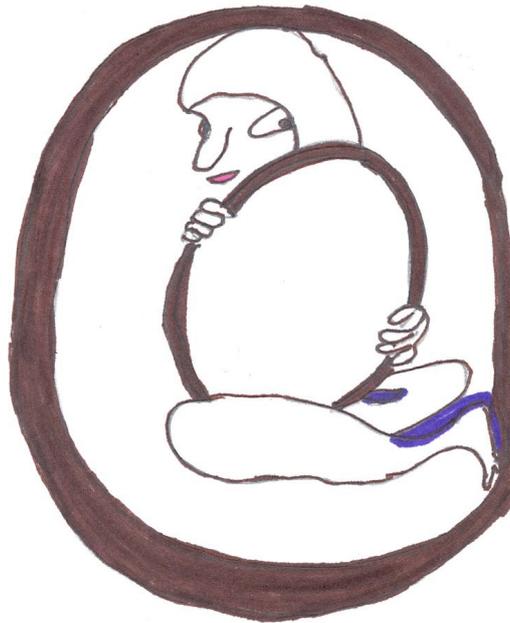


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SCRIPTABLE

A Bispectral Review of Recent Books



Robert Tenor, editor
6-15-2000

New Series Number 099a

EDITORIAL

[Scriptable](#) is an irregular review of what was once called the belles-lettres, where we essay upon a wide assortment of current books and articles with an eye open for “the beautiful jumble of discordant congruencies” derived from the authors and titles under discussion. We cast a wide academic net through the social sciences and humanities, with a strong orientation toward current events, social theory, religious and cultural studies.

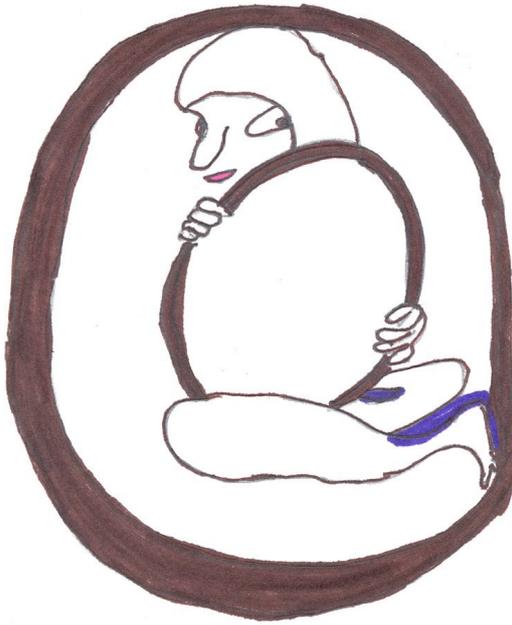
With this number we move away from simple reportage of current scholarship to something more ambitious. The body of each issue includes editorial essays examining themes inspired by the works under consideration. The sum of our reviews are carefully pruned excerpts from the books themselves so as to preview the style and technicality of the text itself.

Our purpose is to inform and entertain. Through the review essays we hope to visit new and timeworn places through unsettled ideas in currency newly minted. Perhaps to see the outlandish as intimate and to show up the familiar as stranger than before thought.

Each issue should surprise.



Contents: We Are Not Animals reviewed by Vincent Charles



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WE ARE NOT ANIMALS OFF PRINT SPECIAL

WE ARE NOT ANIMALS: INDIGENOUS POLITICS OF SURVIVAL, REBELLION, AND RECONSTITUTION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CALIFORNIA by Martin Rizzo-Martinez and Valentin Lopez [University of Nebraska Press, 9781496219626]

By examining historical records and drawing on oral histories and the work of anthropologists, archaeologists, ecologists, and psychologists, *We Are Not Animals* sets out to answer questions regarding who the Indigenous people in the Santa Cruz region were and how they survived through the nineteenth century. Between 1770 and 1900 the linguistically and culturally diverse Ohlone and Yokuts tribes adapted to and expressed themselves politically and culturally through three distinct colonial encounters with Spain, Mexico, and the United States. In **WE ARE NOT ANIMALS** Martin Rizzo-Martinez traces tribal, familial, and kinship networks through the missions' chancery registry records to reveal stories of individuals and families and shows how ethnic and tribal differences and politics shaped strategies of survival within the diverse population that came to live at Mission Santa Cruz.

WE ARE NOT ANIMALS illuminates the stories of Indigenous individuals and families to reveal how Indigenous politics informed each of their choices within a context of immense loss and violent disruption.

Editorial Appraisal by Vincent Charles:

WE ARE NOT ANIMALS is a superb study of the different Native American peoples corralled at Spanish Mission Santa Cruz from 1791 to 1831, and how they endured and responded to their incredibly horrific treatment under the Spanish and succeeding Mexican (1821-1846/48) and American regimes in order to survive as distinct tribal peoples down to today. Martin Rizzo-Martinez is to be congratulated.

Santa Cruz, California, lies at the north end of Monterey Bay and is within the greater San Francisco Bay Area. Today the city of Santa Cruz, in Santa Cruz County, is the home of the University of California, Santa Cruz, whose mascot is the banana slug. Together with the county's redwood forests and inviting beaches, the area is a popular recreation locale. Indeed the city of Santa Cruz sports a seaside rollercoaster amusement park Santa Cruz owes its origin to the Spanish founding of Mission Santa Cruz by Franciscan priests in 1791 and to the founding of the nearby pueblo of Branciforte in 1797.

The highlight of both Native American and "White" histories of Santa Cruz has to be the assassination of the extremely sadistic Fr. Quintana in 1812 by some of his Native neophytes. It happened on the eve of Quintana's receiving a made-to-order steel tipped cat-o'-nine-tails with which he hoped to inflict even greater harm on his frequently and capriciously flogged Indian neophytes. The slaying of Fr. Quintana has been well known to serious students of the California mission era since the American half of the nineteenth century though some readers of **WE ARE NOT ANIMALS** may not have been previously aware of it.

Together with the killing of Quintana, Rizzo-Martinez' revelations about the cruelties and exploitiveness of the Spanish, Mexican, and American regimes will no doubt shock some readers. Thus, the tribal peoples were rounded up and herded to Mission Santa Cruz much like Native peoples everywhere in the State. The peoples at Santa Cruz have endured forced relocations, loss of tribal lands and Mexican land grants and, for the Yokuts of the San Joaquin Valley at Santa Cruz, loss of American reservation lands. The Native peoples at Santa Cruz have suffered severe population losses due to overcrowded housing, devastating illnesses, inhumane treatment by Spanish, Mexican, and American settlers, suicides, and murders. Yet the Ohlonean and Yokutsan connected to Santa Cruz have survived as distinct tribal ethnicities today. In order to recount this ignoble history of the "Whites" and the Tribal peoples' response, Rizzo-Martinez wrote neither a "bleeding heart" nor a "woke" book. Instead, he brought together statistical summaries from mission, American, and other records as well as extensive extracts from and citations of published and unpublished sources. Rizzo-Martinez' seemingly exhaustive summaries of cases are much of the "meat" of the 269-page narrative, 162 pages of notes, 37 pages of bibliography, 30 pages of statistical data (between) p 174-175) and 5 charts (pages 112, 113, 168, 169).

Like other new wave ethnohistorians in California, Rizzo-Martinez focuses on the Native peoples' relations with and survival under foreign invaders and dominators. Consequently, he gives equal or greater weight to Native testimony from published and unpublished sources (especially from John P. Harrington's field notes) as well as the family traditions of the Ohlonean Amah Mutsun Tribal Chair Valentin Lopez and Amah Mutsun Tribal Historian Ed Ketchum. The author's oral histories of the Ohlonean Awaswas (the tribe originally on the site of Santa Cruz) and Yokuts were taken from previously published and unpublished interviews. Rizzo-Martinez stressed that he was telling the Natives' story by giving people and places their Ohlonean or Yokutean names followed by the Spanish or English names in parentheses. Unfortunately, he did not provide a pronunciation guide.

WE ARE NOT ANIMALS is a difficult book to read and to review. The narrative is densely packed with information, including unfamiliar place names, tribal names, settlement names, and personal names. Though the book promises to treat "the politics of survival, rebellion, and reconstitution," Rizzo-Martinez demonstrates how the people adapted to the everchanging non-Indian landscape by playing each administrative system to the best grim advantaged. He does this through analytic methods that reveal the surprising strength and continuity of family ties. Both the narrative and endnotes are loaded with family-tree information and what in other contexts might seem gossipy" details of relationships and such. This invaluable data on families makes the book a slow road. Casual readers might prefer to read the topic sentences and summaries which make the author's points. Moreover, the endnotes must be appreciated because many are short little essays. For examples, with respect to Native aggression toward ogrish padres (p. 136), one end, note remarks:

Rumors of poisonings were common, and a few cases of successful poisonings are recorded, such as the poisoning of three padres at Mission San Miguel [near Salinas] in 1801, and the killing of Padre Jose Pedro Panto by his cook, Nazario, at Mission San Diego in November 1811 (p. 349n¹⁶⁷, of 349n¹⁶¹⁻¹⁶⁶).

WE ARE NOT ANIMALS is plainly written without obvious jargon. However, the word "Indigenous" is overworked though both Valentin Lopez and Ed Ketchum employed the word "Indian" without a patronizing or pejorative connotation (e.g. xiii, xi[^], 259). The dangling participle, "Returning to the story of Asisara," (p. 194) should perhaps have been rewritten, "To return to the story of Asisara," (Lorenzo Asisara was an Ohlonean Awaswas whose oral history was recorded in the late nineteenth century). A typographic error in the Bibliography (p. 463) misprints the name of the author Stanger, Frank M. as "Stranger"—the work cited is by Stanger and Alan K. Brown, *Who Discovered the Golden Gate*, 1969. Otherwise Rizzo-Martinez book seems remarkably free of editorial infelicities.

All in all, **WE ARE NOT ANIMALS** is a must read for California specialists in several fields and areas of interest. If the general reader applies himself or herself to work through Rizzo-Martinez' text, with its many quotations from Harrington's unpublished interviews with the Amah Mutsun, Maria Asencion Solorsano and from other Native accounts, he or she will come away with a much richer and better understanding of the human spirit. <>

Review

"Deeply researched and fresh in conception, methodology, and breadth, **WE ARE NOT ANIMALS** is a major contribution to the study of Native California and the missions. . . . In a singular and exceptional way among historians, Martin Rizzo-Martinez identifies Native people by name, family, and tribe and he follows the survivors of the Amah Mutsun nation through the American genocide of the late nineteenth century."—Lisbeth Haas, professor of history at the University of California, Santa Cruz

"Rizzo-Martinez unearths Native voices from the archive to provide an overdue historical account of the Indigenous experience in Santa Cruz and surrounding region. By decentering colonial institutions like the missions and non-Native voices, Rizzo-Martinez effectively places Indigenous space and knowledge at the center of this study, a valuable model for future scholars of the Native experience in California."—Yve Chavez (Tongva), assistant professor of history of art and visual culture at the University of California, Santa Cruz

"Both heartbreaking and inspiring, **WE ARE NOT ANIMALS** is a history of destruction as well as of California Indian survival against great odds. Rizzo-Martinez has written a deeply researched study of Indigenous peoples in Santa Cruz and surrounding areas that improves our understanding of Native American experiences in California as a whole."—Benjamin Madley, author of *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian*

Catastrophe, 1846–1873

“**WE ARE NOT ANIMALS** is an important book in California mission studies, deploying established sources and a significant, frequently overlooked one—Confirmation records—to reveal Indian community building inside the mission to which Franciscans were oblivious. Rizzo-Martinez effectively demonstrates how Indians exploited the mission system for their own ends and carries the story through early California statehood, challenging previous interpretations that missionization had extinguished Indian culture. **WE ARE NOT ANIMALS** marks the arrival of a sophisticated scholar to the conversations about early California history.”—James A. Sandos, Farquhar Professor of the American Southwest, Emeritus, University of Redlands

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My name is Valentin Lopez, and I am the chair of the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band. Our tribe is composed of the descendants of the Indigenous peoples taken to Missions San Juan Bautista and Santa Cruz in Central California.

The true history of California missions has never been told. In 1820 the last padre presidente of the California mission system, Friar Mariano Payeras, wrote to his superiors in Mexico City that Alta California had been "deserted and depopulated of Indians within a century of its discovery and conquest by the Spaniards." In his words the missionary priests had "baptized them, administered the sacraments to them and buried them." Payeras sought a better explanation that the Franciscans could use as an alibi to "shelter us from slander and sarcasm," when the terrible impacts of the missions in Alta California were looked back upon.

To this day, in elementary schools and mission museums throughout California, you will be told that the Indians came to the missions voluntarily—the Indians came to find a better life, the Indians came to learn agriculture, or the Indians came to find God. These are all lies.

Growing up, I learned from our tribal elders that Mission Santa Cruz was the most brutal of all twenty-one California missions and that the life expectancy after arriving at the mission was less than two years. I heard stories of a sadistic priest who enjoyed whipping and torturing the Indians, oftentimes bringing the Indians to near death. I learned later that his name was Friar Andres Quintana. As a youth, I heard that the Indians strangled and killed this priest, crushing his testicles in the process. We believed there was a very specific payback message in this act.

The Spanish and Franciscans believed Indian culture and spirituality had nothing of value to offer. They acted as if Indians did not have souls and therefore were not human beings. Because of this, when the Indians were enslaved, whipped, raped, and killed, it wasn't a sin. Approximately thirty tribes were taken to Mission Santa Cruz. and to my knowledge my lineage is the only one that has survived to the present day.

As our tribe continues a process of truth telling, we uncover lost details of our family histories and stories. Recently, I learned that although I have ancestors who lived at Mission Santa Cruz and another ancestor is recognized as the last speaker of the Awaswas language, they do not descend from Awaswas territory (the traditional territory of the Indians who lived in the vicinity of Santa Cruz). Upon learning that our tribe may not have direct ties to Awaswas territory, we have made great effort to be transparent about this new information.

Not only has the true history of the California mission period never been told; the true history of the Mexican and American periods in California has never been told either. All three periods of brutal colonization included efforts to destroy and dominate California Indian culture, spirituality, environments, and humanity. In 1900 the population of California Indians had decreased by over 96 percent from the time of first contact. Many tribes completely disappeared.

Often when I'm speaking to the public about our tribe, I'll ask: "How were our ancestors supposed to teach their children to be happy, to know how to love, to have confidence and optimism? How could our ancestors teach their children to fulfill their sacred obligation to take care of Mother Earth and all living things? How could they learn their ceremonies, learn how to take care of their food, medicine, and basketry plants when every day was a struggle for their survival?"

During mission times our ancestors couldn't teach these sacred and self-esteem-building qualities to their children. Parents were often forcibly separated from their children and threatened with violence, restricting important intergenerational relationships. These conditions continued for over one hundred years and through many generations. As a consequence, our people have suffered from historic trauma, which has resulted in addiction, suicide, depression, poverty, and incarceration.

In 2011 our tribe began holding bimonthly wellness meetings to address this trauma. We have learned at our meetings that to heal from historic trauma, it's important that the truth of our tragic history be told. For this reason our tribe is immensely grateful to Dr. Martin Rizzo-Martinez for his research on Mission Santa Cruz, his doctoral work, and this book, *We Are Not Animals*. We appreciate that Martin worked closely with our tribal historian, Ed Ketchum, to incorporate key additional information from our tribal oral histories into this text.

Martin shows how historians can play an important role in telling truthful history, supporting Native communities, and contributing to the healing process of a tribe that has suffered generations of historic trauma.

Our tribe is appalled by the way the State of California and the Catholic Church ignore true history, glorifying and honoring devastating falsehoods while promoting the missions as idyllic tourist destinations for economic gain. Today many restaurants, hotels, museums, and other enterprises in California benefit from these harmful narratives.

Throughout California there are many symbols that are intended to celebrate the mission period, such as the ubiquitous El Camino Real mission bell markers and statues of Junipero Serra, the founder of the California mission system. To our tribal citizens these symbols are constant reminders of the near-total extermination of our ancestors in an attempt to erase our Native culture, spirituality, and environments. As our tribe speaks out against these symbols of destruction,

domination, and genocide and advocates for their removal from public displays, Martin has stood alongside us in support.

Over the strong objections of numerous California tribes, including ours, the Catholic Church canonized Junipero Serra in 2015. By granting sainthood to Serra, the church effectively declared that the actions Serra took to destroy and dominate Indigenous culture, spirituality, and environments were saintly and worthy of emulation by those who want entry into heaven. As the accounts in this book clearly demonstrate, the behavior and ideology of those who founded and presided over the missions was anything but saintly.

Ascension Solorsano, an important leader of our tribe who passed away in 1929, had a saying that went, "A lie is a lie until the truth arrives." It is time for the truth of mission history to be told.

How They Killed a Serpent That Lived in the Santa Cruz Mountains

There was a snake in the Santa Cruz Mountains, and there was a redwood tree, and it already had the tree smooth, smooth from climbing up that tree so much to get sight of people. That snake did not eat people a few at a time but he got them all in a bunch. Ah, but the Indians were smart to make their defenses, you will see. It used to climb up and it just stayed there spying, and when it saw many people there far away in the plains occupied with their harvests of seeds and acorns or whatever they could find, it gave a very loud whistle and down at once it came and it went dragging itself quick as the devil to where they were, and it surrounded them and caught them all in the loop, and squeezed them and ate them up.

That animal lived in the sea. And there it was for many years just killing, killing the people and they could not do anything to it, and it already was finishing them off.

Now just see, the story is not going to be long. The people got to thinking how to escape and how they might kill it (the snake). Then they set the women to making baskets, large enough to cover up a hole which would hold a man. And that animal that used to come forth had its time to come forth, I do not remember but think it was in the morning when it used to come out. And then the men were removing the trees and clearing the ground, so that it would be like a clear and smooth plain, and the women making the baskets, and the men clearing the ground, and when they had already cleared away everything well, they started making holes that they could get into and not be seen. And when they had already finished the baskets and the holes, then the men went to get into the holes, and every one carried his basket and placed it beside the hole. And others of the men went to hide themselves in the woods around about there. They knew at what time the snake would come out. And when he ascended the tree he gave a whistle, and down he came thither he went where the people were. The men were standing beside the holes, so that the snake would see them, waiting for it to come to eat them up. And the rest of the men were hidden in the woods, behind the trees, ready to help those that were standing by the holes and baskets. And those that were standing there beside the holes had their weapons and those [who] were in the woods also had their weapons. And when the snake came and surrounded them, the men who were beside the holes all got into the holes, and covered themselves over with the baskets and the snake came and surrounded them, and crushed all the baskets to pieces, and the men who were in the woods came jumping out with their bows and knives and they all attacked it, and those who were inside the holes were also stabbing it from below, and some of them brought strong tobacco and they were throwing handfuls of tobacco into its mouth when it would open its mouth. Well, they killed it. Well, when they killed that snake, when the Indians came gathering together from everywhere, for they were afraid that that snake would resuscitate the same as One Leg resuscitated. And they cut it all to pieces, and all of them ate it, they ate it up among

themselves, they did not give it to the ants, and thus it was that the Indians of Santa Cruz put an end to that snake. And it did not come to life again.

When I first read "How They Killed a Serpent That Lived in the Santa Cruz Mountains," I interpreted the story as a possible reference to Indigenous collaboration against the threat of Spanish colonialism and disruption. After sharing my doctoral work with Amah Mutsun tribal historian Ed Ketchum, the great-grandson of Solórsano, he was quick to point out that this story predated Spanish colonial occupation and more likely spoke to a conflict from long ago, a "conflict between the snake clan and other clans that dominated the Santa Cruz Mountain area." Of course, this makes much more sense and speaks to the existing Indigenous politics and histories that long predate the colonial histories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. My initial reading of this story made the common mistake of centering the story with the Spanish, interpreting the story to be a response to colonial powers. I was seeing Indigenous histories as a reaction to others, instead of recognizing that Indigenous people's actions, responses, and motivations were informed by their own histories and politics, which stretch back over millennia. With his critique and shared perspective on this story, Ketchum helped to point out my misinterpretation and to remind me of the larger focus of this study.

This is a book about Indigenous politics. It is about the politics of survival, resistance, rebellion, and perseverance through the nineteenth century, focusing on the stories and perspectives of Indigenous tribes, families, and individuals from the region that is today called Santa Cruz County. While the Indigenous people discussed in these chapters clearly struggled with the steady onslaught of disruption, relocation, and at times genocidal colonial policies that included militaristic engagement by Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. soldiers, they persevered and made decisions informed by their own histories, values, and cultural perspectives. This book aims to tell this history from Indigenous perspectives, privileging the voices of Indigenous people, found in oral histories along with other sources, rather than those of the colonists who for far too long have held center stage in historical studies of California. In doing so, the chapters of this book examine this history with an emphasis on stories of rebellion, resistance, and, ultimately, survival, all of which meant different things for a diversity of Indigenous tribes, families, and perspectives.

The key to writing this book has been listening. The stories that I am writing about in this book are not my own stories or that of my family. As I am a historian who does not trace his lineage back to the Indigenous people of this study, it is absolutely imperative that I listen and learn from locale descendants. Listening to contemporary Native people like Ketchum, Arab Mutsun tribal chair Valentin Lopez, and others helps me better understand the importance of this history today and how these historical issues and struggles continue to inform ongoing battles to protect sacred spaces and advocate for the tribe.' This listening includes centering the oral histories of Mission Santa Cruz survivor Lorenzo Asisara, who gave three interviews in the 1870-5 and 1880s. Asisara's stories are among the very few Indigenous voices recorded from someone who lived in a California mission, and his stories convey traumas but emphasize moments of rebellion and resistance. This book draws on the interviews of Maria Ascension Salsano, recorded by John P. Harrington in 1930. Solórsano's stories are used throughout this book to give insight into historical events and dynamics. The multigenerational oral histories of Asisara, Ketchum, Lopez, and Solórsano are all crucial sources that inform this study, and I put these stories in dialogue with archival sources to shed light on Indigenous perspectives of this history and to counterbalance the colonial archives. These oral histories focus on stories of trauma and disruption and yet highlight Indigenous responses and rebellions, acts of resistance and perseverance. Following the lead of these stories, this book does the same.

My methodology also includes listening critically to non-Native sources. The most important of these are the thousands of baptismal, godparentage, marriage, confirmation, and burial records that were written and kept by the Franciscan missionaries but heavily informed by Native peoples. I argue that these chancery records indeed constitute an Indigenous archive: the information contained within them illuminates important values like kinship and family ties and reveals clues about larger dynamics and inner workings. While the Franciscan missionaries technically may have physically written these documents, the individual records were informed by the Indigenous peoples who supplied the padres with the information to record. For this study I built my own database to include thousands of records relating to Indigenous people from Santa Cruz and neighboring communities, enabling me to follow patterns of movement, kinship, and tribal relations that transcend mission boundaries.

Drawing on my database of these records, I have been able to make connections between individuals, families, kinship networks, and tribes. These stories challenge the narratives left by the settler colonial societies that have predominantly written the histories of California. By interconnecting the data from these records with stories and information given in the Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. archives, along with the previously mentioned oral histories, I have been able to reconstruct stories and to recognize connections across mission communities. The Franciscan sacramental records are crucial to any study of Indigenous California. This book helps to explore the boundaries of these records, as throughout I suggest new ways of reading them. There is still much more that can be done with these records, new stories and connections that will be illuminated by historians in the coming years.

By centering on the perspectives of local Indigenous people, this book seeks to explore how they understood these times. I grapple with questions such as: How did they make sense of their circumstances and situations? How did they understand the changing world around them? How did their long histories and knowledge inform their decisions and choices? To answer these questions, I followed the lead of scholars, many of them Indigenous, calling for decolonizing methodologies. This endeavor includes the privileging of Indigenous voices, focusing on Indigenous categories and epistemologies, as well as understanding the fundamental differences in worldview and culture between local Indigenous people and the colonizing occupying society. Such an approach requires recognizing that Indigenous oral histories describe a different world altogether than the one experienced by the colonizers who wrote the vast majority of the early accounts of this period. While both colonizers and Indigenous peoples inhabited the same physical space, the colonizing perspective, informed by the long Spanish history of colonial relations throughout the hemisphere, failed to recognize the existing Indigenous landscape. To write a history that does not repeat the same colonial projections requires a constant diligence in questioning and challenging colonial assumptions, much in the way that Ketchum offered in his ongoing and generous critique and feedback. This approach results in a retelling of the California mission myth, this time from the perspective of Indigenous peoples, although the scope of this book extends well beyond the mission era. In order to accomplish this retelling, my methodological approach also draws on insights from disciplines that are better equipped to address these categories, including archaeology, anthropology, ecology, and psychology.

My research is informed by works of ecologists who have focused on understanding Native land-management practices, often referred to as Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), arguing for a deeper understanding of the impact of geographic and ecological reorganization on Native networks of knowledge. Similarly, important questions about historical and transgenerational trauma help lend understanding to the impact of colonial violence and disruption. Colonial occupation of California involved a process of corporal and psychological violence perpetrated against Indigenous people. Contemporary studies suggest that these kinds of traumas literally reshape the body and brain,

causing disruptions that often pass to subsequent generations and help explain incidences of addiction, depression, detachment, violence, and other coping mechanisms. Disciplines such as archaeology and anthropology can allow for a closer understanding of Indigenous practices and culture than historical sources may afford." Right now is an exciting time in the field, as a new wave of archaeologists have been articulating a more dynamic understanding of mission communities. My work is in dialogue with many of the exciting new studies in archaeology, such as the work of Tim Schneider and Lee Panich, studies that have focused on the "archaeology of persistence." These scholars argue for a more fluid and plural understanding of ethnicity and culture, one that recognizes that ethnicity is "dynamic and continually in transformation in relation to ever-changing social conditions." These types of studies help us approach the archives with a sensitivity to the Indigenous world inhabited at the time of Spanish colonization and occupation...

The first chapter of this book examines the initial movement of local Indigenous people into Mission Santa Cruz. By first tracing out the Indigenous landscape of the region, I found that preexisting alliances and rivalries helped to inform reasons for relocation to Mission Santa Cruz. I argue that in this time of little choice, a diversity of Native peoples made decisions of vital importance for themselves, their families, and their kin. Indigenous families and leaders responded to Spanish colonialism in diverse ways. Leaders from the rival Aptos and Uypi tribes vied for power and standing within the mission community, while the northern-lying Quiroste, the largest and strongest of the local tribes, offered shelter and formed alliances with fugitives. This pan-tribal group, led by leaders such as Ochole and Charquin, attacked the mission two years after its founding. This Quiroste-led rebellion was one of very few direct attacks on a mission during this period. Indigenous leaders made their choices based on preexisting political dynamics. Chapter 1 ends in 1798, the last year of significant baptism of local Awaswas speakers. In response to the Quiroste-led attack, new padres arrived with harsher, more aggressive methods of conversion. Within a few years padres and soldiers had relocated the vast majority of local tribes to the mission.

Chapter 2 reveals the formation of hybrid political, social, gender, and economic roles within the expanding and diversifying mission community between 1798 and 1810. In these years Spanish soldiers extended their colonial campaign by inducting Mutsun-speaking Ohlone tribes from farther east. These tribes felt the impact of ecological, economic, and political disruption by Spanish colonial settlements and responded to these changes in a variety of ways. The Ausaima actively challenged the Spanish and the Native youth who came of age during these years, many of whom became leaders within the mission and worked in collaboration with the missionaries. This was a period of increasing conflict, as many of these villagers challenged Spanish relocations, engaging in small-scale warfare, raids on cattle and livestock, and other acts of resistance. Those who joined the mission blended Spanish and Indigenous economic, spiritual, social, and political practices. They became sacristan (sextons), pajes (pages), and padrinos (godparents); through godparentage they built and expanded kinship relations. Some became musicians, weavers, masons, carpenters, laborers, farmers, shoemakers, tailors, or cooks. Indigenous leaders continued to exert influence, often through elected mission alcaldes (mayors). This chapter ends in 1810, when the last of the large groups of Mutsun people came to the mission.

The 1812 assassination of Padre Andres Quintana, the only successful assassination of a padre in the Northern California missions, is the subject of chapter 3. My research reveals that this incident was much more than an isolated moment of rebellion. At the center of this story is an Indigenous woman, Yaquenonsat, a spiritual and political leader from Mutsun territory. She brought with her the strategy she had learned from inland tribes. Through marriage she joined herself and her Sumus people with a kinship group of Awaswas-speaking Ohlone, which included some of the first families that had arrived in the earliest days of the mission. The assassination was a response to the specific cruelties of Padre Quintana. This close examination of the families and tribes involved reveals the

persistence of female leadership and patterns of interconnection between Indigenous communities both within neighboring missions and outside. Overall, this chapter reveals how local Indigenous people developed and communicated strategies of resistance across the greater Bay Area.

Newly arrived Yokuts leaders filled the vacuum left after the arrest of the assassination conspirators. This transition and the impact of these Yokuts tribal people is the focus of chapter 4. This chapter covers the years between 1810 and 1834, a time of Indigenous fugitives, horse thieves, cattle raiders, and military recovery excursions into Yokuts territories. California transitioned politically to Mexican governance during this time, which led to consequences for the mission and Indigenous people. Arriving Yokuts joined Awaswas- and Mutsun-speaking Ohlone but carved out their own political and social roles within the mission. Some of these Yokuts, such as Chief Malimin (Coletto) and his sons, worked closely with the padres, tracking down fugitives and supervising others. Indigenous people made choices regarding their interactions with the padres. And yet they made these choices within a larger context of social, psychological, and corporal domination by the padres, as the succession of abusive padres continued. Furthermore, while some of these incoming men received a degree of power within the mission community, women continued to be abused by certain padres.

Secularization and emancipation, which began in the early 1830s, is the focus of chapter 5. In Santa Cruz, despite Mexican policies abolishing racial categories and establishing Indigenous citizenship, rights for Indigenous people were slow in coming. It wasn't until 1839 that a few Indigenous members of the mission received small plots of land. Following emancipation, two distinct communities formed in lands adjacent to the mission. The political shifts discussed in chapter 4 helped shape the formation of these two Indigenous communities, as the Yokuts leaders and their kin received the Potrero—the lands behind the mission that would in later years become known as the local reservation. The Sayanta man Geronimo Chugiut and his Awaswas-speaking kin lived in the resourcerich Westside of Santa Cruz, the second community that emerged. The 1840s were a decade when some former mission residents gained small parcels of land, a limited degree of citizenship, and partial entry into the larger economic and social world of the local Californios.

Indigenous survival through the early years of U.S. statehood is the focus of chapters 6 and 7. As California became a U.S. state, in 1850, Indigenous people first became a minority of the overall local population. As Santa Cruz grew into an industrial city, more and more people moved into the area, eclipsing the couple hundred Indigenous survivors. Under American political rule, the social category of Indian collapsed to envelop Californios and Indigenous people in one singular underclass, excluded from legal and human rights and targeted by lynching and persecution. Chapter 6 focuses on the changing status of Indians in the era of U.S. occupation and the contrast between genocidal policies and the fascination of early ethnographers in celebrating the so-called vanishing Indian. Chapter 7 looks at the Potrero, the last remaining "reservation" on former mission lands. The Potrero remained an Indigenous space until the early 1880s, and this chapter traces the stories of families that survived through this era and moved into places like Watsonville to survive beyond the occupation of Potrero lands by incoming colonizers. In Santa Cruz, Native families responded to these threats with a variety of survival strategies—including passing as Mexican, relocation, arson, searching out nearby Native communities, and continuing to draw on traditional spiritual songs, dances, and sweat lodges for healing and strength.

Ultimately, this book offers new methodological approaches to the study of Native California, innovations that could similarly speak to studies of colonization, early nationalism, borderlands studies, and Indigenous studies. My research reveals a dynamic Indigenous world that existed beyond the gaze or understanding of the missionaries, soldiers, and explorers who settled and colonized the region. Indigenous leaders and families negotiated new alliances and kinship networks, engaged in disputes or conflicts based on long-standing rivalries, and otherwise learned about, shared with, and

engaged with other Indigenous peoples. This dynamic world of Indigenous politics and negotiation helped shape the history and development of Santa Cruz as it grew into a city. Despite the complex web of Indigenous politics that helped shape this history, today it remains barely visible, most notably commemorated in town and street names such as Aptos, Soquel, and Zayante. Meanwhile, contemporary descendants of these Indigenous families remain on the peripheries of U.S. society. My book seeks to challenge this erasure by revealing their rich and important Indigenous history, overlooked for far too long. This is a story of the strength and resiliency of these families, who persevered and innovated in order to survive and carry on their traditions.

The twenty-first century has the potential to be one of revitalized Native American presence in Santa Cruz, the greater San Francisco Bay Area, throughout California, and beyond. The canonization of Junipero Serra in 2015, while celebrating the California mission era, also invigorated an already growing sense of Indigenous Californian pride and identity. In the fall of that year, the San Fernando-based Tataviam woman Caroline Ward and her son, Kagen Holland, embarked on a "780-mile pilgrimage to each of the twenty-one California Missions, to honor the Indigenous ancestors who suffered and perished in the Mission system and assert California Indian rejection of sainthood for Junipero Serra." Along the way they met with Indigenous Californian leaders, elders, and community members, the vast majority of whom enthusiastically supported the group's message. At each mission they held ceremonies and shared stories of the ancestors, fostered by the offerings of diverse members of regional Indigenous communities who joined the walkers. The gatherings testified to the fact that Native Californians endured, persevered, and remain. The pilgrimage has inspired ongoing conversations and communications across the state between the diverse contemporary Indigenous Californian communities that share a common history of survival and trauma from the last 250-plus years. Today we are fortunate to have more and more Indigenous academics and new approaches to the archives that embrace Indigenous epistemologies, categories, and methodologies as well as methods drawn from a variety of fields ranging from anthropology to genocide studies to medical history. These new studies have the potential to help bring this history to light and, most importantly, support the efforts of contemporary Indigenous Californian communities. It is my hope that by illuminating these important histories and recognizing the strength and tenacity of the Indigenous families that fought against great odds in times of tremendous loss and upheaval, we can all learn to better understand the history of these lands and peoples, learn to listen to and honor the descendants of these families, and ultimately to recognize that the incredible work being done today by contemporary Indigenous Californian communities is a testament to the strength and ingenuity of their ancestors. <>

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