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Gender Status Decline, Resistance, and Accommodation among Female Neophytes in the Missions of California: A San Gabriel Case Study

EDWARD D. CASTILLO

Nearly eighty thousand California Indians were directly inducted into the Franciscan colonial labor and Christianization programs in Alta California. This study primarily focuses on the Kumi'vit, or Gabrielino, Indians of Southern California.¹ This native group spoke at least four dialects of the Takic family of languages derived from the larger Uto-Aztecan linguistic stock. According to the United States Bureau of Ethnology's linguist, John P. Harrington, they were divided into the Gabrielino proper, whose territory embraced the watershed of the Los Angeles and Santa Ana river basins, the Fernandeno to the north, and the two dialects associated with Santa Catalina and San Nicholas islands.² Encompassing several biotic zones, nearly 90 percent of their territory was in the extremely rich Sonoran life zone whose food resources included vast quantities of acorn, pine nut, small game, and deer. Sea resources such as fish, shellfish, and sea mammals were available for coastal groups and others through trade.³

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The five-thousand-plus Kumi-vit resided in well-defined villages, both permanent and seasonal. Each village consisted of fifty to five hundred individuals who were most often politically independent and fiercely jealous of their territory and its resources. Nevertheless, villages were bound to each other through economic, religious, and social ties.⁴ The people in the villages were divided into three hierarchically ordered social classes. At the top was the elite class, including chiefs, their families, and other especially successful families who spoke a specialized language. A middle class consisted of long-established lineages and other moderately successful families. The third class consisted of the remaining population.

Native leadership consisted of the *Tumiar*, or village chief, who was the dominant lineage leader in his or her own village and sometimes commanded the allegiance of neighboring villages. Female leaders were not unknown. Where found, they were most often a sister or daughter of a former chief, appointed by lineage elders with community approval.⁵

Undergirding the hunting and collecting economies of these groups was a religious cosmology that viewed humankind as not the focus of creation but merely a strand in a larger web of life. Humankind's primary religious responsibility was to act as wise stewards to the earth's living things and sacred places, while offering periodic ceremonies of thanksgiving to the creator and earth spirits.⁶ The arrival of the Spanish would forever shatter the tightly integrated system that had insured their successful survival for thousands of years.

The role of Kumi-vit women in aboriginal society shared traits common among other tribes found in the state. Fundamental to women's roles was their responsibility as producers of the bulk of native diet. Collecting wild plant life was a gender-specific task they alone pursued. Women neither hunted nor fished, yet neither of these male-exclusive activities could approach the caloric importance of female food procurement. Other gender-specific duties included food preparation and preservation, cooking, and clothes-making. Fuel and water procurement were shared with males. Child-rearing responsibilities were normally relieved during menstrual periods by female relatives. In contrast to native women of Northern and Central California, Southern California females were active in tribal ceremonies and mourning rituals. In both family and community life, females enjoyed a large measure of freedom, respect, and independence.⁷

Among the final great military, economic, and religious expansions of Spain's New World empire was that of the military-Franciscan invasion and occupation of Alta California beginning in 1769. That colonization followed a general pattern of extending control over the native peoples, their land, and resources through military intimidation and religious indoctrination. It is essential to understand that the central role of the Spanish frontier missions was to control the native peoples until they could be absorbed into the colonial society as a mass of laborers for Hispanicized elites, who would rule Spain's new subjects after a supposed ten-year missionization period. Only since 1940 have scholars begun a disquieting reflection upon the overwhelming human suffering and loss of life that missionization meant for the Kumivit and other subjects of the new colonial order. Despite the missionaries' awareness that massive Indian death inevitably accompanied Spanish colonization, the Franciscans were determined to save Indian souls and create their particular vision of God's kingdom on earth through the hard labor and abundant natural resources of the California Indians.⁸

The arrival of the Spanish in Kumivit territory in the late summer of 1771 signaled the inauguration of the struggle between the Indians and the Spanish military and Franciscan authorities for control of the Indians' sacred homelands. An incident just preceding the establishment of Mission San Gabriel serves to illustrate the profound misunderstandings that have characterized Indian and missionary perceptions to this day. Franciscan historian Zephyrin Engelhardt's writings tell of a "great multitude of savages" who were armed and apparently hostile to the foreigners about to usurp their lands. Missionaries and later church writers have made much of the colonists' unfurling of a canvas painting of the Virgin Mary. According to Engelhardt, the Indians,

all overcome by the sight of the beautiful image threw down their bows and arrows. The two chiefs quickly ran up to lay at the feet of the sovereign queen as tokens of their great esteem the beads they wore around their necks. By the same action they manifested their desire to be at peace with us. They called upon all the neighboring rancherias [villages] who in large numbers flocked together, men, women and children, and came to see the Most Holy Virgin. They also brought seeds, which they left at the feet of the most holy lady, imagining that she would eat like the rest. The sight of

the image of our lady transformed the savages around Mission San Gabriel so that they made frequent visits to the fathers, not knowing how else to express their satisfaction for having come to stay in their country."⁹

These Eurocentric fantasies are typical of church self-histories that may be religiously "correct" but add nothing to a cross-cultural understanding of that event and all that followed. Ethnographic data readily reveal the existence of a female spirit in Kumi-vit cosmology called Chukit, who was, according to tradition, impregnated by lightning and bore a son who was called "the Son of God." Naturally, since neither founding missionary could speak the native tongue and no Indian could understand Spanish, it seems likely that the Kumi-vit believed the Spanish also knew about Chukit. Such coincidences would later serve to encourage the syncretistic fusion of pagan and Christian beliefs.¹⁰

Mission San Gabriel was established on 8 September 1771. At that time, it was little more than a native-style *ramada* surrounded by a stockade. The overwhelming number of curious local natives so alarmed Padre Somera that he scurried back to the San Diego Presidio to beg for additional military reinforcements. We can be sure, however, that the feeling of fear was mutual. Any illusions that the local natives may have had regarding the character of the colonists were soon tempered by bitter experience.¹¹ Within a month, a disquieting pattern of sexual assaults upon Kumi-vit girls and women had developed. To the dismay of the Franciscans, the Indians turned hostile and sullen, collecting their children from the mission and declaring their intention to kill all the Spanish.¹² On 19 October 1771, the chief of the Porciuncula Rancheria organized a large force of warriors to lay siege to the mission while the *Tumiar* (principal chief) and a large force of armed natives attempted to kill a soldier who had raped his wife. That soldier, along with a companion, rushed to secure the mission stock grazing nearby. Wearing heavy leather armor, the two soldiers deflected a shower of arrows and, in turn, shot and killed the *Tumiar* with their firearms and wounded two others. Panic seized the Indians, who fled in terror at the roar of the Spanish weapons. The soldiers then cut off the *Tumiar's* head and spiked the grisly trophy to display at the mission. Within a week, another force of warriors was thwarted in a second attempt to attack the Spanish outpost. Finally, in fear, the local Kumi-vit rancheria moved some distance away, leaving only two Indians at

the mission. Alarmed military authorities doubled the number of soldiers assigned to protect the missionaries.¹³

In 1773, Junipero Serra, *padre presidente* of the Franciscans in Alta California, described the casual and often violent method Spanish soldiers had of acquiring Kumi-vit women:

In the morning, six or more soldiers would set out together, with or without the permission of their corporal, on horseback, and go to the far distant rancherias, even many leagues away. When both men and women at sight of them took to their heels—and this account comes from the father, who learned of it from the many declarations and complaints of the gentiles—the soldiers, clever as they are at lassoing cows and mules, would catch Indian women with their lassos to become prey for their unbridled lust. At times some Indian men would try to defend their wives, only to be shot down with bullets.¹⁴

Even the mission compound itself did not offer a haven from the soldiers' depraved lust. Here both male and female children suffered sexual assaults.¹⁵ One shocking consequence of the wholesale sexual abuse of Kumi-vit women is described by a chronicler with close ties to the Gabrielino (as local neophytes were soon called):

Another event soon convinced them of their visitors' mortality, for shortly afterwards they received another visit from a larger party, who commenced tying the hands of the adult males behind their backs; and making signs of their wish to procure women—these having again fled to the thicket, at the first appearance of their coming. Harsh measures obtained for them what they sought, but the women were considered contaminated, and put through a long course of sweating, drinking herbs, etc. They necessarily become accustomed to these things, but their disgust and abhorrence never left them till many years after. In fact every white child born among them for a long period was secretly strangled and buried.¹⁶

It is little wonder that the novelty of all things Spanish soon began to lose its attraction for the reluctant native hosts. The Spanish had, after all, seized native territory. Their new animals—horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep—began to gobble up strained native food supplies. Worse yet, a new religion was being aggres-

sively propagated, supported by an ever-present, ominous military threat. As the mission stock animals rapidly increased, one early account noted, "The number of hogs was great and were principally used for making soap. The Indians, with some few exceptions, refused to eat hogs, alleging the whole family to be transformed Spaniards!"¹⁷ Early chronicler Padre Francisco Palou described the missionaries at San Gabriel in 1771 as fearful for their lives and dependent on the soldiers to prevent Indians from ejecting them.¹⁸

Despite a century or more of experience in Christianization efforts among the Indians of the New World, the Franciscans apparently never developed an effective policy to prevent the wholesale sexual exploitation of the native peoples whom they were supposedly helping. Perhaps the problem was inherent in an "evangelization" program that, in the final analysis, relied on military force to secure native acquiescence to Franciscan authority.

From a native point of view, the mission, even at this early stage, seems to have been an unwholesome environment. As a consequence, recruitment into the Franciscan fold was slow and reluctant. Spanish missionaries commented early on that Kumivit parents were extremely fond of and devoted to their children and that the children were treated like "little idols."¹⁹ Most likely, the San Gabriel Franciscans followed recruitment patterns established elsewhere by first targeting sick and dying native children, because baptism in such cases did not require consent.²⁰

An early non-Indian informant with marriage ties to the Gabrielino elite provided reminiscences about how some local recruitment was accomplished. Following a sweep by soldiers and some Indian auxiliaries near Chino, Kumivit men, women, and children were whipped, tied up, and driven to the mission. There a ritual of submission was required from men and boys, who had to throw their arms at the feet of the padre. Women and children were used as leverage to secure baptisms.

Infants were then baptized, as were also all children under eight years of age; the former were left with their mothers, but the latter kept apart from all communication with their parents. The consequence was first the women consented to the right [sic] and received it for the love they bore their offspring; and finally the males gave way for the purpose of enjoying once more, the society of wife and family. Marriage was then performed . . .²¹

The simple, symbolic act of Catholic baptism was called *soyna* (being bathed) by the Gabrielino and was regarded as degrading. Anthropologist Robert F. Heizer has suggested that bathing and other forms of purification may have been opposed by Gabrielino shamans because it seemed to them that the Franciscans were preempting an important spiritual function once exclusively controlled by native spiritual leaders.²²

It is worth noting that mission apologists have vigorously argued that no forced conversion ever took place in the missions of California.²³ However, there is no doubt that the Franciscans, after superficially indoctrinating the Indians and teaching them to memorize a few prayers in a totally unknown language, had the "legal" authority to compel the baptized to attend mass, relocate to the mission, and perform unpaid labor for the next sixty-three years that the missions functioned under Franciscan authority.²⁴ Consequently, to speak of Christian conversion is somewhat problematic. Serious scholars have raised a number of troublesome questions about the depth and nature of the conversion of the New World Indians under such circumstances.²⁵

Hugo Reid, the Scottish husband of Gabrielino neophyte Bartolomea of Comcrabit, describes the meaning of conversion for the Gabrielino:

The priests having converted some few by giving them cloth and ribbons and taught them to say "Amar a Dios", they were baptized and cooperated in the work before them. Baptism as performed, and the recital of a few words not understood, can hardly be said to be a conversion; nevertheless, it was productive of a great advantage to the Missionaries Poor devils, they were the Pariah of the west! Not one word of Spanish did they understand—not one word of the Indian tongue did the priests know—they had no more idea that they were worshiping God than an unborn child has of astronomy. Numbers of old men and women have been gathered to the dust of their fathers—and a few still remain—whose sole stock of Spanish was contained in the never-failing address of "Amar a Dios!" and whose religion as Catholics, consisted in being able to cross themselves under the impression it was something connected with hard work and still harder blows.²⁶

Undoubtedly, some sincere conversions did occur at Mission San Gabriel; however, it seems likely that few occurred until after

1806 (thirty-five years after its founding!), when the first padre assigned to San Gabriel is known to have mastered the Gabrielino language.²⁷

The Franciscan missions of Alta California were the offspring of a union of the Spanish Crown's imperialism and the Church Franciscan's New World empire-building. The Spanish Crown would supply the military force necessary for Franciscan personnel to establish a religious indoctrination program. Thus both Church and Crown pursued a single-minded economic and geopolitical goal. Within a few years, bribes, flattery, military threats, murderous European diseases, and the voracious growth of Spanish domestic animal herds combined to force the native hosts to succumb to the ever-growing labor demands of the colonists, who instituted odious *reducciones* (forced relocations) and widespread physical coercion. Stunned neophytes found that nearly every moment of their time was planned, supervised, and restricted. The new, forced austerity and highly regimented life contrasted radically with native culture.²⁸

Robert Archibald, an authority on the Franciscan economic and labor systems in Alta California, summarizes the mission's role as an agent of social change in this way:

The Missions were not agents of intentional enslavement but rather rapid and therefore violent social and cultural change. The results were people wrenched from their homes, traditions and family, subjugated to an alien culture and contradictory values. Predictably these people did not submit to such treatment voluntarily and force became a necessary concomitant. The result in many cases was slavery in fact, although not in intent.²⁹

Although the predominant role of native peoples in the Franciscan missions was that of compulsory laborers, native women encountered some gender-unique experiences in that male-orchestrated mission society. We have seen how native mothers were used to recruit older children and husbands into baptism. That process eventually led to whole extended family groups being inducted into the new mission society. In addition, shocked by the natives' partial nudity and uninhibited sexuality, the Franciscans inaugurated draconian measures to compel Gabrielino neophyte females to conform to the padres' ideals of proper female decorum and behavior. Women and girls were issued heavy, ill fitting, wool shirts and petticoats that left the

wearers "diseased with the itch."³⁰ At the age of six or seven, female children were separated from their families and made to live in carefully locked, all-female barracks called *monjerios*. A series of *monjerios* at San Gabriel were constructed in 1771, 1775, and again in 1783.³¹

Here, under the strict supervision of an abbess, the girls and young women were kept isolated from all male contact. The San Gabriel abbess Eulalia Perez describes the routine for *monjerio* females:

At the door of the monjerio stood a blind Indian called Andresillo, and he called out the name of each girl as they entered. If anyone failed to appear at the hour of entrance she was sought for on the next day and brought to the monjerio. Her mother, if she had any, was also brought there and punished for having detained her, and the little one was locked up for having failed to make her appearance punctually.³²

Russian explorer Otto von Kotzebue, visiting Mission Santa Clara in 1824, described one such convent as a large, quadrangular building resembling a prison, without windows and with only one carefully secured door. He states,

[T]hese dungeons are opened two or three times a day, but only to allow the prisoners to pass to and from church. I have occasionally seen the poor girls rushing out eagerly to breathe the fresh air, and driven immediately into the church like a flock of sheep by an old ragged Spaniard armed with a stick. After mass, they are in the same manner hurried back to their prison.³³

Great cultural damage and emotional suffering were caused by the dismemberment of native families.³⁴ Both contemporary observers and later scholars have identified these female barracks as major culprits in the spread of infectious European diseases among the neophytes and the consequent steep mortality rates of female neophytes at San Gabriel and elsewhere.³⁵ In aboriginal society, the Gabrielino bathed daily, a practice neither followed by the Spanish nor allowed the Indians in the missions.³⁶ In an attempt to explain the causes behind the chronically high death rates—rates already apparent in the late eighteenth century—California's Governor Diego de Borica identified the practice of

locking up female children and the wives of absent husbands in *monjerios* as a major contributor. The governor further decried the overpowering stench of human feces he encountered on his inspection of one such barracks.³⁷

For the Indian girls, the only escape from these barracks (besides death) was marriage, for only married couples could live in the rancherías (villages) attached to the mission. Colonist Guadalupe Vallejo describes how, after reaching puberty, young women were allowed to choose husbands: "Ten or twelve of them would gather together to go and demand a husband of the padre, naming whom they had selected, and it is said that it was never known that one of these elected husbands refused."³⁸ Unlike aboriginal practices, divorce was absolutely forbidden. However, not even marriage could guarantee permanent escape from the hated *monjerios*: At the death of a husband, his widow was locked up again.

Enforcement of the rigid discipline and labor demands of the mission society for females and males, adults and children, included standard use of stocks, hobbles, and floggings. Santa Inez Chumash Indian Maria Solares recalled that her grandmother had been a "slave" of the mission and "had run away many, many times, and had been recaptured and whipped till her buttocks crawled with maggots."³⁹ Gender-specific punishments were practiced as well. Some Franciscans found it prudent to hide aspects of the coercion used on female neophytes. French explorer Jean François de La Perouse visited Alta California in 1786 and reported, "Women are never whipped in public, but in an enclosed and somewhat distant place that their cries may not excite a too lively compassion, which might cause the men to revolt."⁴⁰ Padre Esteban Tapis, responding to a viceregal *interrogatorio* of 1803, described policies regarding female punishment:

The stocks in the apartment of the girls and single women are older than the father who reports on the Mission. As a rule, the transgressions are punished with one, two and three days in the stocks, according to the gravity of the offense; but if they are obstinate in their evil intercourse, or run away, they are chastised by the hand of another woman in the apartment of the women. Sometimes, though exceedingly seldom, the shackles are put on.⁴¹

With a soaring death rate and a growing disparity in the ratio of females to males within the neophyte population, the padres

grew especially alert to the fertility of female neophytes. The insatiable mission demand for laborers and the tragic decline in births caused great consternation among the Franciscans. Soon anything short of a live birth raised the Franciscans' suspicions that either birth control or the already-noted resistance tactic of infanticide was being practiced by female neophytes. One sympathetic chronicler of the Gabrielino during the reign of Padre Jose Maria Zalvidea noted,

Having found out the game practiced in regard to destroying the children born to the whites, he put down all miscarriages to the same cause. Therefore, when a woman had the misfortune to bring forth a still-born child, she was punished. The penalty inflicted was shaving the head, flogging for fifteen subsequent days, iron on the feet for three months and having to appear every Sunday in Church on the steps heading up to the altar, with a hideous painted wooden child in her arms!⁴²

A similar, bizarre punishment reported at Mission Santa Cruz suggests that this practice may have been more than an aberration of one particularly deranged Franciscan.⁴³

What gender-specific labor role did the Franciscans engineer for native women in the California missions? Although females shared many labor tasks with neophyte males, they additionally sewed, spun, wove garments and blankets, cleared weeds out of the garden, dug ditches, harvested crops, and cooked.⁴⁴

Only the most fervent Christophilic Triumphalists would believe any human group would willingly surrender their lands, resources, freedom, and sovereignty for the dubious advantages of a *reducciones*-type Franciscan mission existence. Mission Indian society offered absolutely no access to power for native females within its structure. California Indian women were not allowed to become nuns or assume any leadership roles comparable to those accessible in aboriginal society. Furthermore, there is little question that women were more closely guarded than men in most missions. Consequently, fugitivism, which was difficult at best for men, was nearly impossible for women with young children.

Serious borderland scholars and knowledgeable anthropologists have long recognized the widespread violent resistance that native men and women offered church and royal authorities on the frontiers of New Spain.⁴⁵ One significant challenge to Spanish missionaries and military authority among the Gabrielino neo-

phytes was inspired by a remarkable female shaman named Toypurina.

Knowledge of precontact Gabrielino shamanism is sparse. Only minimal information can be extracted from the later Chinigchinich cult, a new complex of religious practices that emerged as a response to the massive deaths associated with Spanish missionization in Southern California. Nevertheless, it is known that Gabrielino shamans, or *Ta:χk^wa*, were responsible for the elaborate mourning ceremonies and for the distribution of food following communal hunts. They also controlled the dances associated with these events and acted as astronomers/timekeepers. Besides curing physical, emotional, and spiritual ailments, shamans were also known to possess the power to kill.⁴⁶

The shamans' spiritual power was acquired through dreams, visions, and the use of the powerful and dangerous hallucinogen, jimsonweed. These acts facilitated an alliance with a spirit helper, who granted diagnostic and curing powers. Normally, after an aspiring shaman acquired a spirit helper, he or she would be apprenticed to an established shaman.

The power, status, and authority of shamans resulted in their being held in either dread or deep reverence by the general native population. Shamans were identified by possession of *paviut* wands decorated with inlaid haliotis shell and tipped with obsidian or crystal stones. While performing rituals, they wore, fastened to their foreheads with feathered bands, *elat* boards painted red and decorated with snake rattles.⁴⁷ Significantly, shamans were among the ruling elite of Kumi-vit society and were not under the authority of chiefs.⁴⁸ Franciscan padre Geronimo Boscana of nearby Mission San Juan Capistrano reported, "All Indians immediately acquiesce in their demands."⁴⁹ Because they had such authority, it is not surprising that a shaman—and, more importantly, a female shaman—would become involved in efforts to oppose the missionaries.

By 1785, the growing dominance of Spanish colonial authority in Kumi-vit territory was causing great alarm among the surrounding independent, non-Christian tribes. In light of their resource allocation responsibilities, the shamans no doubt were well aware of the dramatic decline in the native food resources, which were being consumed voraciously by the colonists' livestock as they virtually overran nearby territories.

Persistent labor demands and the Franciscans' efforts to forbid neophyte participation in native religious ceremonies seriously

disrupted the delicate political, economic, and social relations between the Kumiwit villages. Even more threatening, however, was the tidal wave of introduced sicknesses that decimated local non-Christians and neophytes alike. The dizzy spiral of neophyte deaths caused the missionaries to abandon their earlier practice of individual interment in favor of burying the dead in mass graves, or "plague pits."⁵⁰

Native consternation gave way to despair, anger, and finally panic. Assassination of shamans and resentment aimed at both padres and soldiers occurred as grief-stricken natives sought relief from their deadly dilemma.⁵¹ By 1784, military governor Pedro de Fages was expressing fear that groups of disenchanted neophytes might join resentful non-Christian Indians to attack the Spanish.⁵² He had good reason to hold such concerns: By that date, two major Southern California Indian rebellions had destroyed three missions and two pueblos and had killed five Franciscan padres, 31 soldiers, and 22 civilians; at least 72 *gente de razon* captives had been held for ransom.⁵³ The governor had, in fact, recently returned to Alta California in frustration following a series of less than victorious campaigns against the Seri and Apache Indians. His failure to capture the leaders of the Colorado River Quechan Revolt (1781) effectively surrendered the only known Spanish overland access route into Alta California from Northern New Spain.⁵⁴

The immediate catalyst for the anticipated Southern California native insurrection was a thirty-three-year-old San Gabriel neophyte called Nicholas José. In 1779, only four years after his induction into the mission, this unhappy neophyte plotted a revolt to kill the soldiers and padres. Caught and punished before the plan could be implemented, José burned with resentment. Another six years of forced labor, floggings, and colonial arrogance convinced him that drastic measures would be necessary to curb the oppressive dominance of the Franciscan church and the Spanish military in his native territory. In the fall of 1785, José sought the assistance of a *Taxkwa* to rid his people of the foreigners.⁵⁵

The *Taxkwa* from whom José sought help was the widely respected and powerful Toypurina of the Jachivit Rancheria. Finding that they shared a common fear that Spanish colonization would ultimately destroy their people, they hatched a plot to rid their territory of the newcomers. José would organize the mission neophytes, while Toypurina would use her considerable influ-

ence to enlist the aid of the nonbaptized Indians still living in free villages. Payment for her services would be made from livestock to be plundered from the mission herds.⁵⁶

Toypurina used her influence to recruit the non-Christian chiefs Temejavaguichi of Juvit Rancheria and Ajiyivi of Jajamivi. In addition to her own village of Jachivit, the entire population of Azucsavit, as well as two others, joined the conspiracy. The area of the participating villages was that most extensively impacted by the Spanish in the 1780s.⁵⁷ Five of the villages were in the foothills, and the remaining three were on the valley floor. The region of the insurrectionary villages ran for fifteen miles along the San Gabriel Mountain foothills and southward into the valley. A number of other villages provided warriors but were not unanimous in their commitment to war on the Spanish. The widespread support that Toypurina received attests to both her fame and her power, as well as to the general native discontent with the foreign occupation of their territory.

In traditional society, war was carried out in response to trespassing and sorcery. War decisions were not made lightly because of the danger to elders and children. Nevertheless, pros and cons were discussed, and, if necessary, war was agreed upon by common consent.⁵⁸ Allies were secured through marriage and economic or religious ties. Villages not closely associated by those factors might be induced to participate through ceremonial gifts. War parties were led by chiefs, with both men and women wearing the accouterments of rank. Every attempt was made to make the initial attack a surprise. In 1785, having decided to kill the padres and soldiers and violently eject the colonists, both non-Christian and neophyte warriors prepared their weapons and set the date of the attack for the upcoming waning moon (25 October).⁵⁹

However, Spanish military vigilance uncovered the plot, and, on the night of the attack, the colonists set a trap. Numerous Indians surrounded the mission as the leaders of the insurrection and about twenty followers scaled the parapet surrounding the mission compound. Once inside, they were surprised, disarmed, and captured without bloodshed by the squad of soldiers assigned to protect the missionaries. Among the prisoners were Toypurina and the renegade neophyte Nicholas José.⁶⁰

A military trial of the conspirators convened on 3 January 1786, after they had been incarcerated for ten weeks in the guardhouse of the mission. In that procedure, defense witnesses were not

allowed, a soldier translated, and no free testimony was permitted. In fact, the so-called trial consisted of a series of ten seriously biased questions aimed at the accused, who were physically threatened repeatedly to answer truthfully. Despite the intimidation, Nicholas José testified flatly that he had helped organize the rebellion because of the Spanish oppression of native culture and ceremonies. Toypurina expressed abhorrence toward the Spanish occupation of Kumi vit territory. According to Thomas Temple, Toypurina declared scornfully during her interrogation, "I hate the padres and all of you, for living here on my native soil, for trespassing upon the land of my forefathers and despoiling our tribal domains."⁶¹ What her testimony only hints at, however, is the ominous threat that the newcomers' religion and economic machinations presented for non-Christian tribesmen attempting to avoid economic ruin and the deadly vortex of Spanish military and religious domination.⁶²

Final disposition of the revolt leaders' punishment took two years. On 14 December 1787, Nicholas José was condemned to six years of labor at the San Diego Presidio; his food was rationed, his feet were shackled, he was paid no salary, and he was exiled permanently from his family. Toypurina was exiled to the most distant mission for life.⁶³

Franciscan padres frequently took advantage of opportunities to baptize incarcerated non-Christians who feared retribution from other Indians or whose pending military punishment could be mitigated by conversion.⁶⁴ Certainly, Toypurina was faced with both dilemmas. The twenty followers and two chiefs who had been captured and flogged in the aborted revolt had sworn revenge upon her. Following sixteen months of solitary confinement and finding her options almost nonexistent, the twenty-seven-year-old Toypurina submitted to the entreaties of Padre Miguel Sanchez and was baptized on 8 March 1787. Her new Christian name was Regina Josepha.⁶⁵ She was exiled to Mission San Carlos in Monterey, and, on 26 July 1789, she married Manuel Montero, a presidio soldier.⁶⁶ She eventually bore four children and apparently adjusted to her conquerors. Sadly, she died at the young age of thirty-nine at Mission San Juan Bautista on 22 May 1799.⁶⁷

The only other Gabrielino neophyte for whom today's researchers have a significant amount of biographical information is Bartolomea of the village of Comicrabit.⁶⁸ She was born in 1808 in her native village, adjacent to the Pueblo of Los Angeles. She

was the daughter of Bartolomé and Petra, an aristocratic native couple, and lived with them until 1814, when, at the age of six, she was compelled to submit to life in the dreaded *monjerio*. While there, she was befriended by the mission's Mexican midwife and housekeeper Eulalia Perez, who tried to help her become acculturated, but Bartolomea carried, for the rest of her life, a dread of enclosed spaces, which in her mind were always associated with the sickness and death she witnessed during her childhood incarceration. At the age of thirteen, she was deemed marriageable, and Perez encouraged her to select an older husband. Her choice was a respected Indian vaquero named Pablo Maria of the Yutucubit Rancheria, a man twenty-eight years her senior. They were married in 1821. Of this union, three children were born: Felipe, José Delores, and Maria Ygnacia. By this time, colonist Eulalia Perez and her husband had been assigned a rancho of mission lands called El Rincon de San Pasqual (later confirmed in 1833–34). Eventually, Bartolomea and her entire family moved onto this rancho.⁶⁹

The Franciscans' nearly absolute control over the Mission Indians was finally wrenched from their reluctant hands when the Mexican republic's secularization plans were implemented. At San Gabriel, the transition occurred in the fall of 1834. This plan called for the distribution of mission lands to the few surviving neophytes, but implementation and distribution were extremely uneven.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, Bartolomea's husband died in a smallpox outbreak in 1836, and, two years later (12 October 1838), she was granted a small plot of land called Huerta de Cuati, consisting of 128.6 acres in the western portion of the Santa Anita Rancho. Despite her title to the land, it remained unoccupied until it was sold to Don Benito Wilson in 1852.⁷¹

Even before her husband's death, Bartolomea's native strength, beauty, and dignity caught the attention of an educated and wandering Scotsman named Hugo Reid. Reid was a gentle man of literary tastes, an accountant by profession. Following the death of Pablo Maria, Reid actively courted the economically independent Bartolomea. In September 1837, they were married. Reid and Bartolomea established an early claim to the entire 13,319-acre Santa Anita Rancho in May 1839, and it was provisionally granted to them in April 1841. Full legal title was finally obtained in 1845.⁷²

Despite a lack of development, both properties provided substantial income for the newlyweds. Soon Reid adopted all three of Bartolomea's children, and the family enjoyed a lifestyle typical of

the newly enriched Mexican rancheros of pastoral California. Unfortunately, by 1847, Reid's poor business acumen had nearly bankrupted the family, and they sold the rancho at Santa Anita.

Before his death in 1852, Reid collected his wife's and various other Gabrielino elders' reminiscences of aboriginal culture, as well as early Spanish military and missionary practices. His writings were probably produced to establish his expertise concerning local Indians; it seems likely that he aspired to an appointment as an Indian agent from the United States government. Reid's writings were published in a series of articles in the *Los Angeles Star* between February and August 1852.⁷³ Later attempts to suppress some of the less-than-flattering descriptions of the Franciscans' activities were unsuccessful.⁷⁴ Reid's work still constitutes one of the most important collections of Gabrielino reminiscences documenting the profound resentment and bitter memories of even the most privileged of neophytes.⁷⁵

Bartolomea, whom Reid called Victoria, survived her husband by eighteen years. All too typically, she was cheated out of the remainder of her inheritance by an Anglo-American legal guardian. She died of smallpox, the same scourge that had claimed her first husband and, tragically, all of her children.⁷⁶ However, even in her declining years, she was described as a proud and cheerful person despite her poverty.⁷⁷

A recent demographic study of the neophyte population at San Gabriel reveals a population decline that eventually approached total extinction. The rate of decline at San Gabriel was a whopping 78 percent. Life expectancy for children born at the mission averaged 6.4 years. Historian Robert Jackson recently offered this sobering conclusion: "The mission populations were inviable, could not maintain or expand population levels through natural reproduction. Indian women bore children, but high infant mortality wiped out any natural reproduction."⁷⁸ Unfortunately, this disturbing profile was common throughout the Franciscan missions of Alta California. Worse still, after 1800, a growing gender imbalance developed, with few females surviving. A doctor visiting Mission San Gabriel in 1832 made these disquieting observations on the apparent gender imbalance he found throughout the missions:

It is a very extraordinary fact that their decrease is greatly hastened by the failure of the female offspring—or the much greater number of deaths amongst the females in early youth

than among the males—I have not been able to clearly determine which, though the latter appears the more probable; the fact, however, of there being a much smaller number of women living than of men, is certain . . . [A] great many of the men cannot find wives.⁷⁹

Little question remains concerning the cause of the population decline. Both contemporary observers and later scholarly analysis acknowledge introduced European diseases as the main culprit.⁸⁰ Massive sickness, suffering, and death became the predominant experience of the Kumi'vit people of Mission San Gabriel; the mission's hospitals expanded so greatly that, by 1814, they had surpassed the church itself in size. So many neophytes were sick that a special chapel in one hospital was constructed for the numerous sick and dying, to prevent a demoralizing parade of dead bodies passing in and out of the main church building.⁸¹

Tragically, following secularization of the mission, Kumi'vit suffered further degradation and exploitation. The pitifully few survivors became Los Angeles' first ruthlessly exploited underclass. Some, however, fled northward. By the time of the American seizure of Southern California in the Mexican-American War, the Kumi'vit had been largely replaced by more distant Indian groups seeking employment.⁸²

Unfortunately, the aftereffects of the missionization process on women and girls lingered long into the present century and are still with us today. Descendants of Mission Indians continue to suffer from the destructive disruption of native life that occurred at the missions. A San Diego Kumeyaay woman, Delfina Cuero, tells of the loss of female-specific information due to the suppression of "pagan practices" by the missionaries:

In the real old days, grandmothers taught these things about life at the time of a girl's initiation ceremony, when she was about to become a woman. Nobody just talked about these things ever. It was all in the songs and myths that belonged to the ceremony. All that a girl needed to know to be a good wife, and how to have babies and take care of them was learned at the ceremony, at the time when a girl becomes a woman. We were taught about food and herbs and how to make things by our mothers and grandmothers all the time. But only at the ceremony for girls was the proper time to teach the special things women had to know. Nobody just talked about those things, it was all in the songs. But I'm not

that old, they had already stopped having ceremonies before I became a woman, so I didn't know these things until later. Some of the other girls had the same trouble I did after I was married. No one told me anything. I knew something was wrong with me but I didn't know what.

Sadly, Delfina and many others lost their firstborn children because they had been deprived of this vital survival information.⁸³ Another Kumeyaay Mission Indian descendant, Rosalie Robertson, lamented the destruction of native foods and herbs, which forced native women to compete with stock animals for food resources,

Those missionaries, the priests and the soldiers, they had all kinds of animals they brought in here, different kinds of animals, and they turned those animals loose on our land. And that went on. We had lots of stuff we planted and harvested through the year. But then they brought in the sheep and goats and different things and they started taking out all the good food that we had. Now, even today I think we lost a lot of things because I go up in the mountains and hunt for those growing things, and a lot of those things are missing.⁸⁴

The predominant sentiment expressed in numerous testimonials of Mission Indian descendants—some written and others preserved in family oral traditions—has focused on resentment over the labor extracted from ancestors. Chumash Indian Eva Pagaling, of Santa Ynez Indian Reservation, tells of the ghosts that haunt her people:

There are a lot of stories . . . the people tell about the evil that hit them with the missions and the priests. There's only one road going out of the reservation. It used to be that people would walk in the night time, down that road, walking, going to town maybe. They used to hear people talking, people crying, people screaming. You could hear them weeping. What they heard was from the people in the missions, weeping and weeping. I think about the suffering that went on there before the Indian people died.⁸⁵

In this initial examination of the role of California Indian women in the missions, I have focused on the Indians of the Los Angeles Basin associated with Mission San Gabriel. My research has documented the substantial, devastating impact the Spanish

colonization had both on traditional gender roles as well as female survivability. The early wholesale, violent sexual assaults on women and children eventually resulted in a rigidly controlled barracks lockdown policy developed by the missionaries, possibly to protect the native females from such degrading experiences and to enforce strict Franciscan sexual moral codes. Tragically, such drastic measures hastened the spread of infectious diseases that all but destroyed the people the missionaries proclaimed they had come to "save."

This paper also documents the unique resistance and accommodation responses of native women to the new colonial order, from Toypurina's shamanistically inspired revolt to Bartolomea's accommodation and her bitter recollections of the destruction of her native culture and the oppression of neophytes.⁸⁶

In the final analysis, we can be sure the Indian women of California did not invite the treatment accorded them in the Franciscan missions; they did not like it, they resisted it, and they have never forgotten it. It is to be hoped that future gender research on California Indian women will further our understanding of this important topic.

NOTES

1. Robert Archibald, *The Economic Aspects of the California Missions* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1978), 154; and Zephyrin Engelhardt O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. 3 (San Francisco, CA: James Barry Co., 1912), 316, 653. Both sources agree that the total number of baptisms approached eighty thousand. Researchers need to be careful not to confuse baptism with conversion as church historians consistently do.

2. Quoted in the preface to Bernice Johnson's *California's Gabrielino Indians* (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1962), viii.

3. Lowell John Bean and Charles R. Smith, "Gabrielino," and Robert F. Heizer, "Natural Forces and Native World View," both in *Handbook of North American Indian*, vol. 8, *California* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1978), 649-53 and 538-49. See also Alfred L. Kroeber's "The Nature of Landholding Groups in Aboriginal California" in *Two Papers on Aboriginal Ethnography of California*, ed. Hynes and Heizer (Berkeley, CA: University of California Archaeological Survey Reports, 1962).

4. Bean and Smith, "Gabrielino," 538-39.

5. *Ibid.*, 543-44.

6. Heizer, "Natural Forces and Native World View," in *Handbook of North American Indian*, vol. 8, *California* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1978), 538-49.

7. Edith Wallace, "Sexual Status and Role Differences," in *Handbook of North American Indian*, vol. 8, California, 683–89.

8. Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies," *American Historical Review* 23 (1917): 42–61. Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indians and White Civilization* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976). Alan Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlements in Mexican California. The Hija-Padres Colony and Its Origins, 1769–1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1969). Florence Shipek, "California Indian Reactions to the Franciscans," *The Americas Academy of American Franciscan History* 41:4 (1985): 480–91.

9. Zephyrin Engelhardt O.F.M., *San Gabriel Mission and the Beginnings of Los Angeles* (San Gabriel, CA: Mission San Gabriel Press, 1927), 4. See also Maynard Geiger O.F.M., *The Life and Times of Fray Junipero Serra, O.F.M., or The Man Who Never Turned Back*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Academy of Franciscan History, 1959), 302; and *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California 1769–1848* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1969), 38. Padre Presidente Junipero Serra wrote a glowing secondhand report of this "miracle" to the Viceroy Marín de Bucareli y Ursua on 22 May 1773. See Antonine Tibesar O.F.M., ed., *Writings of Junipero Serra*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Academy of Franciscan History, 1955), 358–59.

10. Heizer, ed., *The Indians of Los Angeles County: Hugo Reid's Letters of 1852* (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1968), 52–54, 128 n 101.

11. *Ibid.*, 69.

12. Geiger, *Life and Times of Fray Junipero Serra*, 304–306.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Tibesar, *Writings of Junipero Serra*, vol. 1, 362–63.

15. *Ibid.*, 363; and Geiger, *Life and Times of Fray Junipero Serra*, 307. Recently, Arizona State University historian Albert Hurtado discussed the role of marriage and sexuality among Mission Indians in "Sexuality in California's Franciscan Missions: Cultural Perceptions and Sad Realities," *California History* 71 (Fall 1992): 371–85.

16. Heizer, *The Indians of Los Angeles County*, 70.

17. *Ibid.*, 86.

18. Bolton, ed., *Historical Memoirs of New California by Fray Francisco Palou O.F.M.*, vol. 2 (New York: Russel & Russel, 1966), 323.

19. Bean and Smith, "Gabrielino," 545.

20. Edward D. Castillo, "Neophyte Resistance and Accommodation in the Missions of California," in *The Spanish Missionary Heritage of the United States, Selected Papers and Commentaries from the November 1990 Quincentenary Symposium*, ed. Howard Benoist (San Antonio, TX: United States National Park Service, 1993), 62–66.

21. Heizer, *The Indians of Los Angeles County*, 75–76.

22. *Ibid.*, 75 and 132 n 123.

23. Francis Guest, O.F.M., "An Examination of the Thesis of S.F. Cook on the Forced Conversion of the Indians in the Alta California Missions," *Southern California Quarterly* 61 (1979): 1–77. Most of Guest's conclusions rely exclusively on the solemn testimony of Franciscans defending one another. He further naively assumes that the existence of Spanish law and Franciscan rules eliminated all abuses. Well-informed scholars have known for many years that both Spanish law and Franciscan rules were not carefully observed in New Spain and especially on the remote fringes of the empire.

24. Robert Archibald, "Indian Labor at the Missions: Slavery or Salvation?" *Journal of San Diego History* 24:2 (1978): 172–82. See also Francis Guest's "The Indian Policy under Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, California's Second Father President," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 45 (1966): 195–224; and "Mission Colonization and Political Control in Spanish California," *Journal of San Diego History* 24:1 (1978): 97–116.

25. Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahuatl-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth Century Mexico* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1989). Bernard Fontana, "Indians and Missionaries of the Southwest during the Spanish Years: Cross Cultural Perceptions and Misperceptions," in *Proceedings of the 1984 and 1985 San Antonio Missions Research Conferences* (San Antonio, TX: United States National Park Service, 1987), 55–59. Also Daniel Matson and Bernard Fontana, eds., *Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain 1796–1797* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1977); William B. Griffen, *Indian Assimilation in the Franciscan Area of Nueva Vizcaya* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1979); J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Spiritual Conflict and Accommodation in New Spain: Toward a Typology of Aztec Responses to Christianity," in *The Inca and Aztec States 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. George A. Collier et al. (New York: Academic Press, 1982); James A. Sandos, "Christianization among the Chumash: An Ethnohistoric Perspective," *American Indian Quarterly* 24:1 (1991); and finally Martha Voght, "Shaman and Padres: The Religion of the Southern California Mission Indians," *Pacific Historical Review* 36:4 (1967).

26. Heizer, *The Indians of Los Angeles County*, 76–77.

27. Ibid.

28. Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement*, and Castillo, "Neophyte Resistance and Accommodation," 38–39.

29. Archibald, "Indian Labor at the Missions," 181.

30. Heizer, *The Indians of Los Angeles County*, 86.

31. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., "The Building of Mission San Gabriel: 1771–1828," *Southern California Quarterly* 50 (1968): 33–36.

32. Nellie Ven de Grift Sanchez, ed. and trans., "Keeper of the Keys: The Recollections of Señora Eulalia Perez, Oldest Woman in the World, of Life at Mission San Gabriel," *Touring Topics* (1929): 27.

33. Otto Von Kotzebue, quoted in *Overland Monthly* (March 1869): 261. See also Georg H. Von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World*, vol. 2 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 159.

34. Los Angeles Valley College professor Gloria Miranda has made the stunning, undocumented assertion that native marriage and family life were degrading to Indian women and further argues that the missionaries' introduction of Christian and Spanish morals resulted in an "elevated" status for native women! See "Interview with Gloria Miranda," in *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*, ed. Costo and Costo (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987), 213. See also Miranda, "Gente de Razon. Marriage Patterns in Spanish and Mexican California: A Case Study of Santa Barbara and Los Angeles," *Southern California Quarterly* 83:1 (1981). Little in the way of gratitude can be found in the oral traditions and songs of contemporary descendants of Mission Indians. In 1987, Luiseno elder Eva Kolb declared, "People from our area were taken to San Diego Mission, the San Luis Rey Mission, and to San Juan Capistrano. In this way, the family was broken up; not only that, but the tribe was broken up. Tribal laws meant nothing to the priests, and in this business of

breaking up the families and the tribe, they broke down the whole race." Quoted in Costo and Costo, eds., *The Missions of California*, 143. Traditional Southern California singers still perform this sad Luiseño child's lament of incarceration in a *monjerio*:

Cham'cha Paa'chum Amayom Chi kwishkwi Cham
Cham'cha Paa'chum Amayom Chikwishkwi Cham
Yam-ya-pa Yam-ya-pa Ya'ani—Amayom
Ya'ani—Amayom.

Translation:

Three of us children are suffering
 Three of us children are suffering
 In this building (place)
 We want to escape
 We children
 We children

35. Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indians*, 13–90. See also Robert Jackson's "La Dinamica del Desastre Demografico de la Poblacion India en las Misiones de la Bahia de San Francisco, Alta California, 1776–1840," *Historia Mexicana* 60:2 (1991): 187–215.

36. Bean and Smith, "Gabrielino," 541.

37. Diego de Borica, Monterey, 30 June 1797. Original correspondence in Stevens Collection, General Library of the University of Texas, Austin.

38. Quoted in Hubert Howe Bancroft's *California Pastoral* (San Francisco, CA: History Company, 1888), 292.

39. Quoted in Carobeth Laird's *Encounter with an Angry God* (Morongo Indian Reservation, CA: Malki Press, 1975), 18.

40. Malcolm Margolin, ed., *Monterey in 1786: The Journals of Jean Francois de La Perouse* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 1989), 89.

41. Quoted in Richard Pourade's *The History of San Diego: Time of the Bells* (San Diego, CA: The Union Press, 1966), 110.

42. Heizer, *The Indians of Los Angeles County*, 87.

43. Castillo, ed. and trans., "An Indian Account of the Decline and Collapse of Mexico's Hegemony over the Missionized Indians of California," *American Indian Quarterly* 13:4 (1989): 398. The source of this account is the remarkable reminiscences of Mission Santa Cruz former neophyte Costanoan Indian Lorenzo Asisara.

44. Perez, "Keeper of the Keys," 27; and Heizer, *The Indians of Los Angeles County*, 79.

45. See Castillo, "Neophyte Resistance and Accommodation"; Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indians*; Charles W. Hackett and Charmion C. Shelby, ed. and trans., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682*. 2 vols. (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1942); J. Manuel Espinosa, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1696 and the Franciscan Missions of New Mexico* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); William B. Griffen, *Indian Assimilation*; Joe S. Sando, "The Pueblo Revolt," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, *The Southwest*, ed. Al Ortiz (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 194–97. Joe Sando is a Jemez Pueblo Indian and, besides the author of this study, the only other

descendant of missionized Indians currently publishing scholarly studies of the subject. See also James A. Sandos, "Levantamiento! The Chumash Uprising Reconsidered," *Southern California Quarterly* 67:2 (1985): 109–133; William B. Taylor's *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1979); and Andrew Wigit, "Truth and Hopi: An Historiographic Study of Documented Oral Tradition Concerning the Comings of the Spanish," *Ethnohistory* 23:3 (1982): 181–99.

46. Bean and Smith, "Gabrielino," 544; Johnson's *California's Gabrielino Indians*, 67. See also Alfred L. Kroeber, "A Southern California Ceremony," *Journal of American Folklore* 21:80 (1908): 40; and Travis Hudson's "A Rare Account of Gabrielino Shamanism from the Notes of John P. Harrington," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 1:2 (1979): 356–62. And finally Heizer's *The Indians of Los Angeles County*, 35.

47. Thomas Blackburn, "Ethnohistoric Descriptions of Gabrielino Material Culture," *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey, UCLA* 5 (1963): 32; and Christopher L. Moser, "Sivut Paviut: Ceremonial Wands of the Southern California Indians," in *Skywatchers of Ancient California*, ed. T. Hudson, A. Labbe, and C. Moser (Santa Ana, CA: Bowers Museum, 1983), 15–17.

48. Heizer, *The Indians of Los Angeles County*, 16–17.

49. Alfred Robinson, trans., and John P. Harrington, annot., *Chinigchinich: Father Geronimo Boscana's Historical Account of the Belief, Usages, Customs and Extravagancies of the Indians of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano Called the Acagchemem Tribe* (Morongo Indian Reservation, CA: Malki Press, 1978), 61.

50. Robert Jackson, "The Economy and Demography of San Gabriel Mission, 1771–1834: A Structural Analysis" (Paper presented at an international symposium, "The Spanish Beginnings in California 1542–1822," 15–19 July 1991, University of California, Santa Barbara). The recent church-sponsored excavation of a number of neophyte bodies at Mission San Diego documents the malnutrition and heavy labor-deformed skeletal remains of numerous female teenage neophytes interred in a mass grave. See Florence Shipek's "Labor/Personnel Analysis of Mission San Diego, 1769–1783" (Paper given at the Quincentenary conference, "Spanish Missions and California Indians," D-Q University, 3 March 1990). More recently, a second anthropologist conducting that excavation confirmed Shipek's findings. See Richard Carrico, "The Kumeyaay of Mission San Diego de Alcalá: Native Life at Contact" (Paper given at Southwestern Anthropological Association meeting, 11 May 1992, Berkeley, California). All three papers in author's possession.

51. Hudson, "A Rare Account," 357.

52. William M. Mason, "Fages' Code of Conduct toward the Indians, 1787," *Journal of California Anthropology* 2:1 (1975): 90–92.

53. Castillo, "The Native Response to the Colonization of Alta California" in *Columbian Consequences: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West*, ed. David H. Thomas (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 384–87; and Mason's "Fages' Code of Conduct," 90–100.

54. Jack D. Forbes, *Warriors of the Colorado: The Yumas of the Quechan Nation and Their Neighbors* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 175–220.

55. Thomas Workman Temple II, "Toypurina the Witch and the Indian Uprising at San Gabriel," *The Masterkey* 32: 5 (1958): 136–52. This account of the Gabrielino revolt at San Gabriel in 1785 is usable only with the greatest caution. Temple freely embellishes this fanciful narrative with details not found in the

sources he cites. For example, he claims that the full-blooded shaman Toypurina had green eyes! For further comments on Temple's fatally flawed version of the revolt, see footnote 67. More reliable documentation on this revolt can be read in Archivo General de la Nacion (AGN) Provincias Internas, Tomo 120, copies in the Bancroft Library (BL), University of California, Berkeley. Here researchers can find the comprehensive Expediente 31, which documents the colonial record of the events surrounding the revolt and its aftermath.

56. A.G.N., Provincias Internas, Expediente 31(BL). See also Taylor's *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion*, 116. This latter work provides an informative analysis of native rebellions in colonial Mexico between 1680 and 1811. In it, the author notes that an astounding 25 percent of the 142 cases he studied were led by native women! At least one other Mission Indian resistance movement was organized and led by a native California woman, In 1801, following a murderous diphtheria epidemic, an unnamed Chumash female neophyte at Mission Santa Barbara fell into a trance and, upon revival, secretly began a movement to renounce baptism and recommit the Chumash to *Chupu* (Earth Mother deity). To end the epidemic, she warned her followers, it would be necessary to kill the missionaries, soldiers, and Indian *alcaldes* (labor overseers). Although discovered and suppressed, the rebellion resurfaced in 1810. Anthropologist Robert F. Heizer characterized it as "a desperate expedient to seek relief from oppression." For the slim data on this intriguing phenomenon, see Heizer's "A California Messianic Movement of 1801 among the Chumash," *American Anthropologist* 43 (1941): 128–29.

57. Mason, "Fages' Code of Conduct," 92.

58. For a summary of aboriginal Kumivit warfare, see Bean and Smith, "Gabrielino," 546–47, and Heizer, *The Indians of Los Angeles County*, 15.

59. The Macintosh "Voyager" computer program can reconstruct the night sky at San Gabriel of 25 October 1785 to demonstrate a waning half moon. It is possible that the moon was a triggering device to inaugurate the impending attack. For a discussion of aboriginal calendar systems of the Southern California Indians, see Travis Hudson and Ernest Underhay's *Crystals in the Sky: An Intellectual Odyssey Involving Chumash Astronomy, Cosmology and Rock Art* (Socorro, NM: Ballena Press, 1978). Historian James Sandos has identified appearances of a twin-tailed comet in the Santa Barbara sky as a possible triggering mechanism that signaled the outbreak of the great Chumash Revolt of 1824. For details, see Sandos, "Levantamiento!" 128.

60. A.G.N. Provincias Internas, Expediente 31(BL). Also see Temple, "Toypurina," 140–41.

61. Temple, "Toypurina," 148.

62. A.G.N. Provincias Internas, Expediente 31(BL).

63. *Ibid.* Located in a portion of the above-cited Expediente is a copy of a letter to Governor Pedro Fages from the new commandante general of the Provincias Internas, Don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, 14 December 1787, specifying the conspirators' sentences.

64. Guest, "An Examination of the Thesis," 26.

65. Libros de Bautismos, Mission San Gabriel, entry no. 1408 reads, "*en la yglesia de Esta Mision de Sn. Gabriel Archangel, bautize solemnemte etc. a' una adulta, como de 27 anos que estaba casada en la Gentilidad della Rancheria de Japchibit, y le puse por Nombre Regino Josefa. Fue su Madrina la dha. Maria del Carmen muger de Marcelino ma de Juyubit.*" Microfilm copy found in Family History Center, Santa Rosa, California.

66. Book of Marriages, Mission San Carlos, entry no. 387. Microfilm, Family History Center, Santa Rosa, California.

67. Register of Deaths, Mission San Juan Bautista, entry no. 27. Microfilm, Family History Center, Santa Rosa, California. Thomas Temple and church writers have cast Toypurina's capture, baptism, and marriage to presidio soldier Manuel Montero in what Borderland historian David Weber terms a "Christophilic Triumphantist's" interpretation [a kind of Christian Manifest Destiny]. Unfortunately, such a narrow view precludes serious anthropological and historical analysis. A thoughtful essay by Smithsonian Institution's Rayna Green offers researchers a more useful and powerful analytical perspective. Temple and other Christophilic Triumphantist's interpretations fall into the simplistic stereotype pattern of the Indian woman who, "[t]o be good . . . must defy her own people, exile herself from them, become white and perhaps suffer death" (p. 704). Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *Massachusetts Review* 16:4 (1975): 698-714.

68. Perhaps the most famous Kumi'vit (Nicoleño) woman was the non-Mission Indian baptized on her deathbed as Juana Maria. She is better known as "The Lone Woman of San Nicholas Island." Marooned on that distant island for eighteen years, this tragic figure was discovered and brought to Santa Barbara in 1853, where she survived a mere seven weeks. New data from the notes of United States Bureau of Ethnology researcher John P. Harrington demonstrate that she spoke a dialect of the Shoshone-based Gabriellino language. A convenient and accessible collection of accounts of her discovery and rescue is R.F. Heizer and Albert Elsasser, eds., *Original Accounts of the Lone Woman of San Nicholas Island* (Ramona, CA: Ballena Press, 1973). New data from J.P. Harrington's notes can be found in Travis Hudson's "Recently Discovered Accounts Concerning the 'Lone Woman' of San Nicholas Island," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 3:2 (1981): 187-99. A highly romantic, juvenile fictionalized version of her story was Scott O'Dell's *Island of Blue Dolphins* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), and an equally sanitized Universal film followed in 1964.

69. Susanna Bryant Dakin, *A Scotch Paisano: Hugo Reid's Life in California, 1832-1852, Derived from His Correspondence* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1939), 33-44. For details of Eulalia Perez's acquisition of the Rancho el Rincon de San Pasqual, see W.W. Robinson's *Land in California: The Story of Mission Lands, Rancho's, Squatters, Mining Claims, Railroad Grants, Land Script Homesteads* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1948), 73-90.

70. Franciscan accounts of secularization tend to verge on the hysterical. See Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission*, 175-76. More balanced accounts of secularization can be found in Hutchinson's *Frontier Settlements* and Manuel Servin's "The Secularization of the California Missions: A Re-appraisal," *Southern California Quarterly* 47 (1965): 133-49.

71. Dakin, *A Scotch Paisano*, 245, and William Wallace's "Historical Research Pertaining to the Original Hugo Reid Adobe House," *Lasca Leaves* 9:1 (1959): 20.

72. Dakin, *A Scotch Paisano*, 41-50, and William Wallace, Roger Desautels, and George Kritzman, "The House of the Scotch Paisano, Archaeological Investigations at the Hugo Reid Adobe, Arcadia California," *Lasca Leaves* 8:1 (1958): 3.

73. Heizer, *The Indians of Los Angeles County*, 3-4.

74. *Ibid.*

75. Bean and Smith, "Gabrielino," 548–49.
76. Dakin, *A Scotch Paisano*, 200.
77. Laura Everson King, "Hugo Reid and His Indian Wife," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California* 4 (1898): 113.
78. Jackson, "Economy and Demography," 18.
79. Thomas Coulter, *Notes on Upper California: A Journey from Monterey to the Colorado River in 1832* (Los Angeles: Dawson Books, 1951), 67.
80. Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History*, vol. 3 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979). See also Padre José María Zalvidea and Luis Gil's telling comments on Gabrielino population decline (1814) in Maynard Geiger O.F.M. and Clement Meighan, eds., *As the Padres Saw Them. California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries* (Santa Barbara, CA: Santa Barbara Mission Archives, 1976).
81. Geiger, "The Building of Mission San Gabriel," 38.
82. For the melancholy details of the post-mission exploitation and disintegration of the Kumi'vit people, see W.W. Robinson's, "The Indians of Los Angeles as Revealed by the Los Angeles City Archives," *Southern California Quarterly* 20 (1938): 156–73. Especially revealing are historian George H. Phillips's "Indians and the Breakdown of the Spanish Mission System in California" in *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays of Spain in the American West, 1540–1821*, ed. David J. Weber (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 257–302; and "Indians in Los Angeles, 1781–1875: Economic Integration, Social Disintegration," *Pacific Historical Review* 49:3 (1980): 427–51.
83. Florence Shipek, *The Autobiography of Delfina Cuero* (Morongo Indian Reservation, CA: Malki Press, 1970), 42–44. Jerome Levi of Harvard University recently reported that at least one northern Kumeyaay female puberty ceremony occurred as late as 1934 at the Mesa Grande Reservation. His informants were two unnamed female elders from Mesa Grande and Santa Ysabel. For details, see book review of a new and expanded version of the above, now entitled *Delfina Cuero: Her Autobiography, an Account of her Last Years and Her Ethnobotanical Contributions* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1991). Book review found in *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 16:4 (1992): 208–15.
84. Rosalie Roberson, quoted in Costo and Costo, eds., *The Missions of California*, 151–52.
85. *Ibid.*, 141–42.
86. For a general analysis of the resistance and adaptation of California Indian groups impacted by Spanish missionization, see Castillo's "The Native Response," 377–94, and Heizer's "The Impact of Colonization on the Native California Societies," *The Journal of San Diego History* 24:1 (1978): 121–39. For a rare survey of the responses of California's native women to colonization, see Victoria Brady, Sarah Crome, and Lynn Reese, "Resist! Survival Tactics of Indian Women," *California History* (Spring 1984): 141–51.