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Spanish California Missions: An Economic Success

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Spanish California Missions: An Economic Success

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Spanish California Missions: An Economic Success

Abstract

Starting in 1769, the Spanish established missions in Alta California. A small band of soldiers, Franciscan priests and volunteers walked from Baja California to San Francisco Bay through semi-arid, scarcely populated land stopping occasionally to establish a location for a religious community. Usually two priests, a few soldiers and a few Indians from Baja California settled at the spot. Their only resources for starting an economy were themselves, a few animals and a nearby source of water. They attracted the local Indians to join the community and perform the work necessary to create a strong economy. After only a few years, the missions were almost entirely self-sufficient, and offered reliable supplies of food, clothing and housing to the inhabitants. By 1790, some of these missions had a population of more than a thousand people, including a handful of priests and soldiers. While there were many negative aspects of mission life, virtually all the coastal Native Californians willingly joined the missions and stayed. Their continually increasing skills and trade with military outposts and passing ships created the economic success of the missions.

Introduction

The establishment of Spanish missions in California was a singular event that had profound historical implications for the west coast of the United States. The economic success of these missions offers insight into the creation of economically viable communities in circumstance of extremely limited resources. In 1769, Spain sent a small group of people, consisting of missionaries, soldiers, and Indians from Baja California, to create self-sufficient communities. The Spanish did not come as conquerors; the government wanted a presence to ward off settlements of other nations, and wanted to Christianize and make Spaniards of the Native Californians. They planned to attract workers from among the local populations to create these communities. There is no doubt of their success. By 1790, mission reports show over 8000 members of the twelve established missions. Even before Spain stopped supporting the missions in 1810, most had become economically viable. Some had become significant economies, with more than 1000 residents, thousands of livestock, vast fields of grain, olive and citrus orchards, vineyards, and many other food crops. After Mexico revolted against Spain in 1822, it began dismantling the missions, redistributing the land and converting the buildings into churches to serve communities that had grown nearby. By the time of the Gold Rush in 1849, only the churches remained. The Native Californians from the missions had mostly dispersed into local ranches or towns. Some created new communities, and some joined inland tribes which had remained independent of the missions.¹

While significant research has occurred on the Spanish missions in California, most of it has focused on the details of the lifestyle there, particularly on the question of the degree of

exploitation of the labor force that built these communities. This paper examines what factors contributed to the growth of these communities. Of particular interest is what attracted, and more importantly, kept, the Native Californians as the labor force at the missions.

Attracting the Native Californians to the Missions

The missions in Alta California started in 1769. Gaspar de Portola led a group of soldiers, Franciscan priests, and civilians from Baja California, to the north for the purpose of establishing not only missions, but military sites (Presidios) and towns (Rancheros). Portola led his party all the way to San Francisco Bay, but part of the expedition, including missionary leader Junipera Serra, stayed in San Diego to found the first mission and Presidio. San Diego's Bay was the most important port on the north American coast, so a few Spaniards already resided there. Native California villages also existed in the area when Serra arrived.² These Native Californians, mostly Kumeyaay, "lived comfortably" according to Serra, eating a variety of gathered food and fish which they caught from the tule (reed) boats they made. While the men wore nothing, they had a great interest in the clothing worn by the Spaniards. It was "the only thing the Indians would take in exchange," according to a member of the Portola expedition.³ In fact, Pedro Fages reported that the Native Californians "value highly any kind of cloth," and when Francisco Palou was left in charge of the San Diego mission, Indians would steal clothing and "not even the sails of the ship were safe from theft."⁴

Serra was familiar with people who had access to even fewer resources than nature provided in Alta California. When he celebrated Pentecost on May 14, 1769 at the planned site of a Baja

California Mission, none of the local Indians came near. “A day later, however, Serra received word that local Indians were approaching. A dozen came, “all male and entirely naked, empty-handed, and hungry.” Serra offered figs. Serra saw nothing wrong in using gifts to lure Indians into what he called the “apostolic and evangelical net.” Missionaries called this spiritual fishing and thought of themselves as “fishers of men.”⁵

Native Californians did want material possessions. They made this clear even in early encounters by stealing and bartering for clothing, beads and trinkets.⁶ When Portola arrived at San Luis Rey on July 18, 1769, forty Indian men showed up and laid down the bows they carried. Women and children soon appeared. Portola offered glass beads and ribbons. The Indians stayed until the Portola group left to proceed north.⁷ Near San Francisco, the expedition traded their beads for food.⁸

After founding Mission San Diego, Serra left a small contingent at the site and continued to travel north, founding missions along the way. A few missionaries, a few soldiers and some converted Indians would stop at a promising site (a water source was critical in the semi-arid climate of southern California). The friars would then have to recruit friendly local Native Californians to build a simple structure under the direction of the friars, soldiers and the experienced Indians who come with them from Baja. Then as more local Native Californians joined the mission, they were gathered into a village, and became “neophytes” (new converts to the religion). Converts continued to be recruited by persuasion and by gifts of foods, clothing, tobacco, and such trinkets as beads.⁹ The priests were excellent salespeople who mounted an aggressive and determined program of recruitment.¹⁰ According to author John Bergen, “during

the initial period of the [missions'] founding's, the weather eyes of the missionaries were ever on the lookout for pagans to bring into their nets. By gifts of trinkets, food and clothing they attracted the simple people, whose timidity they overcame by making a display of the friendliness of other Indians they had brought along for that purpose. When necessary, even a double portion of food was offered to those willing to accept the little understood but apparently harmless rite of conversion."¹¹ In return for the favors, the neophytes began the construction of the settlement. John Berger contended that "though unaccustomed to hard work, they found it rather amusing to display their strength by cutting trees, gathering rocks and slashing tule in the near-by swamps. They were fascinated, too, by using such clever and novel instruments as the Spanish axes, machetes, and crowbars."¹²

Spanish support of the missions

When the first California mission started in 1769, Spain agreed to support the missions, but the vast distances between the Mexican supply port of San Blas and the California coast meant that supply ships were unreliable. A ship arrived in 1770 at San Diego just when the residents were near starvation.¹³ In 1780, no shipment was recorded as arriving at either San Diego or Santa Clara Missions.¹⁴ Those goods that did arrive at the missions were from Mexico City, packed overland to San Blas, and then shipped to California. The missions' records indicated not only when a ship arrived, but what they received when a ship did arrive, categorizing the items by use. In 1779, an itemized list included spices, dried shrimp, sugar and rice. Nearly half of the imported goods identified in mission records were categorized as for "Indian welfare." In early years, imported items designated for Native Californians mostly consisted of cloth, blankets,

cooking and agricultural tools, beads and religious objects. The number and types of items increased over time, until in later years they were no longer identified individually. Missions planned to produce income by selling products produced by the Indians to San Blas.¹⁵

It quickly became clear that the support from Spain would be inadequate to sustain the missions and they quickly sought other business ventures. The original plan included supplying military at the Presidios from the missions, paying with credit redeemable with the Spanish government in Mexico. Yet missions often provided wheat and cattle to the Presidios and received no payment. But items had been purchased by individual soldiers, often on credit, and in 1784, their commander paid for these by deductions from the soldiers' pay.¹⁶

While Spanish land grants became official policy in 1784 and totaled only about thirty, during the Native Californian uprising against the mission and Presidio at San Diego in 1769, missionaries mentioned that some of the attackers were workers at local ranches. Missionaries allowed neophytes to work at nearby Presidios and ranches throughout the mission era. At times the priests kept all the wages earned, but they sometimes allowed the workers to keep part of their earnings.

The Spanish prohibited trade with other nations, but the padres probably quickly learned to gain additional income by supplying non-Spanish ships with food, water and "trade goods," like otter skins, cattle hides, tallow and soap.¹⁷ Later, the missions clearly had amounts of tallow, soap and hides far exceeding their own possible use. Items, like looms, seem to have appeared at the missions without records of their purchase from Spain. By 1800, missions were buying tools,

nails, and cloth, but also large amounts of tobacco, snuff, and chocolate from Mexico. They resold some goods at the Presidios.¹⁸ They probably also sold to nearby ranches and passing ships.

Marie Duggan argues that after 1810, when, due to their conflict with France, Spain ceased their support of the missions, this hurt their ability to retain the neophytes. However, the concurrent loss of Spain's ability to enforce the prohibition against foreign trade probably quickly resulted in an increase in trade with passing foreign ships.¹⁹ Russian, British, French, American and other ships were sailing the Pacific frequently by 1780, mostly engaging in otter pelt trade with China.²⁰ If the lack of Spain's support resulted in the missions' loss of resources, it certainly does not show up as a decline in the population of the communities of San Francisco, San Gabriel or San Juan Capistrano, the three communities for which yearly population is available.

Graph 1

Populations of Missions San Francisco, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, 1807-16²¹

By the time the Mexicans successfully revolted against Spain in 1820, most of the Coastal Native Californians living south of San Francisco Bay had joined the missions. In inland areas, particularly in the mountains and deserts, native lifestyles still prevailed, some even into the late 1800s. Mexico began stripping the missions of their property in 1822, but only then did the communities fail. Most of the land was given in grants to Mexican citizens and the buildings became the neighborhood churches. By 1840, the missions were gone, although some former

residents of the missions formed villages near the church. In the San Diego-Temecula area, when the missions of San Diego and San Luis Rey closed, many of the inhabitants moved to join existing villages in nearby Temecula, Pala and Aqua Caliente. Even in the 1870s, many of the Native Californians referred to those who had lived in the mission communities as “mission Indians.”²²

Why did they stay?

During the mission period, each mission became an economic community, built by the labor of the local Native Californians. Most early studies of Spanish California mission life present a dismal picture of the treatment of the Native Californians who lived and worked there. Contemporary observations charge that they were whipped for not working or for breaking rules, worked in a rigid routine, were housed in dirty, crowded and damp conditions, and denied adequate nutrition. There are examples of all these abuses, although there is no proof of systematic or deliberate cruelty. The death rate, especially among children and young women, was high. Yet there must have been overriding compensations.²³ The priests coming to Alta California had established missions in Baja California, and knew that the Native Californians wanted gifts of food, beads and clothing. But for the Native Californians to join the mission, then stay to work building churches, housing, warehousing and manufacturing facilities, and to change their entire lifestyle, was a far bigger commitment and must have had much more substantial inducements.

Marie Duggan noted that strict discipline, routinized workday, lack of freedom, wretched living conditions, and chilling mortality rate must have been a substantial challenge to the recruitment efforts of even the most persuasive padre. “So why did Indian people join the missions in large numbers even after their repressive regime became widely known?” Duggan asks.²⁴ She contends that the benefits of mission life were clothing, agricultural harvests, religious ceremony, and political protection from the rest of the imperialist group [mostly Russians, Europeans and Americans].²⁵ Examination of each of these reasons shows several that seem likely inducements.

Religion, force or lack of alternatives?

Past explanations for Native Californians joining the mission include attraction to the religion, involuntary servitude and the lack of alternative lifestyles. These reasons to stay are easily dismissed. There are reports that the Native Californians showed fascination with certain aspects of the religion. For example, Missionary Francisco Palou reported that when Mission San Gabriel (near Los Angeles) was founded in 1771, the local Indians seemed hostile until shown a painting “Nuestra Senora de Los Dolores.” He credited showing this painting to the Indians with a complete change in attitude that made them visit the friars frequently afterward. Junipera Serra reported that the local women regularly placed offerings in front of a painting of the Virgin Mary. Another account, by the missionary Pedro Cambon credited the unfurling of a painting of Mary for clearing a passage blocked by a band of hostile locals.²⁶ Certainly a painting could have been a novelty, but all these accounts of religious awe are negated by hostilities afterward. When the Indians in San Diego attacked the mission in 1769, they stole religious objects and kept them

in their dwellings, but they also brutally killed and mutilated a priest, a truly hostile act in any culture. Since this was in the early days of the missions, perhaps theft of the religious items demonstrated only a fascination with novelty, or association of the objects with the power displayed by the priests and soldiers. The religious objects sometimes became raw material. Kent Lightfoot, who discovered archeological evidence of mission Indian life, found various useful objects constructed from purely religious items, gifted or stolen, at the sites of mission living quarters.²⁷

In 1805, the missionary Felipe Tapia proclaimed that the Indians “gladly embrace baptism and with free choice.”²⁸ Yet according to the excerpt from *Voyage of Discovery* written by Otto von Kotzebue about his travel to California in 1816: “On the stroke of ten we entered the church, which is spacious, built of stone, and prettily decorated inside. Here we found a few hundred half-naked Indians already on their knees. Though they understand neither Spanish nor Latin, these people are never allowed to miss mass once they have converted. Since the missionaries also deem it an unnecessary effort to learn the Indians’ languages, it is incomprehensible to me how the natives have been taught the Christian religion at all.”²⁹ It should be noted that in later years, some priests learned native languages and some Indians learned Spanish, providing translators. However, there does not seem to be any compelling evidence that there were attractions in the religion itself.

Involuntary Servitude

Also easily dismissed is the use of force as a means of making the Native Californians labor at the missions. At most missions, there were only a few priests and soldiers and hundreds of Native Californians in the mission or nearby. True, the soldiers had a couple of guns, but it is ludicrous to think that they could constrain the large number of Indians. Even more telling, Native Californians kept coming to join the missions. As self-sufficient agrarian communities, each of the mission complexes eventually supported from five hundred to twelve hundred neophytes.³⁰ The most rapid growth occurred in the early years, from 1769 to 1790.³¹

Graph 2

Population of Missions at San Francisco, San Gabriel and San Diego, 1783-1799³²

The question of whether the Indians could voluntarily leave the mission once they joined the community has been extensively discussed. Theoretically, once the vow to God was made during baptism and the Indians became subjects of the Spanish Crown, the neophytes were no longer free to leave the mission compound without explicit permission of the padres.³³ They were required to conform to a rigid schedule of work and religious duties, forbidden to practice their customs, and were whipped for failure to follow the rules. It is clear, however, that the enforcement of these rules was not pervasive.

Captain Jean-Francois de Galaup Comte de La Perouse (Perouse) visited Monterey in 1786. He felt that the Indians living at the Mission San Carlos were treated as slaves; forced to live a regimented workday and pursued and punished for leaving the mission. But there are many reports of the converts leaving the mission and returning without punishment. There are also

some reports of alcaides or soldiers pursuing Indians who left. Sometimes the return was followed by admonishment, and sometimes physical punishment.³⁴ In fact, attempts to stop neophytes from leaving the missions are rare. In San Diego, after Serra and Portola left to found other missions, Indians converted in large numbers under a priest who was notoriously not too particular about the quality of religious knowledge. By 1778, the missionaries there had baptized 461 Native Californians. Since the mission could not provide enough food, after baptism the missionary sent them back to live in their villages, demonstrating both that missionaries did not enslave the Native Californians and that there were alternatives to the mission life. Missionary Fermin Lasuen reported, rather ambiguously, “the majority of our neophytes have not yet acquired much love for our way of life, and they see and meet their pagan relatives in the forest, fat, and robust and enjoying complete liberty.”³⁵

Le Perouse, after visiting Monterey, said “every aspect of the daily life of the neophytes came under the controlling scrutiny of the padres. The padres subjected the neophytes to a rigid schedule of prayers, meals, work, and more prayers, announced by the ceaseless tolling of the mission bells.”³⁶ Yet every evening after services a period of freedom was permitted before padres signaled the end of the day. Missionaries required that those women whose husbands were gone, the young unmarried women, and the children be confined in a dormitory for the night. Missions provided men, older boys and married couples with dormitories, apartments or cottages, but they did not supervise or restrict them at night. On Sundays and Feast Days (which could account for ninety-two days of the year), the neophytes did not work, however, they were required to attend four to five hours of masses and prayers. On these days, there were fiestas, where dancing, singing, games, pageantry and display entertained all the mission inhabitants.³⁷

A Russian sailor who visited in 1816 observed, “today was a feast day, the Indians, like everyone else, had a day off work, and in various groups they played all sorts of games.”³⁸

Based on archeological evidence, Kent Lightfoot believes that adults who converted to the Catholic faith often maintained their Indian cultural beliefs, values, and identities.³⁹ Traditional funeral and healing practices persisted in the missions, and shamans continued to have considerable influence. Dancing and singing formed an important link between Catholic and the Native Californians’ former religions.⁴⁰ Franciscans tried to keep the neophytes, especially the children and teenagers, under tight control at all times but they could not prevent adult males and older females from practicing traditional rituals at night.⁴¹

Lack of alternatives to Mission Life

Unquestionably, Native Californian traditions declined during the Spanish mission period, but the mission neophytes did have the option of returning to their former life. Pre-contact, the estimated number of Native Californians was perhaps three hundred thousand, and the state is nearly 160,000 square miles, indicating a sparsely populated region.⁴² Over one hundred distinct tribes with at least thirty language groups still existed when the Spanish arrived.⁴³ Even in 1792, unconverted Native Californians had large villages near the mission at Monterey. In the 1790s, a visiting Spanish captain said Monterey was “surrounded by Rancherias of agreeable Indians,” living their native lifestyles.⁴⁴ Descriptions of the life of the “gentiles,” those Indians who had no contact with non-natives are rare, but there is general agreement about the Native Californian lifestyle when the first non-natives arrived. At that time, the Indians of Southern California were

all hunter-gatherers, practicing only minimal management of their environment. Given a mild climate and an indiscriminating diet, subsistence required little planning.

Benefits of Joining Mission Life

There were some clearly negative aspects to joining the mission, including the rigid schedule, the forbidding of traditional practices, physical punishment, and a high mortality rate. In spite of these negative features of mission life, there must have been enough attractions for Native Californians to voluntarily join. The economic view is that joining or not joining was a decision based on costs and benefits. Two Russian observers in 1816 noted that well-fed and well-armed tribes “would have nothing to do with the Spaniards.”⁴⁵ For some the costs of the new lifestyle outweighed the benefits. But enough tribal members came voluntarily and worked at each mission to build large and remarkable communities. Presumably, as most of the Native Californians who lived along the coast eventually joined the missions, the benefits outweighed the costs.

Food

One of the possible attractions of mission life was the regularity of meals offered. The mission day typically began with the morning bell at sunup for mass and prayers, followed by a meal of *atole* (a soup of barley meal or other grains); then work commenced and lasted until the bell tolled at noon, when a meal of *pozole* (a stew of wheat, maize, peas and beans) was consumed. The neophytes returned to work after lunch and labored until about sunset, when they went to

church for evening prayers for about an hour, before breaking for a final communal meal of *atole*. This appears to be a diet heavy in carbohydrates and lacking in complete protein, but the mission residents clearly supplemented this diet with food they were used to hunting and gathering. Mission San Fernando priests complained that Indians kept their native habits including collecting and eating acorn meal, nuts, seeds, rabbit, birds, squirrels and other small rodents, insects, snakes, fish, coyote, deer, and antelope.⁴⁶ It is also very possible that meat was routinely added to the mission meals after the first few years. The few cattle that were brought into southern California from Baja lived off the land and multiplied rapidly. By 1805, the missions had an estimated 135,000 sheep, 95,000 cattle, 21,000 horses, 1,000 mules, 800 pigs and 120 goats, according to Steven Hackel.⁴⁷

Before the missionaries arrived, food was usually abundant for Native Californians in Southern California. Acorn meal was the staple. Women shelled the nuts of the California Oak trees (*Quercus dumosa*), then dried and pounded them in stone mortars.⁴⁸ The resulting meal was leached or treated with lime until the bitter taste disappeared, then it could be dried and stored as a flour. This flour was mixed with water and cooked to make a mush. It is not a preferred part of any diet today. Chia seeds were a popular treat. They were roasted, ground for storage and eaten as a gluey mush or thickened beverage.⁴⁹ Native Californians hunted and/or, fished, depending on their location, using bow and arrows, traps, and bone or shell hooks. A few made canoes. They used knives made of cane to butcher meat and clean hides. There were no crops cultivated by the tribes; the only alteration of nature was an annual burning of grasslands.⁵⁰ Wild life was abundant at all times of the year. Hunters caught rabbits and other small rodents in simple snares. One historian, perhaps not realizing the mildness of the climate, said of the villagers, “unlike

their nobler cousins of the eastern forests and prairies, they made no extensive seasonal pursuits after deer or buffalo.” Of course, there were no buffalo in California. Deer were never absent near the coast. Native Californians occasionally killed them with bow and arrow, and ate the meat. Some tribes tanned the hides. Many of the coast tribes lived mainly on fish, which they caught in crude fiber nets or with bone hooks. But the chief foods were those that grew wild and took little trouble to get, such as acorns, chia seeds, and pinon nuts.⁵¹ Small creatures provided most of the protein. Between the mild coastal climate and the opportunistic nature of their diet, starvation was probably rare.

Historians have claimed that though the mission neophyte diet was probably less sensitive to seasonal and annual fluctuations than were previous coastal hunter-gatherer subsistence practices, this stability may have been achieved “at the expense of greatly reduced variety and nutritional balance.”⁵² However, these historians did not take into account the supplementing of the core diet with traditional foods. The Tongva continued their traditional hunting and gathering activities even after they became accustomed to farming at the missions.⁵³ While Prouse claimed the neophytes at Monterey were poorly fed, he noted that Indians often went off to “fish and hunt for their own benefit.” Wild-caught game supplemented the diets of the friars and soldiers, too.⁵⁴

Kevin Lightfoot used archeological techniques on Mission San Gabriel grounds and found evidence of meat having been cooked inside individual residences, when mission-provided food was all cooked in a central kitchen. While grain-based meals from the mission kitchen may seem monotonous, they were at least regular. In the early days at San Gabriel, “after baptism the

Fathers usually allowed adult neophytes to leave the mission for a specified number of days to hunt, gather, and visit relatives.” They usually returned with new converts who, Padre Font admitted, were “attracted by the *pozole*, which they like better than their herbs and the foods of the mountains; and so these Indians are usually caught by the mouth.”⁵⁵ In 1772, Serra lamented that “finding ourselves unable to give [Indians] food and keep them with us, we baptized very few....”⁵⁶

Father Palou of Mission San Gabriel decided to increase the crops one year “with which to feed the new Christians and attract the heathen. This will be a great inducement, as the Indians are very poor, on account of the scarcity of wild seeds and game.” They lack fish because there are numerous villages between them and the beach, and these villages “maintain among themselves constant wars, making it impossible for them to go to fish.”⁵⁷

While the missions did have times when they could not feed their converts, the missionaries had the advantage of knowing farming methods. As each mission was founded, grain production began immediately. Due to the mild climate, barley, corn, oats and wheat grew quickly, and in multiple annual crops. Livestock increased at an astonishing rate, especially horses and cows, which lived off the land. Water was a problem, and the missionaries looked carefully for good rivers nearby when choosing the missions’ locations. Elaborate networks of ditches, eventually lined with tile, brought water from the source to the crops.⁵⁸

As the mission era ended, remnants of their abundant food stock remained. In 1839, a survey of Mission San Diego revealed 8600 animals, 517 olive trees, pomegranates, corn, beans, barrels of

wine and fruit trees. At San Luis Rey, just to the north, there were mules, burros, oxen, swine and 34 milk cows. There was a large amount of barley, corn beans peas, wheat, wine, lard, oil, and olives. Other items included shawls, knives and large amounts of soap, cow hides and wool. The former San Fernando Mission had about 30,000 stocks of grapes in two vineyards.⁵⁹ Santa Barbara's former mission was also well-stocked, with 3028 head of cattle, 1670 lambs, horses, mules, oxen, donkeys and goats. They also had food crops and trade goods like tallow, hides and \$219 worth of soap, although only about 300 people still lived there.⁶⁰

The missionaries used food as an inducement to attract people to the developing communities and to keep them there. In the early years, while there may have been times when food was not sufficient, hunger was not mentioned as a problem. In just a few years after the mission was established, the favorable climate and the residents' agricultural skills allowed an abundance of food to be produced.

Housing

The tribes of Coastal Southern California did not create permanent residences. Most resided in a limited geographic area, rather than being nomadic, but they relocated short distances, probably to accommodate shifts in water sources, seek fresh food sources, or simply to find a cooler or warmer spot in the mildly varying seasons. Their home construction materials consisted of grass, twigs and mud and some tribes seasonally burned their structures and rebuilt.⁶¹ Along the Santa Barbara Channel, the dwellings were more substantial, being spherical, well built, and roofed

with grass. Near San Francisco Bay, according to Carlos Crespi Croci, the natives “must be poor,” for they had “no houses except little fences against the cold winds.”⁶²

The missionaries, of course, had to start with the same arrangements. However, they viewed the situation as temporary and sought to build permanent buildings as soon as possible. At first, many of the mission recruits were not provided with housing. At San Diego, even fourteen years after the mission was founded, more than half the Christian Native Californians lived in their original Indian villages with the acquiescence of the missionaries.⁶³ As the missions grew, the missionaries gradually replaced traditional Indian housing with permanent adobe dormitories for single women and adobe apartments for Indian families.⁶⁴ Archaeological and documentary research indicates that most apartments in the missions had a small front yard, front door, central interior hearth, back window, and a back yard for private use.⁶⁵ These homes were most often described as dirty, but they undoubtedly provided more comfort than the flimsy grass structures and therefore provided an attraction to living at the missions.

Clothing

The Native Californians covered themselves as the mild Southern California climate required. In summer, the men usually went naked or wore a loincloth; the women clothed themselves with an apron of tule grass (a supple reed) or animal skin, which hung from the waist to the knees. They sometimes added a deerskin cape for warmth around the shoulders.⁶⁶ Even in cooler climates, the clothing consisted of little more than grass aprons, but for winter, skins of rabbits were twisted together to make a cape. Shells, beads, or grass decorated some of these cloaks.⁶⁷

The Franciscan missionaries introduced the use of Spanish style clothing.⁶⁸ Almost immediately, wearing this clothing became a way of distinguishing Christian Native Californians.⁶⁹ In fact, Serra once expressed his doubts about the suitability of one Native Californian for leadership at Mission San Luis because he “has not removed his coton, blanket and breechclout.”⁷⁰ Native Californians seemed to covet clothing. Trade with the Native Californians encountered on Portola’s trip north most often consisted of clothing, and a high percentage of mission income was spent on clothing for Indians in the early years.⁷¹ When Pedro Fages ran low on food supplies to support the newly baptized Indians, he instead gave all of them a piece of cloth “to cover their nakedness” and they seemed to be pleased.⁷² In fact, Serra described native Californians as having a “mania for clothes or trinkets.”⁷³

Whether from practical aspects, social pressure, or changes in style, Spanish clothing became a popular item. The common practice was for the Franciscans to distribute a single set of clothing and blankets, which the Indians wore until a new set was issued. By the 1800s, there were as many as forty weavers working the looms at San Juan Capistrano. By then, the typical dress of the male became a plain shirt and some rough trousers. The women wore a long skirt, blouse, and shawl.⁷⁴ Blankets (sometimes with a slit to wear it as a serape) provided warmth when needed. While clothing was rarely necessary in the warm climate of southern California, this style of clothing became ubiquitous, to the point that it is still today considered the traditional attire among Californians.

Even after 1822, when the Mexican government closed the missions and put the transition to secular towns in the hands of mission administrators, clothing was still important to the Native Californians. In 1839, feeling the secularizations were not going well, the government hired William Hartnell to determine the problems at each mission. He embarked on a tour in 1839. The issue of needing more clothing for the former neophytes came up at several missions. Hartnell immediately approved a \$1000 expenditure on clothing for former mission Indians. One group of Indians Hartnell visited complained that they had not received clothing for three or four years. Later he recommended to the Administrator of San Gabriel Mission that he should buy clothing from passing ships rather than in Los Angeles, as it would be cheaper.⁷⁵ Clothing was an important attraction to mission life.

Opportunity for Advancement

In the traditional life, most tribes had leaders who had inherited their positions as chiefs, warriors or shamans.⁷⁶ Even when inheritance established rank, the designee sometimes was required to perform violent deeds to establish their worthiness. In 1779 the provincial government decreed that at each mission, two *alcades* and two *regidores* be elected from among the neophytes to help govern.⁷⁷ Neophytes promoted to these positions managed Indian labor and helped maintain discipline. Although there was overlap between the people who had tribal rank and the mission positions of authority, this system provided a new means of advancement. Advancements in the elected hierarchy translated into power, greater access to manufactured commodities and high-status goods, expansion of the pool of potential marriage partners, consumption of a broader range of foods and medicine, and occupation of better housing.⁷⁸

While the appointments provided a new path to power, that power was sometimes used inappropriately. One of the first *alcades* did not do credit to the plan. Nicolas Jose at Mission San Gabriel used his power to procure women for the soldiers and behaved as a tyrant. The fathers, including Serra, wished to punish him, but he remained in charge even after he was found plotting rebellion.⁷⁹ In 1785, he, in collaboration with Toypurina, a shaman who led the local villages, planned an attack on the mission.⁸⁰ Both he and Toypurina were arrested and tried. Toypurina was vocal about her opposition to the Spanish occupation of their lands. However, after she was banished to a distant mission, she voluntarily remained there, converted to Christianity and married a Spanish soldier.⁸¹

A later, more decisive statement against the missions came with the Chumash Revolt of 1824. The Chumash Revolt was planned by neophytes at Missions Santa Ines and La Purisima and spread to Mission Santa Barbara. The Indians complained that they were not paid enough when they worked at the Presidio. After soldiers killed several Indians, some fled inland. About 400 Indians took and fortified Mission La Purisma, but soldiers attacked and killed sixteen of them. A few soldiers also died. Some of the rebellious Indians fled to the foothills of the Sierra Nevada and permanently joined a Yokut village. However, most of the others later returned to the missions and asked to be taken back into the community.⁸²

The number of neophyte women who married colonial men and relinquished their native identities was never large, but pairing with a Spanish man had at least one attraction for tribal women. Soldiers and their families received a home in a separate, presumably nicer,

neighborhood. The mission communities also may have offered other chances to improve social status. Women worked the same hours as the men and although they may have spent their unassigned hours on household duties, the mission rules protected them from overwork and abuse, even by spouses.⁸³

Protection from other foreigners and enemies

Feudal serfdoms formed in Europe when a lawless land caused the need to attach one's self to a manor capable of providing protection. Perhaps the Native Californians came to and stayed with the missionaries for protection from other tribes or other non-native powers. Especially in the early years, the Spanish were deemed to have some powerful "magic." In the late 18th century, most of the tribes had well-established territories. There seemed to be little need for refuge from conflict among the tribes. However, according to Hugh Reid, writing in the 1820s, while the disagreements within tribes were rare and short-lived, between tribes, feuds continued for generations. War was brutal. Warriors massacred all the other tribe's men, sometimes by torture. They took the women and children and kept them as slaves, sometimes selling them to other tribes.⁸⁴ Rancher John Sutter had this this custom explained to him when visiting Miwoks attacked one of the Yalisumni villages that were under his protection.⁸⁵ This raises the possibility of individuals seeking refuge at missions, but there are no accounts of this. Most accounts of Native Californians joining the mission consist of a few individual converts soon followed by groups from their village. Mission San Fernando, like other missions, had remote outposts, called estancias or Assistencia. They employed local tribe members from the many villages in the area, but warfare among the different tribes was a problem.⁸⁶

Spanish policy was *reduccion*, combining Indians from a wide area at one mission.⁸⁷ The missionaries ignored differences between tribes. In fact, this attitude may have inadvertently reduced inter-tribal warfare. South of present-day Los Angeles, the Indians greeted the 1769 Spanish expedition enthusiastically, hoping that the Spaniards would be allies in their wars against “mountain people.”⁸⁸ Another Spanish expedition arrived at San Gabriel in October, and left behind six Cochimi (Baja) families and six Cochimi men to help teach and direct new converts. They promptly started constructing irrigation ditches and planting crops. At first a lack of communication and sympathy between the Cochimi and local tribes resulted in the Cochimi’s building homes separate from the local tribal members. However, they eventually cooperated in building a church, housing for the padres and soldiers, offices and granaries.⁸⁹ While inter-tribal conflict did occasionally occur, it does not seem to have been sufficient reason for tribal members to change lifestyles to gain the protection of a mission.

Sources of Mission Success: Skills Learned and Trade

If life at the mission offered material attractions; that material wealth came from one source. Everything was the product of Indian labor. Missionaries brought in skilled workers from New Spain to train others in a wide variety of crafts. Working at the mission exposed the Native Californian to new skills that were virtually unimaginable in their original environment, and increased production. The Native Californians learned farming, irrigation, pottery, weaving and sewing, baking, basket weaving and many other skills. Trade with the outside world brought even more exotic products.

Skills acquired

Native Californians became not only the manual laborers in the province, but the skilled labor as well. To assist the padres with the building and instruction, craftsmen were sent from New Spain and distributed over the territory.⁹⁰ Native Californians supplied all the labor and possessed every skill in the mission.⁹¹ Soon after the missions were founded, the neophytes cultivated crops, manufactured shoes and leather furniture, and became carpenters, soap makers, masons, blacksmiths, leather workers, and brick and tile makers.⁹² Some were gifted artists, the evidence of which still remains in surviving churches. The Native Californians became particularly adept at leather work, especially in fashioning beautiful saddles of unique design and workmanship. Women raised children, ran laundries and bakeries, and prepared all of the regular meals of the mission inhabitants. They also produced baskets, pottery and textiles.⁹³ Present-day ruins of irrigation systems provide examples of the skill of the Indians with brick and mortar.⁹⁴ By 1799, the Native Californians were making plastered adobe brick buildings, and curved roof tiles, which they baked in kilns. Eventually some of the neophytes learned to cut stone and built “the Great Stone Church” at San Juan Capistrano.⁹⁵ Hand carvings in stone and brick furnish ample testimony to their skill with the chisel.⁹⁶

The Indians’ labor brought quick success. When George Vancouver visited Santa Barbara in 1792, Vicente Santa Maria brought Vancouver ten sheep and twenty mules loaded with roots and vegetables grown at Mission San Buenaventura to him. Vancouver observed that the missionaries had large herds of livestock and the Indians had “many domestic occupations.”⁹⁷

Founded in 1769, by 1781, San Diego had three hundred head of cattle and eight hundred sheep.⁹⁸ San Gabriel Mission moved slightly north toward the location of their crops just a few years after it was founded. Only two years later after that move, they were exporting food to San Diego Mission.⁹⁹

Trade

Trade was a reason to increase agricultural production and ranching and allowed the missionaries to increase the variety of goods available. In the San Francisco Bay Area, the mission Native Californians supplied the Russians at Fort Ross, the colony at Sitka, Alaska, and the troops and their families living in the bay area.¹⁰⁰ The fur trade became active in the late 1700s. Exports of sea otter pelts from the northwest coast of North America to China created traffic in the Pacific. While Russia dominated this trade, many European and American ships participated in Pacific trading during the late 1700s and early 1800s.¹⁰¹ By Spanish law, missionaries were only allowed to trade with Spanish ships. While Southern California was off-limits to foreign ships, the lack of Spanish ships and limited troops in the area made enforcement impossible and keeping records of visiting ships unwise. However, even recorded visits indicate that trade occurred. Russians' first recorded visit was to San Francisco Bay in 1806 to buy wheat. By 1820, at least five Russian ships had visited the area. After 1810, mission Indians produced shoes, clothing, leather armor, saddles, gun parts, spears, soap and wine for the Presidios in California. Visiting ships also wanted these goods, along with food and water. In addition to their own production, the goods imported by missions could be sold to other passing ships and to nearby ranchos. The abundance of trade goods at each mission (particularly cattle hides, tallow and soap) and stories

of the sailors that visited show this trade must have taken place.¹⁰² The missions may also have illegally purchased goods for their own use. For example, the recorded output of cloth is large for the number of looms recorded as purchased from Spanish sources.¹⁰³

The quantities of certain goods also indicate the missions produced certain goods specifically for trade. The industrial revolution arrived in New England in the 1790s, and expanded rapidly. Production required vast amounts of leather, which was made into belts that transferred power to the machines. Tallow from the fat of cattle was used as a lubricant. These markets lead the missions to an increase in holding of cattle. Once Mexico's government replaced Spain's in 1822, trade with passing ships became legal (as long as ships stopped first at Monterey to pay duties), and the missionaries begin to report their sales. In 1827, the Mexican government required Mission San Fernando to report on its holdings. The food harvest was modest, but 8000 cattle, 7500 sheep, 1200 horses and 90 mules were in the inventory. Hides were in such demand that they became known as "California Dollars," and boats stacked their holds with heavy bags of solidified tallow. In one incident of attempted trade, Alfred Robinson arrived at San Fernando in April 1829, but found the mission offered few goods in trade compared to the other missions. Robinson claimed that there was a storehouse full of tallow and hides, but both suffered from the long time they had been stored.¹⁰⁴ One possibility is that trade for this mission was interrupted by the transition of government, but obviously, the goods had been stored for trade.

While most famous visitors came to California after 1830, many stories have been told of earlier visits. Joseph Chapman jumped ship and worked at missions as a handyman shortly after he was shanghaied by Pirate Bouchard, who plundered Monterey in 1818.¹⁰⁵ Hawaiian-American

William Davis reported that his mother traveled with his ship-captain father to trade in California before 1820. Visits of Russian and French ships resulted in memoirs by sailors aboard. George Vancouver visited various locations in California in 1792, noting the weakness of Spain's defenses.¹⁰⁶ Explorer and trapper Jedediah Smith and his associate Harrison Rogers had dinner at mission San Gabriel in 1826 when they were in California illegally hunting beaver. He described the abundance at the mission. Dinner included "good old whisky." He reported that the one thousand workers at the mission produced wool blankets, wheat flour, oranges, apples, peaches, and figs, sheep, hogs, horses and a huge herd of cattle, which they used in the hide and tallow trade.¹⁰⁷

From 1801-1811 missions purchased increasing amounts of goods. Legally imported items from Spain came via pack trains from Tepic, a town near the port of San Blas.¹⁰⁸ The government gave permission for San Blas to trade with passing ships from Callao and Panama, to allow more access to foreign goods. The goods imported from Tepic after 1808 consisted of decorative and religious items rather than productive equipment. In 1809 Mission Santa Clara bought lampshades, wine, and a gold watch. The amount of medicine ordered supposedly for the friars rose to a level that would have been high even for the missionaries and all the Christian Indians. The priest Magin Catala made a 1000-peso donation to his own mission in 1803 and spent hundreds of pesos each year on elaborate religious items and candleholders. Missions also imported an impressive quantity and variety of musical instruments during this period.¹⁰⁹

All of these pieces of information point to a well-established trade before it was authorized by the Mexican government, and to mission economies that surpassed self-sufficiency fairly quickly.

After the missions

Spain's original plan was that after the missions had served their purpose, and the neophytes had been transformed into fully indoctrinated Spanish peasants, the Christian Indians would receive the fruits of their labor by dividing up the land, the built environment, and goods from the mission enterprises.¹¹⁰ With the Mexican break-up of the mission complexes beginning in 1833-34, and the replacement of missionaries with parish priests, several options existed for neophyte peoples. While the Mexican government required the land be distributed to mission inhabitants, most good land quickly ended up as large land grants to Mexican citizens. Mission Indians could not benefit from the demand for land, as the title they received did not include the right to sell. Their choices were going to work for settlers at the increasing number of ranchos and pueblos, joining Indian groups still living in the interior, or establishing new pueblos or villages near old missions.¹¹¹ While the the missions seemed to be successful communities, when Native Californians established new villages, few retained the mission communal economic model for long. At the request of the San Luis Indians in 1839, the mission land the government granted to them was reallocated from communal ownership to individual ownership. The Indians complained that in four years of communal ownership the property given them had declined by half as "since no one counted on anything of his own, everyone considered it has right to appropriate for himself what belonged to all."¹¹²

When the Mexican government appointed William Hartnell to report on the state of the former missions in 1839, he visited each mission site. At most missions, he found that the local administrator had failed to follow instructions to allocate mission possessions to the inhabitants. When he arrived at San Juan Capistrano, he required that the administrator apportion the livestock among the Indians. At the time, there were several hundred animals to be divided among 58 adults. The Indians wanted replacement of the administrator, claiming that he kept food and clothing for his own use. They preferred administration by the priest.¹¹³ Indians also told Hartnell that “whites” were slaughtering their cattle for the hides and occupying the land that rightfully belonged to them, apparently with official approval.¹¹⁴ When Hartnell visited San Jose, the Indians made it clear that they wanted title to private property. Hartnell said “They maintain that hardly any land is left to them for on all sides ranchos of white people have been placed.” In San Francisco, the mission was deserted and the former population of 90 people had relocated to San Mateo where the crops were grown. “The people are fearful of losing this land,” Hartnell noted.¹¹⁵ It is clear that as the mission system ended, the wealth of the missions was quickly appropriated, and the Indian inhabitants were left to face conditions for which they were unprepared. As California’s population increased during and after the 1849 Gold Rush, a continual stream of new settlers came to steal the land and improvements the Indians made on the former mission lands, and also appropriated their newer settlements, as well as ancient tribal sites that had been occupied through the mission period.

Conclusion

The Native Californians were attracted to mission life by the regular meals, clothing and possibly sturdier housing. They stayed in mission life because they must have thought it presented the best lifestyle for them. They willingly gave up their storied freedom to submit to the rigid tolling of the bells. While a high death rate, a loss of cultural life, and restraints on movement were deterrents, the Native Southern Californians willingly joined the missions.

The violence against missionaries, occasional uprisings and a multitude of individual defiant acts show that not all Native Californians found their lives in the mission desirable, but in fact most did stay and their numbers rose from virtually a handful of priests, soldiers and civilians staking out arid land to become the majority of coastal inhabitants.¹¹⁶

Among missions' attractions, the food provided consisted of three meals a day, a regularity that had not been part of Indian life. Although the grain-and-vegetable-based *pozole* and *atole* made up the bulk of the mission meals, the huge number of cattle, sheep, and a variety of other animals kept insured that there must soon have been additions of meat. There is also abundant evidence that the mission residents supplemented their diet with their traditional food, especially game.

When Native Californians joined the missions, the priests required the regular use of wearing apparel. Coastal tribal members had worn very little in the mild climate, but clothing was a tradition avidly adopted by converts. While a certain costume marked the neophytes, other Indians sought to trade for, and even stole, items of cloth, indicating that they desired clothing.

The missions provided adobe brick housing when possible. Even in the mild southern Californian climate, this provided far more comfort and shelter from rain, wind and cold than the mud and plant-based open construction favored in the villages.

Protection from their enemies may also have been a factor attracting Native Californians to the missions. However, while the varied tribal cultures had occasional disagreements, widespread warfare seems to have been rare. Russian and European visitors may have taken advantage of the Native Californians, but organized exploitation and even individual evil intentions did not seem to be enough of a threat to cause Indians to take refuge in the missions. The Spanish policy of mixing of language groups eventually reduced warfare between tribes.

The Native Californians stayed at the missions to build large and economically successful communities. The missionaries imposed a structured life, with strict rules about behavior, but also the security of regular meals and alliance with a seemingly powerful force. Perhaps the life of a neophyte contained more physical comfort than they had in their old lifestyle. However, if the material lives of the Native Californians were improved, it was by their own labor. Guided by the missionaries, they learned new skills in farming, leathercraft, furniture making, weaving, cooking, livestock management, carpentry and many other areas. Trade with passing ships provided outlets for their productivity which increased their wealth. When the Mexican government closed the missions, this wealth was lost to the Native Californians.

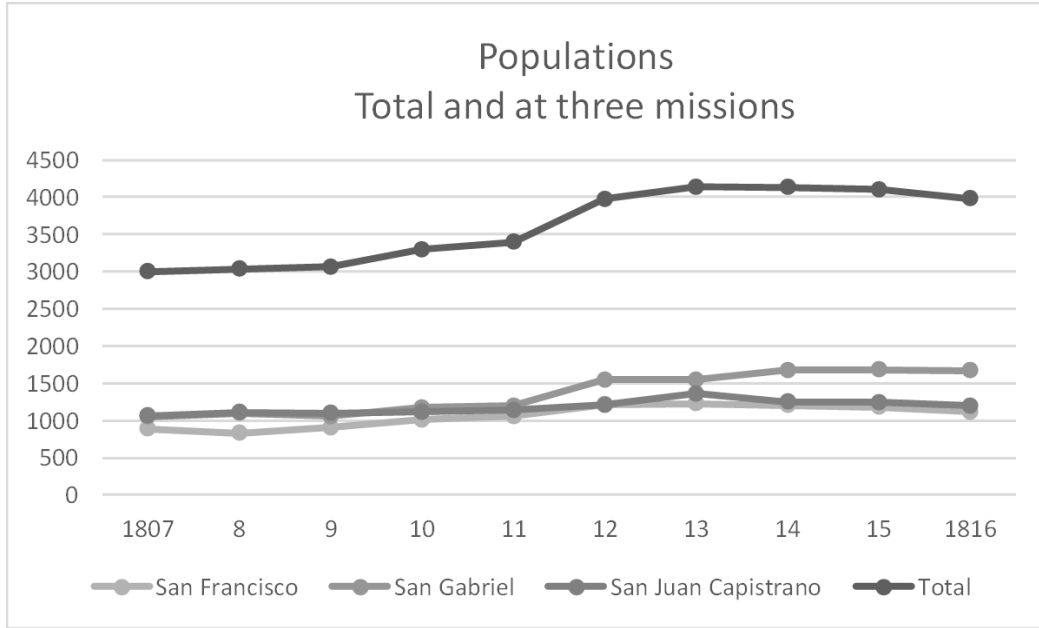
Notes

- ¹ George Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California 1769 – 1906* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2nd ed., 2014) carries the story of Indian assimilation and destruction through the last survivor's fate.
- ² Beebe, Rosemarie and Robert Senkewicz, Junipero Serra: *California, Indians, and the Transformation of a Missionary* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 205.
- ³ Beebe and Senkewicz, 208.
- ⁴ George Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers*, 28.
- ⁵ Stephen Hyslop, *Contest for California: From Spanish Colonization to the American Conquest* (Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2012), 36.
- ⁶ Hyslop, 65.
- ⁷ Hyslop, 50.
- ⁸ Hyslop, 57.
- ⁹ John A. Berger, *The Franciscan Missions of California*. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1948), 17.
- ¹⁰ Kent Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of colonial encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 84.
- ¹¹ Berger, 78.
- ¹² Berger, 78-79.
- ¹³ Hyslop, 61.
- ¹⁴ Marie Christine Duggan, "With and Without an Empire: Financing for California Missions Before and After 1810," *Pacific Historical Review*, 85, No. 01. (2016) 23-71. 40.
- ¹⁵ Duggan, 30.
- ¹⁶ Duggan, 30-7.
- ¹⁷ Duggan, "Missions exported otter hides." 28.
- ¹⁸ Hyslop, 125.
- ¹⁹ Duggan, 11.
- ²⁰ Richard Batman, *The Outer Coast* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985). 35-75.
- ²¹ McLaughlin, David with Ruben Mendoza. *The California Missions Source Book: Key Information, Dramatic Images, and Fascinating Anecdotes Covering all 21 Missions*. Pentacle Press, 2nd ed. 2012. Year-to-year data on number of people living at the mission is only available for these three missions.
- ²² Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers*, 191.
- ²³ Examples include Edward Mornin, *Through Alien Eyes: the visit of the Russian ship Rurik to San Francisco in 1816 and the men behind the visit*. (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2002).
- ²⁴ Duggan, 28.
- ²⁵ Duggan, 66-7.
- ²⁶ Beebe and Senkewicz, 232-3.
- ²⁷ Lightfoot, 22.
- ²⁸ Lightfoot, 23. From a letter from Felipe Tapia to Governor Jose Arrillaga in 1805.
- ²⁹ Edward Mornin, *Through Alien Eyes: the visit of the Russian ship Rurik to San Francisco in 1816 and the men behind the visit*. (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2002), 15. There were 64 to 80 mutually unintelligible languages in the mission areas of influence according to James Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 15. In fairness, one priest, Lasuen, made a vocabulary list and catechism in Rumsen and Esselen languages. From Cutter, Donald, *California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 12.
- ³⁰ Lightfoot, 55.
- ³¹ Summary Vol III of Zephyryn Engelhardt, 653. In David McLaughlin with Ruben Mendoza, *The California Missions Source Book: Key Information, Dramatic Images, and Fascinating Anecdotes Covering all 21 Missions*. Pentacle Press, 2nd ed., 2012. Year-to-year data is only available for these three missions.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Lightfoot, 83.
- ³⁴ Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers*, 48.
- ³⁵ Hyslop, 117.

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- ³⁶ Lightfoot, 60.
- ³⁷ Berger, 79-80.
- ³⁸ Mornin, 16.
- ³⁹ Lightfoot, 60-1.
- ⁴⁰ Jackson and Castillo, 35; Sandos, 130.
- ⁴¹ Lightfoot, 62.
- ⁴² Michael Donley, Stuart Allan, Patricia Caro and Clyde Patton, *Atlas of California* (Culver City, California: Pacific Book Center, 1979), 9.
- ⁴³ Lightfoot, 9.
- ⁴⁴ Cutter, 132-3.
- ⁴⁵ Otto Kotzebue and Louis Choris reports in Edwin Mornin, ed., *Through Alien Eyes: The Visit of the Russian Ship Rurik to San Francisco in 1816 and the Men Behind the Visit* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2002), 117.
- ⁴⁶ Phillips, 106.
- ⁴⁷ Hackel, Steven, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California 1769 – 1850* (University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 275.
- ⁴⁸ *Quercus dumosa*, a small shrubby tree, grows in chaparral areas along the coast.
- ⁴⁹ *Salvia Columbariae*, a chaparral plant.
- ⁵⁰ Phillips, 51-2. This could have been to encourage the regrowth of grasses, or could have been part of an annual rabbit hunt. Rabbits competed for grain and were the main fur used for warm cloaks.
- ⁵¹ Berger, 74.
- ⁵² Lightfoot, 78.
- ⁵³ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 68.
- ⁵⁴ Hyslop, 117.
- ⁵⁵ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 66.
- ⁵⁶ Steven Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian – Spanish Relations in Colonial California 1769-1850*, University of North Carolina Press, 2005, 72.
- ⁵⁷ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 65. From Palou's memoirs.
- ⁵⁸ Jackson and Costello present some of these surviving statistics, Appendix 1.
- ⁵⁹ Glenn Farris, ed., *The Diary and Copybook of William E. P. Hartnell: Visitador General of the Missions of Alta California in 1839 and 1840*. Translated by Starr Pait Gurcke. (Santa Clara, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2004), 45.
- ⁶⁰ Farris, ed., 50.
- ⁶¹ Jackson and Castillo, 49.
- ⁶² Berger, 74.
- ⁶³ Duggan, 27. From the Mission San Diego *Annual Report*, 1788.
- ⁶⁴ Jackson and Castillo, 32.
- ⁶⁵ Lightfoot, 57.
- ⁶⁶ Berger, 73.
- ⁶⁷ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 51.
- ⁶⁸ Jackson and Castillo, 32.
- ⁶⁹ Duggan, 40.
- ⁷⁰ Beebe and Senkewicz, 363. The cotton was a simple shirt issued by the mission, so the objection seems to have been to the fact that the convert clung to his loincloth rather than wearing trousers, and that he preferred his blanket to a Spanish style serape.
- ⁷¹ Duggan, 60.
- ⁷² Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers*, 34.
- ⁷³ Hyslop, 40.
- ⁷⁴ John A. Berger, 80-81. Early drawings often show people wearing part of this outfit, for example skirts worn as dresses.
- ⁷⁵ Farris, ed. 24, 41, 49, 50-1, 54.
- ⁷⁶ The last hereditary chief of Soboda village, inland from San Diego, died around 1888, according to George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers*, 252.
- ⁷⁷ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 74.
- ⁷⁸ Lightfoot, 24.
- ⁷⁹ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 74.
- ⁸⁰ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 70-5.

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- ⁸¹ Hyslop, 29.
- ⁸² Hyslop, 196-201.
- ⁸³ Lightfoot, 194.
- ⁸⁴ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 49.
- ⁸⁵ Albert Hurato, *John Sutter: A Life on the North American Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 74.
- ⁸⁶ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 98.
- ⁸⁷ Hyslop, 41.
- ⁸⁸ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 58.
- ⁸⁹ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 63.
- ⁹⁰ There are numerous discussions of these visiting carpenters, weavers, potters, etc. in the mission reports. See for example Lasuen to Arrillaga, letter 12/21/1792. Santa Barbara Mission Library/Archives. Photocopy of original at Archdiocese of San Francisco.
- ⁹¹ B.D. Wilson, *The Indians of Southern California in 1852*. Edited by John Walton Caughey (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 23.
- ⁹² Berger, 81-82.
- ⁹³ Lightfoot, 67.
- ⁹⁴ Berger, 82.
- ⁹⁵ Unfortunately, an earthquake promptly felled it. Built in 1806, it collapsed in 1812. Remnants remained, and it is partly restored.
- ⁹⁶ Berger, 82.
- ⁹⁷ Hyslop, 137.
- ⁹⁸ Duggan, 30.
- ⁹⁹ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 68.
- ¹⁰⁰ Duggan, 63-4.
- ¹⁰¹ Batman, Richard,
- ¹⁰² California Mission Resource Center. <http://www.missionscalifornia.com/ate/activities-supported-economy-mission-san-carlos-borromeo-de-carmelo.htm>.
- ¹⁰³ Duggan, 59.
- ¹⁰⁴ Phillips, *Vineyards*, 113.
- ¹⁰⁵ Hyslop, 220.
- ¹⁰⁶ Hyslop, 132-4.
- ¹⁰⁷ Hyslop, 218.
- ¹⁰⁸ Duggan, 35.
- ¹⁰⁹ Duggan, 49-59.
- ¹¹⁰ Lightfoot, 66.
- ¹¹¹ Lightfoot, 211.
- ¹¹² Farris, ed., 28.
- ¹¹³ Farris, ed., 32-3.
- ¹¹⁴ Farris, ed., 82.
- ¹¹⁵ Farris, ed., 88-9.
- ¹¹⁶ Lightfoot, 55.

Graph 1



Graph 2

