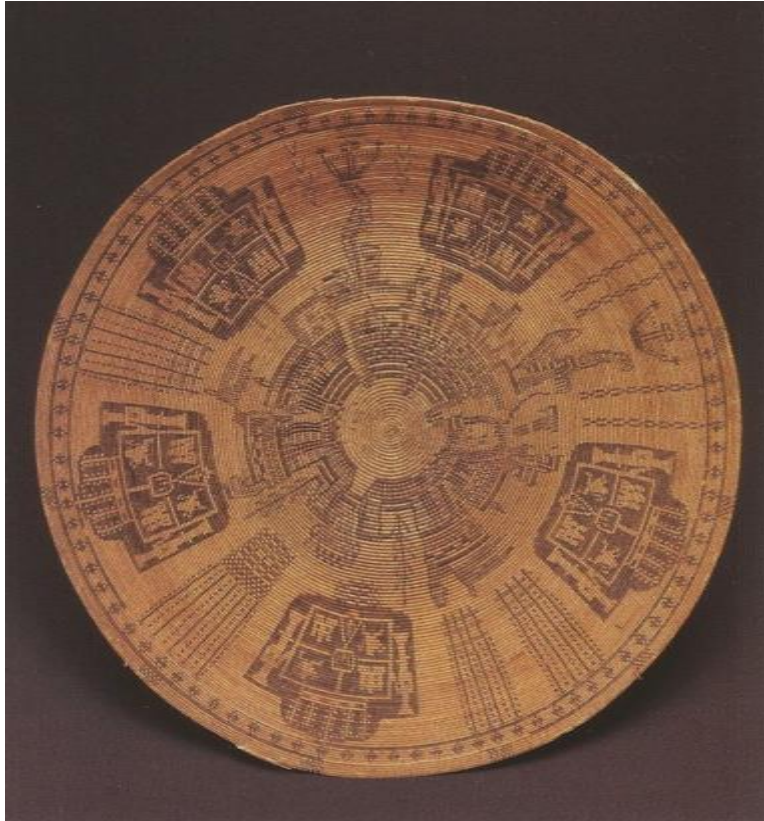


Figure 23. Chumash, *Basket*, early nineteenth century. Juncus, sumac, approximately D 19.5 x H 7 in. (47 x 17.8 cm). Private collection. Photograph reproduced from Janice Timbrook, "Six Chumash Presentation Baskets," *American Indian Art Magazine* 39:3 (Summer 2014): 56, fig. 8.



Figure 24. *Lavandería bear waterspout*, reproduction of the original sculpted by Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash) between 1815 and 1820, twentieth century. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photo by author, 2012.



Figure 25. *Mountain lion fountainhead*, reproduction of the original sculpted by Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash) between 1815 and 1820, twentieth century. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photo by author, 2013.



Figure 26. Chumash, *Church facade*, originally constructed beginning 1815. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photo by author, 2015.



Figure 27. Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash), *Mountain lion fountainhead*, early nineteenth century, and *Hope* and *St. Barbara*, both reproductions of the originals sculpted by Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash) in the early nineteenth century. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photo by author, 2012.



Figure 28. *Church pediment and statues*. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photo by author, 2015.



Figure 29. C. C. Pierce, *Mission Santa Barbara*, 1898. Photograph. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, photCL Pierce 03364. (The Huntington Library, San Marino, California)



Figure 30. *Hope*, reproduction of the original sculpted by Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash) in the early nineteenth century. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photo by author, 2012.



Figure 31. *St. Barbara* and *Charity*, reproductions of the originals sculpted by Paciano Guilajahicet (Chumash) in the early nineteenth century. Sandstone. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photo by author, 2012.



Figure 32. Chumash (?), *effigy*, pre-1769 (?), collected before 1940. Steatite, H 3.25 x D 1.25 x L 5 in. (8.3 x 3.2 x 12.7 cm). Southwest Museum of the American Indian Collection, The Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California, 149.G.90. (The Autry Museum of the American West, TheAutry.org)



Figure 33. *Dolphin-like effigy from Eel Point, pre-1769 (?)*. L 1.5 x W 0.6 in. (3.8 x 1.4 cm). Photograph reproduced from Constance Cameron, "Animal Effigies from Coastal Southern California," *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 36:2 (Spring 2000): 32, fig. 12.2.



Figure 34. *Saint Barbara*, late eighteenth century. Paint, wood. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photograph reproduced from Kurt Baer, *Painting and Sculpture at Mission Santa Barbara* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 63, fig. 31.



Figure 35. *Church ceiling decoration*, early nineteenth century. Paint, wood. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photo by author, 2012.

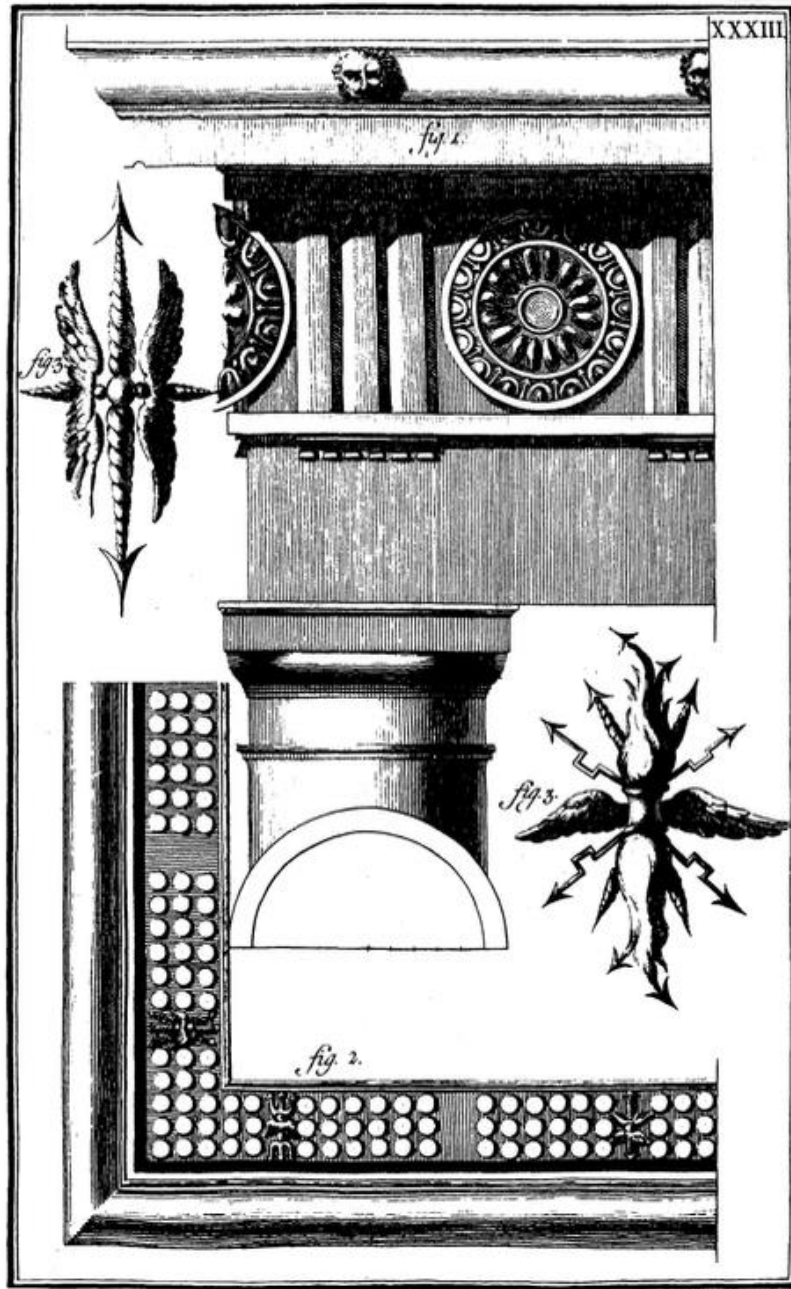


Figure 36. Vitruvio Polion, *Large representation of the same rays*, first century BC. Image reproduced from Vitruvius Pollio, *Los Diez Libros de Architectura de M. Vitruvio Polion Traducidos del Latin y Comentados Por Don Joseph Ortiz y Sanz, Presbiterio* (Madrid: La Imprenta Real, 1787), Plate XXXIII, figs. 3.



Figure 37. *Tabernacle and Table*, late eighteenth century. Shell, mirrors, wood, pigment, canvas. Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California. Photo by author, 2012.



Figure 38. Chumash, *Ceremonial Wand*, pre-1769. Whale bone, asphaltum, shell. The Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California, Southwest Museum of the American Indian, P.21267. (The Autry Museum of the American West, TheAutry.org)



Figure 39. Chumash (?), *Steatite cup with shell inlay*, pre-1769 (?). Steatite, shell. The Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California, Southwest Museum of the American Indian, P.21278. (The Autry Museum of the American West, TheAutry.org)



Figure 40. *Saint Raphael Archangel*, early nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Mission Santa Inés, Solvang, California. Image reproduced from Edna Kimbro and Julia G. Costello, *The California Missions: History, Art and Preservation* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2009), 137.

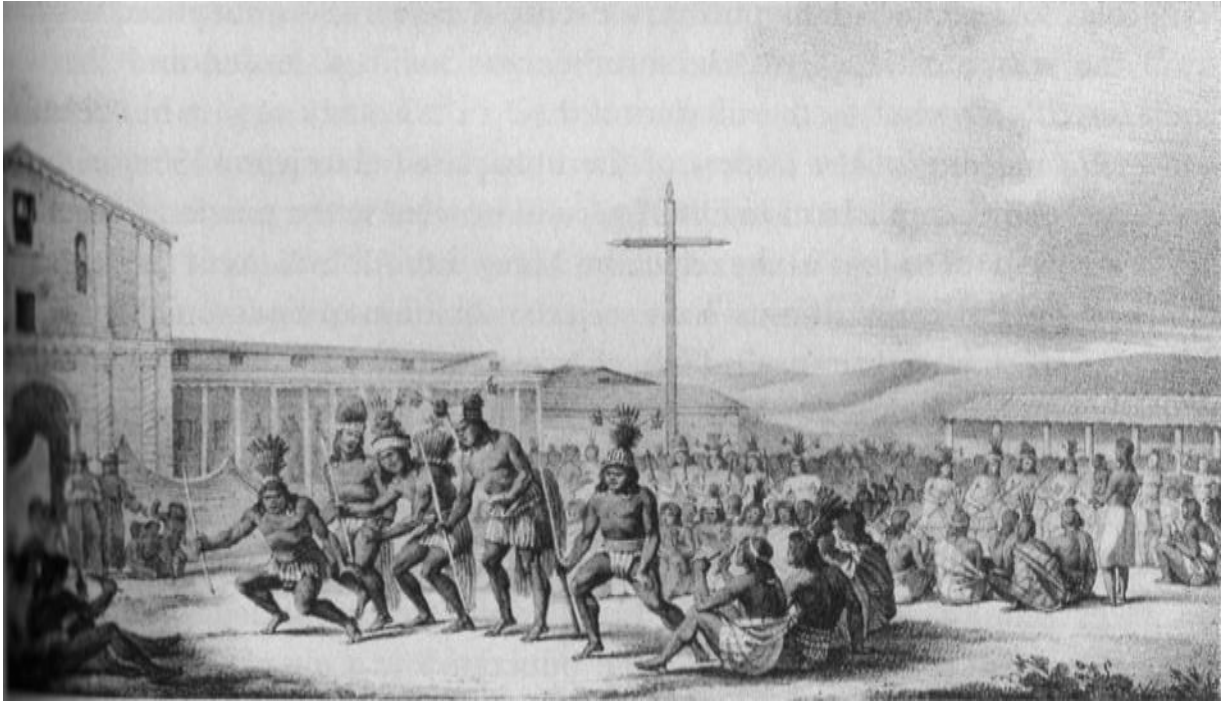


Figure 41. Louis Choris, *Danse des habitants de Californie à la mission de San Francisco*, 1816. Drawing. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California. Drawing reproduced from Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California: 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 265.



Figure 42. Léon de Cessac, *Rafael Solares* (Chumash), 1878. Photograph. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California. Photograph reproduced from Mark Q. Sutton, *An Introduction to Native North America* (Needham Heights: Allyn and Bacon, 2000), 194.



Figure 43. Chumash, *Chumash painted cave*, pre-1769. Stone, pigment. Canaliño SB-21. Photograph reproduced from Campbell Grant, *The Rock Paintings of the Chumash* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), fig. 31.



Figure 44. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, *St. Raphael/San Rafael Arcángel*, 1780. Retablo, gesso and oil on wood, H 49.2 x W 23.6 in. (125 x 60 cm). Museum of Spanish Colonial Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1954.077. Image reproduced from Carmella Padilla, ed., *Conexiones: Connections in Spanish Colonial Art* (Santa Fe: Museum of Spanish Colonial Art, 2002), 67, fig. 79.



Figure 45. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, *Saint Michael*, ca. 1774-1776. Wood, gesso, paint, gilding, H 40.9 in x W 20 in. (104 x 51.8 cm). Zuni Pueblo Visitor's Center, Zuni, New Mexico. Image reproduced from Josef Díaz, ed., *The Art and Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco: New Spain's Explorer Cartographer, and Artist* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2013), 66, fig. 24.



Figure 46. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, *Saint Raphael*, ca. 1774-1776. Wood, gesso, paint, gilding, H 42 x W 20 in. (107 x 50.8 cm). Made for the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Zuni Pueblo, Zuni, New Mexico. Image reproduced from Josef Díaz, ed., *The Art and Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco: New Spain's Explorer Cartographer, and Artist* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2013), 67, fig. 25.



Figure 47. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, *Altar Screen dedicated to Our Lady of Light*, 1761. Volcanic stone, paint. Cristo Rey Church, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Image reproduced from Josef Díaz, ed., *The Art and Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco: New Spain's Explorer Cartographer, and Artist* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2013), 65, fig. 23.



Figure 48. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, *Saint Joseph and the Christ Child*, detail from Altar Screen dedicated to Our Lady of Light, 1761. Volcanic stone, paint. Cristo Rey Church, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Image reproduced from Josef Díaz, ed., *The Art and Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco: New Spain's Explorer Cartographer, and Artist* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2013), 4.



Figure 49. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, *Saint Francis Solano*, detail from Altar Screen dedicated to Our Lady of Light, 1761. Volcanic stone, paint. Cristo Rey Church, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Image reproduced from Josef Díaz, ed., *The Art and Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco: New Spain's Explorer Cartographer, and Artist* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2013), 55, fig. 15.



Figure 50. Laguna Santero, *Altar Screen*, ca. 1800-1809. Gesso and water-based paint on wood, plastered side walls, leather ceiling canopy. San José de Gracia Mission Church, Laguna Pueblo, Laguna, New Mexico. Image reproduced from Donna Pierce, "The Active Reception of International Artistic Sources in New Mexico," in *Transforming Images: New Mexican Santos In-Between Worlds*, ed. Claire J. Farago and Donna Pierce (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 49, fig. 3.a.3.



Figure 51. Laguna Santero, *Saint Joseph and Christ Child*, detail from altar screen, ca. 1800-1809. San José de Gracia Mission Church, Laguna Pueblo, Laguna, New Mexico. Image reproduced from Claire Farago, "Transforming Images: 'Managing the Interstices with a Measure of Creativity'," in *Transforming Images: New Mexican Santos In-Between Worlds*, ed. Claire Farago and Donna Pierce (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 164, fig. 10.a.1.



Figure 52. *Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Santa María la Redonda*, eighteenth century. Fred Harvey Collection of the International Folk Art Foundation at the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Image reproduced from Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "The Print Sources of New Mexican Colonial Hide Paintings," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 18:68 (1996): 62, fig. 12.



Digitally reproduced by the USC Digital Library. From the California Historical Society Collection at the University of Southern California

Figure 53. C. C. Pierce, *Interior view of the Mission San Gabriel Arcángel, looking down the center aisle towards the altar*, San Gabriel, ca. 1900. Photograph. California Historical Society Collection, University of Southern California Libraries Special Collections, CHS-5567. (University of Southern California Libraries and California Historical Society)



Figure 54. *Sixth Station*, ca. 1817. Oil on canvas. Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, Soledad, California. Photo by author, 2012.



Figure 55. Mexican, *Our Lady Refuge of Sinners*, late nineteenth century. Oil on tinplate. New Mexico State University Art Gallery, Las Cruces, New Mexico. Image reproduced from Claire Farago, "Competing Religious Discourses in Postcolonial New Mexico," in *Transforming Images: New Mexican Santos In-Between Worlds*, ed. Claire Farago and Donna Pierce (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 203, fig. 11-5.



Figure 56. *Map of Otumba and nearby communities, Mexico, 1590.* Color on European paper. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Mexico. Map reproduced from Dana Leibsohn, "Colony and Cartography: Shifting Signs on Indigenous Maps of New Spain," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 273, figure 13.6.



Figure 57. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, *Map of Nuevo México*, ca. 1758. Oil on canvas, 42.5 x 39 in. (108 x 99 cm). New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Image reproduced from Dennis Reinhartz, “Soldier-Engineer of the Greater Southwest: The Cartography,” in *The Art & Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco: New Spain’s Explorer, Cartographer, and Artist*, ed. Josef Díaz (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2013), 34, figure 2.



Figure 58. Dugan Aguilar (Maidu/Pit River/Northern Paiute), *Tima with her basket at Heyday*, 2012. Photograph. Photograph reproduced from Tima Lotah Link, "Using My Hands with Patience," *News from Native California* 26:1 (Fall 2012): 4.



Figure 59. L. Frank (Tongva/Acjachemen), *no really, please take my wife*, 2012. Acrylic on board. Image reproduced from James Luna, ed., “Saying Our Share: Surviving the Missions,” *News from Native California* 28:2 (Winter 2014/2015): 16.



30

Figure 60. L. Frank (Tongva/Acjachemen), *stop the dance*, 1999. Drawing. Drawing reproduced from L. Frank, *Acorn Soup* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1999), 30.

Appendix A

Photographs of the Old Church at Mission Santa Inés



C. C. Pierce (1861-1946), *Mission Santa Inez – Altar*, early nineteenth century. Photograph. The Huntington Library, San Marino, C. C. Pierce Collection of Photographs, California, photCL Pierce 03176. (The Huntington Library, San Marino, California)



C. C. Pierce (1861-1946), *Mission Santa Inez. Inside church looking toward altar*, early nineteenth century. Photograph. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, C. C. Pierce Collection of Photographs, photCL Pierce 03173. (The Huntington Library, San Marino, California)



C. C. Pierce (1861-1946), *Side Altar and Confessional, Santa Inez*, 1904. Photograph. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, C. C. Pierce Collection of Photographs, photCL Pierce 03151. (The Huntington Library, San Marino, California)



G. P. Thresher, *Photograph of the entrance and choir loft at Mission Santa Ines*, 1904. Gelatin silver print. The Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California, Gift of Mr. Ralph Braddock, P.20065. (The Autry Museum of the American West, TheAutry.org)



Photograph of the sanctuary at Mission Santa Ines, early to mid-1900s. Gelatin silver print. The Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California, Gift of Mr. Ralph Braddock, P.20089. (The Autry Museum of the American West, TheAutry.org)



Photograph of the interior of Mission Santa Ines, early 1900s. Gelatin silver print. The Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California, Gift of Mr. George Wharton James, P.20056. (The Autry Museum of the American West, TheAutry.org)

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University of Southern California Libraries Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA

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