

Southern New Hampshire University

The Spanish Catholic Missions of San Diego de Alcalá and Santa Bárbara and the Encounters
with the Chumash and Kumeyaay Native American Tribes

A Positive Effect

A Capstone Project Submitted to the College of Online and Continuing Education in Partial
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By

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Abstract

The research will examine the area of Alta California among the Spanish and Native Americans at the Mission San Diego de Alcalá and Mission Santa Bárbara. The initial conclusions about this topic have been that the Spanish did come to dominate, convert people to Christianity, and gain resources to further the Spanish Kingdom. The Native Americans were influenced and changed due to the encounters with the Spanish and there was much devastation of their lands and peoples. However, not all the encounters were negative and damaging. Some positive aspects to the encounters for example were mixed marriages, living together peacefully on the mission, and education. This historical event was more than just stories of destruction of nations and the conversion of Native Americans to Catholicism. From Spain, Latin America, Mexico, and to California, Spanish history has been debated by historians on the impact of Spanish colonization of Native Americans over the years and the majority concluded that it was a negative and horrible experience. This study will open up a discussion and analyze the Spanish colonization in a different way and that is to demonstrate some positive aspects of Spanish colonial times. The ways of religion and how the interactions of individuals and groups influenced one another will be discussed as well. The methodology will be established through looking at this period of time through religious, political, economic, and cultural lenses by historians.

Dedication

For my family who supported me through this endeavor and through my life.

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Preface

It took a long time to figure out what to research because there were so many interesting topics in history. However, it is when a person goes back to one's roots that one finds the answer. Education is my background for choosing the topic of Spanish Missions because of my personal studies of Spain and earning a Masters of Spanish degree. I lived in the country of Spain and this experience helped to enrich the interests of Spanish history. One of those interests was religion and how it has affected people and events in history. Daily life for people of the lower, middle, and elite classes are all affected by religion.

The final project for the capstone thesis for Southern New Hampshire University will be a research paper on the study of Spanish Catholic Missions and Native Americans in the area of Alta California during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Historians have well documented the negative effects of the missions, but have not discussed positive effects of the encounters between the Spanish and the Native Americans. This thesis analyzes how both Native Americans and the Spanish benefited from one another and that there were positive effects within the two societies. The cultures of many people around the world have been influenced and changed by the ideas and beliefs of religion. From ancient times of the Egyptians with their gods to the Spanish Catholicism of kings and queens has changed the landscape of many lives, cultures, and the world. The motivation for this research is to write about this topic because many times religion is seen as the evil nemesis by some historians as well seen as controversial, but religion does not have to be perceived that way.

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Introduction

When the explorers and priests arrived in the Americas, they did not realize that they would bring disease, disruption, and devastation. Most explorers and priests had missions to accomplish that were good for their respective countries and for the area in which they discovered. They had goals to meet and relationships to be made in order to establish themselves in the Americas. When Spanish explorers and Spanish Catholic priests set foot on the lands of the Americas, things forever changed. The desire for land, money, and power were all part of this time from 1492 up to the early nineteenth century. From Spain, Latin America, Mexico, and to California, Spanish history, Spanish power, and Spanish Catholicism had taken over cultures and societies. There will be an examination of the encounters between the Spanish Catholic Missions of San Diego de Alcalá and Santa Bárbara and the Native American tribes of the Chumash and Kumeyaay in the area during the Spanish colonialization time period between 1769 through 1821. The Spanish explorers along with the priests discovered lands in Alta California where the Chumash and Kumeyaay tribe lived. The relationships and towns established by the Spanish in Alta California changed the landscape, cultures, and a nation of Native Americans. However, the Native Americans changed the Spanish too. The thesis is about the Spanish Catholic missions and Native Americans encounters during the Spanish colonization period. This thesis will examine the encounters between the Spanish missions and the Native American tribes of the Chumash and Kumeyaay in Alta California during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The thesis question is as follows: did the Mission San Diego de Alcalá and the Mission Santa Bárbara have a positive effect through the encounters with the Native American tribes of the Chumash and Kumeyaay? Spanish Catholic missions have been misconstrued by historians because most historians saw the Native American and Spanish encounters as only disastrous. Historians have

blamed religion, priests, and the Spanish Crown for all of the problems and issues during this time. A review of this time in history through scholarship analysis and historical background of the Spanish and Native Americans will provide an integral understanding of the influences of religion, economic and political power, and encounters among different cultures and societies. As disastrous as the initial encounters were, local societies adapted to the Spanish presence and strived to make the best of the new situation.

The chapters presented will analyze the various aspects of the Spanish colonization and the Native American encounters to allow the reader to have a better understanding of each of the concepts and analysis during this period of time. Chapter 1 is a historiography on the categories of historians and the different viewpoint of politics, economics, and religion, for example. Chapter 1 provides analysis and comments that historians have determined throughout the years on religion, economics, politics, and culture during the Spanish and Native American encounters during the Spanish colonization period. Chapter 2 describes the methodology of religion and how it has influenced the ages as well as the history of Spanish and Native American religious beliefs and the reasoning of why religion changes so many things in a culture and in people. Chapter 3 discusses the impacts of the economy during the time of the Spanish colonization and the encounters between the Native Americans. There is a history on the Spanish and the Native Americans economies before each other met and after the establishment of the missions. Chapter 4 examines the politics of the Spanish and the Native Americans before and after they met. The power of how politics shaped each society and was changed after the encounters which, adds to the debate of historians. Chapter 5 discusses the Spanish colonization period starting with the foundation of the concept of conquering in Spain among the Spanish Crown and the influences

of the power of Spain through the Americas up to the region of Alta California. Chapter 6 examines the Spanish Catholic missions and their beginnings, the friars that were involved in the establishment of the missions and the Native American tribes that were encountered. The work ends in a conclusion of the findings found during the analysis and history provided.

Chapter 1: Historiography: Liberals, Conservatives, Economics, Politics, and Religion

Historiography can be divided into categories of thought. In this case liberals and conservatives, David Ringrose wrote that there are liberal historians and intellectuals who descended from the Enlightenment tradition and believed that a liberal, secular, and rationalist society was the key to general well-being. Ringrose wrote that the liberals mythologized the Inquisition as the explanation for every Spanish disaster over three centuries.¹ The other side was conservatism. Ringrose wrote that conservatism maintained the validity of traditional Catholic and hierarchical values.² The values of the church and its organizing of individuals to gather and think under God's rule and world established stability in society. Scholars Viviana Díaz Balsera and Rachel A. May wrote that the reports of the sixteenth-century Spanish seafarers returned from their global voyages and they reported to the most secret room in Spain which, was the La Casa de Contratación (the House of Trade).³ Some of the beginnings of Spanish history writing began in this room. Díaz Balsera and May wrote that in this room of the House of Trade, explorers prayed and offered information for the Spanish Crown to scrutinize and analyze findings.⁴ Historians that wrote during this time may have used this information provided about the travels and influences of Spain and wrote about them. The religious inspiration of many historians in Spain wanted to present the power and spirituality of Spain. Most historians

¹ David Ringrose, *Spain, Europe, and the 'Spanish Miracle', 1700-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 5.

² Ibid, 5.

³ Viviana Díaz Balsera and Rachel A. May, *La Florida: Five Hundred Years of Hispanic Presence* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2014), 1.

⁴ Ibid, 1.

presented a conservative perspective of history because of Catholic religious influences. For example, the Franciscan Friars in Alta California wrote about the Spanish missions and helped to understand that period of time. Their perspective was religious and conservative in nature. Franciscan Friar Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M. (Order of Friars Minor, Ordo Fratrum Minorum) wrote that Friar Junípero Serra had written many letters and he had written one to Friar Lasuén on December 8, 1781 that described how mission life went and how the process progressed with their missions.⁵ These writings influenced some historians in their own writings and it led to most of the historical scholarship to have a conservative and religious undertone. Scholar José de la Torre Curiel wrote about religious men such as Fray Antonio Barbastro who wrote assessments about the missions among the Native Americans.⁶ The religious aspects of the friar's life was interwoven in the historical writings. The influences of one's background, surroundings, and understanding of the people encountered affected the writing.

Other historians provided a different viewpoint and that was liberal. Most of the liberal historians of the past and recently had more romantic ideals, while the conservatives were more practical about politics and power. Ringrose wrote that historians have been more liberal and eager for political and economic change than the regimes under which they lived and worked in their perspective countries and most of these historians could be seen as critical of those regimes and their policies.⁷ Throughout the years in historiography, basic differences of historians have

⁵ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission* (San Francisco, California: The James H. Barry Company, 1920), 113.

⁶ José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, *Twilight of the Mission Frontier: Shifting Interethnic Alliances and Social Organization in Sonora, 1768-1855* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2013), 83-87.

⁷ David Ringrose, *Spain, Europe, and the 'Spanish Miracle', 1700-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 6.

led to differing interpretations of historical people and events. The majority of the sources found for this topic have had historians who have leaned toward the liberal viewpoint and it was difficult to find conservative sources. Ringrose wrote that land as a commodity involved three interactive elements: ideology, legislation, and practice.⁸ These elements guided leaders in how they governed. Ringrose wrote that ideology shaped legislation and practice.⁹ The ideology of the Catholic religion and that of the leaders formed how Spain led and dominated. The Spanish Crown as well as many historians who wrote for them were the conservative and religious side of the ideology. However, the majority of the elite were liberal and non-religious.

Some historians have their analysis on colonization. The book *Christopher Columbus and the Discovery of America* was written in 1896 by an authoritative group of sources compiled by the manufacturer, Altemus, Philadelphia.¹⁰ This source discussed that Christopher Columbus discovered America on October 12, 1492 and that he really united America and Europe.¹¹ The first desires of colonizing and pursuing other lands was wealth and power. In the book *Christopher Columbus and the Discovery of America* it was written that all European classes were stirred in their deepest foundations and that people went wild for the lust of gold and adventure.¹² The beginnings of colonization were crude. In the book *Christopher Columbus and the Discovery of America* it was written that the geographical knowledge in the fifteenth century

⁸ Ibid, 169.

⁹ Ibid, 169.

¹⁰ Altemus, "Christopher Columbus and the Discovery of America," *Archive.org*, August 8, 2017, <https://archive.org/stream/christophercolum01mcca#page/8/mode/2up>.

¹¹ Ibid, See Note 10.

¹² Ibid, See Note 10.

was just awaking, the vessels were ill built but, adventure was ahead.¹³ The desire to discovery outweighed the difficulties. The main desire was wealth and power however, there were other objectives as well during this time. In the book *Christopher Columbus and the Discovery of America* it was written that old historians discussed that another object besides gain was desired and that was spreading the Christian religion.¹⁴ The beginnings of colonialization were basic and rudimentary, but the impact of the countries such as Spain taking the leap to explore changed many people and places in history.

The process of colonization took time and scholar S. Robert Aiken helped to understand more about the colonization period. Aiken wrote the journal article “The Spanish Missions of Alta California Rise, Decline, and Restoration” in 1983.¹⁵ Aiken wrote, “The colonization of this vast and remote outer rim of empire had been sporadic, desultory, and slow.”¹⁶ The colonization process took time, changes were quick and sometimes slow. Aiken wrote, “Alta (Upper) California, long isolated from Spanish settlements farther south by difficult land and sea approaches was the last of the Borderlands.”¹⁷ The Spanish had their sites on Alta California just like that had on the rest of the Americas to take it over and dominate. Aiken wrote, “Expansion into the area served two objectives: it helped to ward off the claims of other European powers to the Pacific coast, and it afforded protection to the lucrative Manilla galleon trade with the

¹³ Ibid, See Note 10.

¹⁴ Ibid, See Note 10.

¹⁵ S. Robert Aiken, “The Spanish Missions of Alta California Rise, Decline, and Restoration,” *Pioneer America* 15, no. 1 (1983): 3-19.

¹⁶ Ibid, 3.

¹⁷ Ibid, 3.

Philippines.”¹⁸ The Spanish had their ways and means to maintain power. Aiken wrote, “The Indians of Alta California were not only to be Christianized, but also, at least in theory, to be made over into good Spanish citizens.”¹⁹ Most Native Americans were already good by their own standards. Aiken wrote that the Native Americans were to be made into docile labor force, learn the Spanish language, and way of life.²⁰ The Spanish mission became the Native Americans’ new norm. Aiken wrote that the Spanish mission was a self-sufficient basis for society in that it had a church, places to live, and activities such as weaving, milling, and wine making in order to have the ability to create monies.²¹ The mission was to be used to establish Spain in Alta California, and these missions were like little Spanish villages. The creation of these towns would perpetuate the Spanish culture. The Spanish Crown wanted to control this area and to make the people in the region Catholic and Spanish. Aiken wrote that the mission was to be a temporary frontier institution and to be secularized after ten years where the mission would convert to a town.²² The land that the Spanish Crown occupied continued the ideology of Spanish rule and Spanish Catholicism as well as power and control. Aiken in his analysis stated that the Native Americans became dependent upon the missions, were stripped of their culture and were seen as helpless children by the padres.²³ However, they were not stripped of what they learned as children in their native land. Aiken wrote that the Native Americans were hopelessly

¹⁸ Ibid, 3.

¹⁹ Ibid, 5.

²⁰ Ibid, 5-6.

²¹ Ibid, 8.

²² Ibid, 8.

²³ Ibid, 8-9.

depended on their Spanish masters and for a half-century the missions were the mainstay of the California economy.²⁴ An interesting part of Aiken's analysis was that he discussed historical writers of the past and mentioned Helen Hunt Jackson's book *Ramona* which was written in 1884 and it was a romantic novel that portrayed Indian life.²⁵ Aiken wrote that Jackson's book discussed the plight of the Native Americans and their life in Southern California and their relationships with the Spanish aristocracy.²⁶ The relationships made between these two cultures was positive and negative. Some historians like Jackson gave a romantic view of what happened during this time, which skewed the historical presentation. Aiken wrote Jackson's book contributed to a storehouse of romanticized images of California's past.²⁷ This analysis of how historians wrote about romanticizing the Native American life was a liberal tendency and has affected how history has been perceived about Native Americans and the Spanish through the years.

Also, Helen Hunt Jackson wrote a book called *Glimpses of California and the Missions*, which was about the Mission Indians in 1882.²⁸ Jackson lived from 1830-1885 and she was from Amherst, Massachusetts and married to William Jackson.²⁹ The perspective that she gave of her viewpoint on the Native Americans opened another way to look at history. Most history was

²⁴ Ibid, 8-9.

²⁵ Ibid, 10.

²⁶ Ibid, 10.

²⁷ Ibid, 10-11.

²⁸ Helen Hunt Jackson, "Glimpses of California and the Missions," *Library of Congress*, access date April 27, 2017, <https://www.loc.gov/item/02012719/>.

²⁹ Ibid, See Note 28.

written by men and this woman provided a feminine perspective. Jackson wrote that her husband and her moved West in 1875 and after her husband's death Jackson turned to writing about the Mission Indians in 1882.³⁰ This source targeted audiences such as historians who studied Native Americans and were activists. Jackson wrote a narrative history of the California mission system, the work of Junípero Serra, and an analysis of the fate of the Mission Indians after the missions were undone.³¹ There was not enough written and discussed about what happened to the Native Americans and their tragedy as a nation. Jackson became an activist for Native Americans. The activists like Jackson were against the establishment and for the Native Americans.

Some historians saw that the Native Americans were the first to live in North America, they all banded together, and that the Europeans were the only people to make them unhappy. However, it was not just the Europeans that made the Native Americans unhappy but their own people. Roger M. Carpenter is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Louisiana at Monroe. Carpenter wrote *Times are altered with us: American Indians from Contact to the New Republic* and considered that there was a notion that native people settled the Americas, which was controversial.³² The Native Americans were not the first people and therefore did not claim the land according to some historians. Carpenter wrote that many historians and Native Americans saw themselves as occupying the continent always, but others saw it differently.³³

³⁰ Ibid, See Note 28.

³¹ Ibid, See Note 28.

³² Roger M. Carpenter, *Times are altered with us: American Indians from Contact to the New Republic* (West Sussex, United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2015), 1-2.

³³ Ibid, 1-2.

There were many people that occupied North America. Carpenter wrote this book to attempt to tell the story of the interactions between the original inhabitants of North America and European explorers, missionaries, and colonizers from Cristóbal Colón's landfall on a Caribbean island in 1492 to the first year of the American Republic.³⁴ The analysis that was given demonstrated that there was more to the Native Americans, Europeans, and the founding of land. Carpenter discussed the Spanish, the French, the Dutch, and the Native Americans during this time.³⁵ There were many cultures and peoples who had been a part of North America or the Americas for the matter. Carpenter concluded that the Native Americans determined that the United States defeated the British but not the Native Americans.³⁶ The Native Americans saw value in themselves however, the influences of the Europeans did change some of their lives. Carpenter concluded that there was integration of many cultures and that the Native Americans took up certain Christian principles.³⁷ The religious ceremonies of the Native Americans mixed together, at times with Christian ceremonies. Carpenter continued to conclude that the Native Americans in particular in the Southeast, were divided as to what road to take for their future.³⁸ There were troubles between full bloods and mixed blooded Indians.³⁹ Things between the Europeans and the Native Americans had been stressed, but there was difficult relationships among the Native American population as well. Carpenter wrote that the full bloods were traditional and the mixed

³⁴ Ibid, 2.

³⁵ Ibid, 1-299.

³⁶ Ibid, 260.

³⁷ Ibid, 276.

³⁸ Ibid, 276-277.

³⁹ Ibid, 276-277.

bloods wanted to assimilate.⁴⁰ The encounters through the years between the Native Americans and Europeans, for example, made situations difficult among the people. However, each individual had to make their own decisions on how they lived in the future. There were divisions among the Native American tribes and people, but that could have happened even if the Europeans had not arrived in their territory. Struggles and confrontations are a part of life. This historian provided the struggles within the Native American communities between each other and with the Spanish. This source showed that there was more to the situations than just encounters with the Spanish as well as some negative situations that were among the Native Americans own tribes.

Some historians explained the many views within the historiography on the topic of Spain and Native Americans. Josep M. Fradera wrote that there was much literature on the economic, social, racial, and political aspects of the American world that was dominated by Spain and the historiography had leaned toward the great problems of change and social conflict since the 1950s.⁴¹ There were ebbs and flows of analysis, opinion, and thoughts. Fradera wrote that the historians were divided between those who concerned themselves with the Indian population, world of slavery, and the Spanish empire.⁴² The division created many works and investigations about this time in history however, some things stayed the same. The historiography had stayed much the same from the 1950s through the 1990s but with a few

⁴⁰ Ibid, 276-277.

⁴¹ Josep M. Fradera, "Spanish Colonial Historiography: Everyone in their Place," *Social History* 29, no. 3 (2004): 370.

⁴² Ibid, 370.

changes. There were historians that stayed in their place in the sense of evaluation of the Spanish colonization time period. Fradera wrote that historians had made gains on discussing other groups in categories of class, race, and gender.⁴³ There seemed to be analysis lacking on these subjects of the Native American, slavery, and the Spanish empire. There was a one-sided approach depending on how the historians viewed the events and people.

Historians have emphasized new approaches in history on the Native American and the Spanish empire, while between these two enormous topics found time to write about class, race, gender, and even culture. Fradera wrote that in the 1960s there was the rise of the race and class question and that the Spanish empire had been completely discredited.⁴⁴ This idea of the Spanish empire being condemned brought interesting perspectives to the historiography, but it hurt the development of how the world was seen or remembered. There was more to the Spanish empire than power and destruction, but most historians had trouble getting past this point. This conflict of ideas were seen in the work of Viviana Díaz Balsera and Rachel A. May. Díaz Balsera is a Spanish professor at the University of Miami and Rachel A. May has a Ph.D. in Latin American Studies from Tulane University and teaches at the University of South Florida. Díaz Balsera and May wrote that La Florida was the first region to be globalized by European contact.⁴⁵ The impact of what began in Spain changed many parts of America. Díaz Balsera and May wrote that the book was written to present the five hundred years of the presence of Hispanics in the area as

⁴³ Ibid, 370.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 370.

⁴⁵ Viviana Díaz Balsera and Rachel A. May, *La Florida: Five Hundred Years of Hispanic Presence* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2014), xi.

well as the transatlantic exchange.⁴⁶ This source provided a grand overview of the colonization period and historical references. Díaz Balsera and May wrote that Seville, Spain had become the wealthiest city in the world in the mid-sixteenth century because of Spanish conquest and empire.⁴⁷ The silver and gold were at the fingertips of the Spanish Crown because of the expeditions and Spanish mission ventures. Díaz Balsera and May wrote that there seemed to be inexhaustible silver mines of Potosí in Bolivia and gold mines of Mexico, and Florida was a pathway to the Americas.⁴⁸ Even though Spain had great power it would lose. Díaz Balsera and May wrote that the Catholic monarchy had lost all its American colonies between 1809 and 1824 because they were anchored in stagnant absolutism and blinded by the independence movements across the Americas.⁴⁹ The Spanish empire was seen as a country that ruled under a monarchy and had no opposition. They conquered as they pleased and they did. These sources provided offered insight into how historians have written and thought about Spanish colonial times.

Understanding the Spanish colonization period and the encounters of the Native Americans is still difficult today. However, historians have used lenses to look at history to focus attention and comprehend better. Some of these lenses for example, were political, economic, and religious. Some historians used the economic side of the Spanish empire to understand the empire in a new way. Fradera wrote that Herbert Klein and John TePaske reconstructed the imperial treasury between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the intra-imperial financial

⁴⁶ Ibid, xi.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 1.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 1-2.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 160.

flows and exchanges between the American colonies and New Spain.⁵⁰ These researchers created a useful tool in understanding the running of an empire. The research done on the economy of Spain allowed some historians to reveal the true story of the past. Fradera wrote that these authors shaped the understanding of the empire in its totality.⁵¹ The economy showed the story through encounters, negotiations, contracts, and money exchanged. A historian could not negate the Spanish empire with numbers and figures that Klein and TePaske provided. Through the economy one could see the culture of the people and the history of the times. Fradera wrote that the central thread that ran through the empire was the capacity to administrate, fix, and mobilize labor.⁵² The importance of Spain had more to it than just the indigenous struggles from oppression of the Spanish. The Spanish had a powerhouse of ability to rule and negotiate to have such strength at the time. This source provided a glimpse into how the economy showed history of the Spanish and the people they encountered.

The Spanish economy was driven by many things and one of them was gold. Michael Shally-Jensen holds a Ph.D. from Princeton University in cultural anthropology. Shally-Jensen wrote *Defining Documents in American History: The American West (1836-1900)* in 2014.⁵³ Shally-Jensen discussed the overall American West and the settlement of it and there was particular attention to the gold found in 1848 at Sutter's Mill in California's Sierra Nevada

⁵⁰ Josep M. Fradera, "Spanish Colonial Historiography: Everyone in their Place," *Social History* 29, no. 3 (2004): 371.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 371.

⁵² *Ibid*, 372.

⁵³ Michael Shally-Jensen, *Defining Documents in American History: The American West (1836-1900)* (Ipswich: Salem Press, 2014), i-322.

Mountains.⁵⁴ The high pursuit of gold and gathering resources was the focus of some of Spain's attention. The importance of this source was to provide some of the basis for the reasoning of the Spanish wanting to colonize other parts of the world and that was for the wealth. The Native Americans were used by the Spanish at the Spanish Catholic missions to help in gaining wealth, land, and power. The Spanish Crown saw the value in many parts of the world to help their own society. In Alta California, the land up the coast of California proved to power the Spanish economy through the establishment of the missions. The agricultural foundation of the missions provided food for the presidio, priests, and the Native Americans. However, the Native Americans had their food sources. R. F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple wrote that acorns and animal foods were important to the Native Americans in Alta California and that many of the Native American economies were integrated with other groups, but the missions disrupted some of their economy.⁵⁵ The Native Americans used the resources around them to prosper too. However, the monies made at the missions portioned out and given to the Spanish Crown were to continue the Spanish efforts of colonization and maintaining power at home. Kent G. Lightfoot wrote that missionaries and merchants arrived in native territory to establish private homesteads, ranches, and farms.⁵⁶ The powerhouse of the mission up and down the coast provided an agricultural change of resources. Lightfoot wrote that the mission was constructed to have churches, residences, gardens, ranches, and raise food as well as manufacture household objects, clothing,

⁵⁴ Ibid, ix.

⁵⁵ R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple, *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1971), 76.

⁵⁶ Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Mission, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colony Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley, California: University of Berkeley, 2005), 6-7.

and crafts.⁵⁷ Each Spanish Catholic mission was set up the same way and this provided consistency for the economy. The placement and establishment of the mission helped in other areas as well. Lightfoot wrote that there were mercantile outposts like Colony Ross that were typically founded by commercial companies that wanted to exploit land, animal, mineral, and people.⁵⁸ These outposts most likely interacted with the mission and produced a humming economic engine.

Politics is another lens that historians used to understand the Spanish colonization period. The Spanish and the Native Americans both had their own ways of ruling and running their societies. Before either of them met in Alta California each was established and performing their duties just fine. However, the encounters that happened would readjust their societies and change the culture. Lightfoot wrote that there was colonial policies and native agency.⁵⁹ The Spanish had a king or queen that ruled their country and it was an absolute rule. The laws were followed to the tune of the monarchy. In the Native American culture the chief ruled the people and they followed the rules of the tribe. The chief and the king or queen used their ways and means to maneuver in their perspective worlds. When these two worlds met, the politics changed. The Native Americans were under the rule of the Spanish king or queen, and the chief lost much of his power. Lightfoot wrote that the Spanish used social engineering and massive relocations to create the colonial status hierarchies that it wanted to regulate the social, political and economic

⁵⁷ Ibid, 7.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 7.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 19.

relations of the underclass.⁶⁰ The moving of the Native Americans and their people disrupted the politics of the tribes and thus the tribes and people had to learn a new way to live.

Another lens to look through for historians was religion. Religion was another area that historians tried to tackle. Religion is a difficult subject to broach, even today, in any circumstance because it is personal, political, economic, and spiritual. Many historians and other scholars wrote about the religious beliefs and customs of the time period along with their analysis on those beliefs and customs to present a historical picture. In this historical picture, some historians wrote to show the good parts of religion and other historians wrote to demonstrate how bad religion was as well as the destruction of its principles forced on others. Some of these scholars were Mark A. Noll, David Tavárez, Rodney Stark, and William Sims Bainbridge. Regardless of what historians and scholars set their sights on or understood about religion, it is subjective. Religion has affected everyone and every area of life from the past to the present. Some of those areas are spiritual, ceremonial, and economic. Mark A. Noll teaches in the Department of History at the University of Notre Dame and he wrote *God and Race in American Politics: A Short History* in 2010.⁶¹ Noll took a look at the power of religion and political forces throughout American history and when race was entered into the conversation, there were some shameful situations and stories that changed a country.⁶² The Spanish used their religion in their encounters with the Native Americans in a way to control but others did not.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 19.

⁶¹ Mark A. Noll, *God and Race in American Politics: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), i-209.

⁶² Ibid, i-209.

Noll concluded that nothing ever had been solved in any of the issues and there was still confrontation among cultures.⁶³ Religion and the way it was seen and used for leaders and countries' purposes is still today a hot issue, and nothing has really been solved on the topic of religion. This source provided the difficulties of religion and the power of religion on people and nations.

Religion influenced Spanish people and it influenced the Native Americans, and in the end, there is today in many parts of the world a Spanish influence across the Americas where there is a mixture of Catholicism and Native American religion. For example, David Tavárez has a Ph.D. in Anthropology and works at Vassar College. Tavárez wrote the book *Invisible War: Indigenous Devotions, Discipline, and Dissent in Colonial Mexico* in 2011, which sought to heighten the visibility of extirpation campaigns and native responses in Central Mexico by focusing on the dioceses of Mexico and Oaxaca between 1530s and 1760s, and proposing a novel periodization of eradication efforts.⁶⁴ This source provided proof that integration of different religions happened with the encounters with the Spanish and the Native Americans. The intertwining of the Native American religion and the Spanish religion was evident. Some Spanish wanted full conversion and no trace of Native American religious ways but that did not happen. Tavárez concluded that today there are religious ceremonies and celebrations like Mary's Assumption on August 15th in the town of Betaza, near Northern Zapotec, where people there walk up a hill to reach a shelter and sacrifice turkeys and leave bread.⁶⁵ The Native

⁶³ Ibid, 176.

⁶⁴ David Tavárez, *Invisible War: Indigenous Devotions, Discipline, and Dissent in Colonial Mexico* (Redwood City, California: Stanford University Press, 2011), 4.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 269.

Americans still held on to their ways. Tavárez concluded that there was a devotional thread between the communal celebration of the eighteenth century and the twenty-first century, or that Christianity had lost.⁶⁶ Christianity was not lost but melded into the local culture. The Native Indians had taken what they learned from the Spanish and what they learned from the tribal leaders while living among their own people. This source offered insight into what happened when people met and lived amongst one another.

Religion has many aspects and there are three religions that are most dominate in the world and they are Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The influences of these religions changed many cultures and peoples. Nathan R. Kollar was a Professor of Religious Studies at St. John Fisher College and Muhammad Shafiq is a professor at Nazareth College. Kollar and Shafiq wrote the book *Poverty and Wealth in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* in 2016.⁶⁷ Their source provided insight into the three major religions in the world. Kollar and Shafiq discussed the three religions (Jewish, Christian, and Islam) to discuss the issue of poverty and wealth.⁶⁸ Religions were used to control people and behaviors. Kollar and Shafiq illustrated how the values and traditions of the religions showed the economic inequalities.⁶⁹ Money and power had influenced much over the centuries and each society that encountered another showed their religious ways and means to each other. The Jewish, Christian, and Islamic faiths have many similarities that

⁶⁶ Ibid, 269.

⁶⁷ Nathan R. Kollar and Muhammad Shafiq, *Poverty and Wealth in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), ii-324.

⁶⁸ Ibid, ii-324.

⁶⁹ Ibid, ii-324.

bring them together such as being monotheistic, having prophets to guide them, and live a holy life. Each of these religions influenced the regions that they entered and the affects can be seen today. Kollar and Shafiq wrote, “If religious people who are truly consistent with their tradition must speak up for a caring and loving society, why should those who do not belong to their religion listen to them?”⁷⁰ The people such as the Chumash and the Kumeyaay listened to the Spanish priests of the Mission San Diego de Alcalá and Santa Bárbara. However, some historians saw this as coerced and others saw it as a normal occurrence in getting to know other people. For example, Lee M. Panich and Tsim D. Schneider gave insight into relationships. Lee M. Panich holds a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley and teaches at Santa Clara University in the Department of Anthropology. Tsim D. Schneider has a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley and teaches at the University of California, Santa Cruz in the Department of Anthropology. Panich and Schneider wrote that between the late sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, Catholic missions from Jesuit, Franciscan, and Dominican orders established and ran missions from Florida to the Californias, known as Spanish Borderlands.⁷¹ The influences of the Spanish extended many miles and in many areas. Panich and Schneider wrote that the argument was that there was more to the missions than irreversible entry points of Indigenous people into colonial society.⁷² Religion, encounters, and cultures collided. Panich and Schneider wrote their work to understand the

⁷⁰ Ibid, xxix.

⁷¹ Lee M. Panich, Tsim D. Schneider, Julienne Bernard, Elliot H. Blair, Willet A. Boyer, III, and Glenn J. Farris, *Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspective from Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 2014), 5.

⁷² Ibid, 5-6.

varied ways that Native people incorporated into the Spanish mission system.⁷³ There were positive and negative things that happened in these encounters that will be discussed further, but what was found was that the two cultures were definitely changed after incorporating societies. Panich and Schneider concluded that there were multiple lines of evidence to understand Native negotiations of colonialism and that they rejected the idea of the colonial period as only European domination and saw the “indigenous perspective” as well.⁷⁴ These historians allowed the readers to see that the Spanish empire and the Native Americans were just people learning from each other and interacting.

The overall picture was that religion and power controlled much of that relationship between the Spanish and the Native Americans. The Native Americans were not docile and afraid of confrontation as some historians have presented. An illustration of this is in the work of Nicholas A. Robins. Robins has a Ph.D. in Latin American Studies from Tulane University and he has researched Andean social history and indigenous rebellions. Robins wrote *Native Insurgencies and the Genocidal Impulse in the Americas* in 2005, which studied three Indian revolts in the Americas.⁷⁵ The Indian revolts that Robins focused on were the Pueblo Indians against the Spanish; the Great Rebellion in Bolivia, 1780-82; and the Caste War of Yucatan in 1849.⁷⁶ In these revolts the Native Indian population went against the Spanish to stand up for themselves. Many Native Americans wanted peace and joined the Catholic Church. However,

⁷³ Ibid, 6.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 21.

⁷⁵ Nicholas A. Robins, *Native Insurgencies and the Genocidal Impulse in the Americas* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2005), 1-287.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 1-287.

there were others that did not want the native way of life to be altered. These revolts were the negative aspect of the time period. The Spanish altered the Native American life and conflict occurred. This source was used to provide insight into why some things were negative and some things were positive during this time and what happened. The revolts were ignited by the troubling differences in cultures, the Native Americans being upset at changes to their own ways of life, and the Spanish Crown pushing their agenda on the Native Americans. The revolts for this research were the Pueblo Revolt of 1680s, the Chumash Revolt of 1824, and the conflicts with the Kumeyaay. Discussion on these revolts are in Chapter 6 of this work.

The Spanish missions were the thread that kept the Alta California area together for Spanish control. However, the mission communities of New Spain entered a time of change during their establishment period. José Refugio de la Torre Curiel teaches at the Universidad de Guadalajara in social sciences and humanities. De la Torre Curiel wrote *Twilight of the Mission Frontier: Shifting Interethnic Alliances and Social Organization in Sonora, 1768-1855* in 2013.⁷⁷ De la Torre Curiel wrote that most of the modern analysts of the transformation of mission communities in New Spain agreed that by the late eighteenth century, mission towns had entered a change that disrupted the local economics and patterns of Indian mobility.⁷⁸ The Spanish and the Native Americans did not always understand one another. De la Torre Curiel wrote that both Indians and Spaniards understood transitions from war to peace and foe to friend.⁷⁹ It took time for each culture to realize and appreciate each other. This was because there were leaders and

⁷⁷ José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, *Twilight of the Mission Frontier: Shifting Interethnic Alliances and Social Organization in Sonora, 1768-1855* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2013), 2-276.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 13.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 135.

people with bad behaviors that made it difficult for positive things to happen. De la Torre Curiel concluded that this was due to the politicians and local elites.⁸⁰ The leadership did not always provide the best conditions or help in the ways that they should for the Franciscan priests. For example, the politicians and local elites struggled for control of mission assets and power which, in the end hurt the mission priests and Native American relationships. The priests struggled on both sides between the politics of the leadership and the Native American tribes. There was a sense that the priests overall wanted to help, but power and greed interrupted the idea of making a better world.

Understanding one another was easy and difficult during this period of time or any time when two different cultures or individuals meet. Douglas Preston is an American novelist and journalist. He wrote *Cities of Gold: A Journey across the American Southwest* in 2014 and wanted to understand the meetings between the Europeans and the Native Americans while taking his own journey through the American Southwest.⁸¹ Preston wrote that he had been on a journey in the Southwest and met Walter, who was a guide that took him on an adventure to understanding his new surroundings and people.⁸² They met a man named Benito, a Hispanicized Navajo who owned a restaurant outside of town in Abiquiu, New Mexico.⁸³ The three men knew nothing about each other, but they tried in their own ways to form a relationship. Preston wrote

⁸⁰ Ibid, 236.

⁸¹ Douglas Preston, *Cities of Gold: A Journey across the American Southwest* (New York, New York: William Morris Endeavor Entertainment, LLC, 2014), 9.

⁸² Ibid, 24.

⁸³ Ibid, 24.

that Benito had said to Preston who was from New York that he was a long way from home.⁸⁴ However, Preston like the Franciscan priests and Spanish explorers before him, wanted to understand and help. Through many trials, situations, events, and relationships made the Spanish and the Native Americans blended together to form a new way of living. Each able to keep some of their old ways and learn some new. Preston through his travels and encounters through the Southwest wrote, “Despite our obvious differences, we became good friends.”⁸⁵ This was true for the Native Americans and the Spanish too. There were some good relationships made between the Spanish and the Native Americans. Zephyrin Engelhardt wrote that Franciscans fought for the fights of Native Indians.⁸⁶ Some friars had made good relationships and cared for the Native Americans that they met and lived with in the region. These respectable relationships discussed had ebbs and flows of good and bad times but the point was that good relationships were made between two different cultures and peoples.

Catholicism and converting people to another religion had been seen differently by many historians. Joel W. Martin and Nicholas A. Mark wrote that the North American Christianity is made up of many feelings such as love, hope, anger, and disappointment.⁸⁷ The good intentions of some Catholic priests to convert Native Americans did not always end in happy stories of spiritual elation. Martin and Mark tended to write solely on the assimilation of Native Americans

⁸⁴ Ibid, 25.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 26.

⁸⁶ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission* (San Francisco, California: The James H. Barry Company, 1920), 226.

⁸⁷ Joel W. Martin and Nicholas A. Mark, *Native Americans, Christianity, and the Reshaping of the American Religious Landscape* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.), 24.

into a monolithic Christian colonial culture.⁸⁸ There was not a one-sided view of history. There was a Euro-American and Native American side to the conversion story. Martin and Mark wanted to show how the history of conversion to Christianity was damaging and not an inevitable acceptance.⁸⁹ The conversion process was good and bad, but the personal feelings of individuals in these stories were important. Martin and Mark wrote that looking at mission archives helped to develop a more humanizing appreciation of religion.⁹⁰ Many historians saw religion so negatively that they had not taken the time to look deeper into the personal stories and ways of religion. Through researching the specific Spanish Missions of San Diego and Santa Bárbara one saw the value of what was learned from these personal stories and accounts of history. Many Native Americans chose voluntarily to become Christians. They were not forced to obey, they lived on the mission, and seemed to be pleased. There were other stories of coercion and forcing Native Americans to convert, but through the research it seemed that more was a personal choice and an unforced account. Each person, Spanish or Native American, had made a decision one way or another.

Many historians saw Christianity as a religion that wanted total control and empirical dominance. Rosemary Radford Ruether wrote that Christian churches found themselves in various relationships to a variety of types of states through their 2,000-year history.⁹¹ The authority of the Christian religions promotes peace and love in its Holy Scriptures. Ruether wrote

⁸⁸ Ibid, 24.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 24.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 25.

⁹¹ Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Christianity and Social Systems: Historical Constructions and Ethical Challenges* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009), 11.

that Christianity resisted any gesture of emperor worship.⁹² Again, the people or individual were the ones choosing how to use the religion. The emperors were the human beings who wanted the power and control and used the religion to do it. It was not the religion creating the issues. The issue was the individual or groups. Ruether wrote that colonization by European powers covered much of the globe and Spain was the greatest world colonial empire.⁹³ One of the main reasons was that Spain had much of the control of the seas and could explore and use the resources found to develop more areas. Spain's leadership wanted to spread Catholicism and have land to produce crops. Ruether wrote that plantations were divided among the leading Spanish conquistadores, to be used for export production for crops such as sugar and the indigenous people handed over to the landowners as serf labor.⁹⁴ Most historians considered only this part of the colonization. Through the research it was analyzed that these historians went no further and assumed that all Native Americans would be slaves, live terrible, and die horrifically. This was not the case in all circumstances as seen at the mission of San Diego de Alcalá and Santa Bárbara. At these missions specifically not every Native American converted to Catholicism, but they still interacted with the missions and led their lives. Other Native Americans who did convert and devoted their time on the mission lived freely and were productive.

Another side to colonization that was seen was death and disease. Many historians analyzed and provided numbers of deaths of the Native American population. It did occur and it was horrific, but not everyone died. There are still Native American that live today in the United

⁹² Ibid, 11.

⁹³ Ibid, 135.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 139.

States. However, Ruether wrote that the Americans saw its indigenous population decimated by disease, overwork and war.⁹⁵ Historians like Ruether made it sound like the Spanish specifically made diseases and brought them on purpose to kill the Native Americans. The Franciscan friars humbly came to serve at the Mission San Diego de Alcalá and Mission Santa Bárbara, and had no idea that they had brought disease and sickness on the boats. Ruether wrote, “From 90 million when the Spanish arrived, the indigenous population dropped to 3.5 million by the mid-seventeenth century.”⁹⁶ This was horrific in scale and it was duly noted. It was terrible what happened to the culture and that needed to be remembered. However, the Spanish did not bring disease on purpose and the Catholic religion did not make the Native Americans die either. There were a variety of factors that happened to make such a significant drop in population. Now, if the Spanish did not come this may have or not have happened too. J.J. McCarthy wrote the first point of land that Columbus saw was some point of what must once have been the United Continent of North and South America. The least change of direction by the helmsman of the rudder of the *Pinzon* or slightest mistake in observation may have changed the event of Columbus’s landing in the Americas.⁹⁷ Many things aligned for Columbus and explorers like him to find new lands. Some say it was the will of God and others say it was just meant to be, but whatever the reason, lives changed because of the new discoveries.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 141.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 141.

⁹⁷ J.J. McCarthy, “Christopher Columbus and the Discovery of America,” *Archives.org*, Access date May 15, 2017, <https://archive.org/stream/christophercolum01mcca#page/6/mode/2up>.

The historians that have been discussed have provided a brief view of what historians have analyzed through the years of such a large topic as Catholicism, Spanish missions, and Native Americans. There were historians in agreement that the Spanish created all the problems for the Native Americans demise and that that Native Americans were innocent. There were other historians who saw that both societies were to blame for difficulties and in the end both learned from one another to advance in the world. There were even some historians who favored religion and discussed the importance of how religion maintained a society. However, forcing a religion on someone was not seen as productive. Historians have much more to say on this topic but one thing was seen that was agreed upon was that human beings were the ones who made the decisions of their actions regardless of what they had been taught.

Chapter 2: Religious History and Methodology

Understanding how religion developed, worked, and influenced throughout the world would take years to grasp, but here are a few thoughts on the subject. Religion has gone through many changes and there has even been controversy if religion should be even seen as a part of one's life. There can be much gleaned from the writings of sociologists on religion. Sociologist Peter L. Berger has worked with sociology of knowledge, religion, theory, and modernization. Berger wrote *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Social Theory of Religion* in 1967 and wrote that the human organism at birth and through life is much different than that of a non-human animal.¹ The animal world and the human world were different. Berger wrote that the non-human animal enters the world highly specialized and firmly directed by instinctual structures that have been programmed into the animal.² The animals in the world have been predetermined to function and live. They forage and take care of themselves because of the preprogrammed internal structure within them. Berger wrote that each animal had its own environment such as a dog-world, a horse-world, and so on, but the human being did not have a man-world because at birth the human was both underspecialized and undirected.³ The human being made his or her own script, life, and directions. Berger wrote that man must make its own activity because life is not prefabricated and the man must make a world for himself.⁴ All societies and the people in them have made worlds for themselves. Each human has made a place for themselves,

¹ Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967), 5.

² Ibid, 5.

³ Ibid, 5.

⁴ Ibid, 5.

established their own beliefs, and ways to live. Berger wrote that man must establish relationships to himself and to the world.⁵ There is a struggle for human beings to find balance. Berger wrote that in a way man was “out of balance” and that man needed to express himself in activity to continue the “balancing act” between his body, man, and his world.⁶ Human beings must build their own world, environment, beliefs, and manners to provide stability. For example, the Spanish and the Native Americans, and the people that lived in Spain and Alta California had their own environment, beliefs, and ways of living. Berger wrote that world-building was a process where man used his own activity to provide stability for himself.⁷ The Spanish used the Catholic religion to help them process life and the Native Americans used their religion of nature to understand their lives. Berger wrote that the world that human beings created was a reflection of their activity, thoughts, beliefs, customs, and characteristics. For example, a ceremony of the Chumash helped the people understand themselves and their surroundings. Authors R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple wrote that a first-salmon ceremony was shared by many tribes in northern California and the ritual of catching and eating the first salmon of the season was magical, natural, and spiritual.⁸ This ceremony was a type of custom that bonded the Native American tribe together. Berger wrote that the world that they created was culture.⁹ In a culture, human beings live independently and together actively working, sharing, and seeking stability. Religion

⁵ Ibid, 5.

⁶ Ibid, 5-6.

⁷ Ibid, 6.

⁸ R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple, *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1971), 53.

⁹ Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967), 6.

is one thing that has created stability because there is something to believe in and it gives one a purpose. Berger wrote that culture was for everyone and that there were material and non-material objects of culture that could be shared with others.¹⁰ Religion and believing in God is one of those things to share in a culture. Societies are formed by the interaction and activity of others and eventually the people among the society conform and join together. These societies have people who usually have a common thread of beliefs, customs, and rules. Berger wrote, “Society directs, sanctions, controls, and punishes individual.”¹¹ The people within the society interact with one another creating friendships, tensions, confrontations, agreements, and understanding. Religion among society is a strong influence on the whole of a people and the individual, and through the centuries it has been seen as the unifier as well as a destroyer of people, cultures, and societies. However, religion may not be to blame but the people and their thoughts in their hearts.

Religion drives society into conforming to a set of rules and beliefs. There are many different religions in the world, but all have a base in believing in a supreme being with teachings provided by their gods or God. Christianity is the religion and Catholicism is the sect of that religion in this study. Christianity is a religion that is based on the salvation of Jesus Christ for all that will come unto Him. Christians believe that Jesus is the Son of God and that God is three in one (The Holy Trinity is the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost). Christians follow the teachings and beliefs laid out by God in the Holy Bible and the creeds and writings have led many through the centuries in living and understanding themselves among societies and the

¹⁰ Ibid, 10.

¹¹ Ibid, 11.

world. Rosemary Radford Ruether has a Ph.D. in Classics and Patristics from Claremont Graduate School and she wrote *Christianity and Social Systems: Historical Constructions and Ethical Challenges* in 2009.¹² Ruether wrote, “Christians have seen each human being as having both body and soul or being an embodied soul.”¹³ The soul is part of every man, woman, and child. The soul helps to guide and bring meaning to life. Ruether wrote, “The soul is the inward life and person of the body and cannot exist without being embodied.”¹⁴ However, this inner life soul and outside body of a person connect and exchange ideas with others in societies to form community and institutions. Ruether wrote that New Testament scholar Walter Wink wrote that institutions and social systems that have a combinations of inward and outwardness.¹⁵ The soul and the person cannot be separated and it is the same with social systems. How one was raised and taught is a part of them and when it is disrupted, it can influence and change that human being as well as the society where they live. Each society bands together and creates bonds. Ruether wrote that there can exist a “mob spirit”, which is like a corporate “spirit” that holds an institution together, its historical memory, vision of identity and meaning.¹⁶ The mob can influence others by destroying them or constructing them.

Religion may not be to blame for people’s actions. Rodney Stark is a sociologist of religion and a professor at Baylor University. William Sims Bainbridge is a sociologist of

¹² Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Christianity and Social Systems: Historical Constructions and Ethical Challenges* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2009), 1.

¹³ Ibid, 1.

¹⁴ Ibid, 1-2.

¹⁵ Ibid, 2.

¹⁶ Ibid, 2.

religion and is a Senior Fellow at the Institute for Ethics and Emerging Technologies. Starks and Bainbridge wrote *Religion, Deviance, and Social Control* in 1996.¹⁷ This source provided a look at religion, morality, and people. Starks and Bainbridge wrote that social sciences emerged from philosophy at the end of the eighteenth century and their founders were unanimous that religion reinforced the moral order.¹⁸ Moral order is a base for any foundation to a society to create a safe environment for people to grow and live. Stark and Bainbridge wrote that many of these same founders waited for the collapse of religion because they despised it and some of these founders even saw religion as irrational and incompatible with enlightenment.¹⁹ Some religious leaders and believers wanted the Bible and its teachings to stand as the world order. However, there were other religious leaders and believers around the world that thought that many people were content just looking at the world through logic and reason, and using the authority of the individual to understand the world as they saw it based on scientific law. This was due to the influence of the Enlightenment period. Jonathan I. Israel is a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study and writes on the Age of Enlightenment and European Jews. Israel wrote that Enlightenment was an attack on the traditional European religious culture, hierarchy, ecclesiastical authority and wanted to secularize all institutions and ideas to defeat monarchy, aristocracy, woman's subordination to man, and slavery by having principles of universality,

¹⁷ Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *Religion, Deviance, and Social Control* (New York, New York: Routledge, Inc., 1996), 1-389.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 7.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 7

equality, and democracy.²⁰ The days of established religion were being challenged as well as whose religion would dominate. Israel wrote that throughout the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, there was spiritual and intellectually shared Christian concepts, but there were debates about man, God, and the world.²¹ These debates changed the landscape of how religion was seen. There was a new understanding of how to live and be in the world. Israel wrote that religion penetrated into the public sphere, which revolved around the Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, or Anglican issues and there was a fight on who possessed a monopoly of truth and a God-given title to authority.²² There should have been no monopoly on one's beliefs however, human beings like conformity and for things not to change. Through the years philosophies have influenced how religion and ideas of morality were seen. Stark and Bainbridge wrote that Auguste Comte wrote a series of writings where he replaced religions as the basis for morality with the science of sociology.²³ Sociology would become the base for ethics and morality to be measured and looked at by many people around the world instead of Christianity, for example. The centuries of differing opinions on religion and the power for influence was abundant. One of those differing and influential opinions on religion was Spain and the Spanish Crown.

²⁰ Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), vi.

²¹ *Ibid*, 4.

²² *Ibid*, 4.

²³ Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *Religion, Deviance, and Social Control* (New York, New York: Routledge, Inc., 1996), 7.

To understand the Spanish colonial times, one must understand Spain and its ideas of religion. Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile married in 1469 and this union joined all the regions of Spain and advanced their world power. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain were known as the Catholic Kings. King Ferdinand was the Catholic, el Católico and Queen Isabella was the Catholic, la Católica. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain were devout Catholics that influenced much of the world. The title of “the Catholic” was given to this king and queen because of their religious devotion. Their fervor for their religion was so powerful that they introduced the Spanish Inquisition, which was a way to regulate and standardize Spanish society to follow one way and that was Catholicism. If a person in Spain did not convert to Christianity they faced brutal repercussions and/or expulsion. The king and queen’s desire for supremacy, prosperity, and imperial power was robust. Michael A. Mullet was a professor of cultural and religious history at the University of Lancaster. Mullet wrote that the “Catholic kings” Ferdinand and Isabella took the Church firmly under their control with the spiritual guidance of Cardinal Francisco Ximénes de Cisneros.²⁴ The Spanish discoveries in the New World with first arrival of Christopher Columbus (Cristóbol Colón, 1451-1506) in America, laid the foundation for Spain’s defense of her own interests and those of the Catholic faith in early modern Europe.²⁵ The Spanish Crown was deeply rooted in Catholicism and it ruled the people of Spain and other people encountered around the world. The Spanish influenced other cultures and societies with Catholicism through the establishment of missions and gave the priests the authority to found them and run them. Mullet wrote Spain made massive contributions

²⁴ Michael A. Mullet, *Historical Dictionary of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2010), 430.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 430.

to Catholicism and used the Loyola's Jesuits known as the "Spanish priests" for missionary work.²⁶ There were several orders of the priesthood that inspired, influenced, and helped to provide the avenues of control of Catholicism and Spanish ways throughout the New World. The Spanish Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits were devoted to spread Catholicism from America to Japan.²⁷ The Franciscan priests were used in Alta California to found, build, and promote Catholicism in the area. Lee M. Panich holds a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley and teaches at Santa Clara University in the Department of Anthropology. Tsim D. Schneider has a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley and teaches at the University of California, Santa Cruz in the Department of Anthropology. Panich and Schneider wrote that between the late sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, Catholic missions from Jesuit, Franciscan, and Dominican orders established and ran missions from Florida to the Californias, known as Spanish Borderlands.²⁸ The influences and the strategies of the Spanish Crown used the priests to dominate their position religiously, economically, and culturally. Therefore, religion was a powerful concept that had many facets like in a diamond. Religion was used by people to influence in good or bad ways. However, religion was not all to blame for the power and control that people sought over the centuries.

Religion has received much criticism from some scholars over the years. Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge wrote that religious utopias provided and maintained structure and

²⁶ Ibid, 431.

²⁷ Ibid, 431.

²⁸ Lee M. Panich, Tsim D. Schneider, Julienne Bernard, Elliot H. Blair, Willet A. Boyer, III, and Glenn J. Farris, *Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspective from Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 2014), 5.

secular utopias desired to escape stratification, however in doing so, the secular utopias lacked organized social lives.²⁹ Structure was necessary to promote stability and religion was part of this. Some historians analyzed that religion was made out to be the one factor that made people act in a certain way to obtain their desires. Mullet wrote that while the kingdoms of the 16th century were set on courses of development, it led to the erection of the authoritarian royal system known as absolutism.³⁰ This basic idea was a supportive structure but in some cases a destructive force. Mullet wrote that there was a drive for Christian unity and in some of its political, social, and religious impacts, the Reformation was the harbinger of modernity.³¹ This unity helped to establish society however, the pressure of conformity affected a society in many ways to be for or against the authority. Mullet wrote that there was this notion that masses of people could be coerced into religious options by pressure from above, specifically rulers, was built behind the thinking of the 1555 Peace of Augsburg-cujus regio, ejus religio- “the ruler dictates his subjects’ faith.”³² This was the battle cry from the rulers thus the leaders of the countries used this power of religion to take power politically, culturally, and religiously.

Religion was not seen has a good avenue to helping others and seeking better for all. Stark and Bainbridge wrote that twentieth century social scientist had taught that religion

²⁹ Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *Religion, Deviance, and Social Control* (New York, New York: Routledge, Inc., 1996), 162-163.

³⁰ Michael A. Mullet, *Historical Dictionary of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2010), xxiii.

³¹ *Ibid*, xxiv.

³² *Ibid*, xxix.

sustained the moral order and that society would be less likely to disobey the moral code.³³ However, if one looked at Spain, the reaction to the leaders wanting to take over Native Indians and converting them to Catholicism was seen as bad. Still, the religion was not the reason for the bad behavior. Stark and Bainbridge wrote, “Social scientists were mostly content to assume that religion was a major factor in social control.”³⁴ Nevertheless, the research that Stark and Bainbridge conducted revealed that crimes and delinquency did not correlate with religion. Stark and Bainbridge wrote that they had the inability to find any correlations between measures of religiousness and delinquency.³⁵ Religious services and religious rules did not stop people from bad behavior. Therefore, if historians compared this to the Spanish behaving badly toward the Native Americans, then it was the person’s individual choice to treat someone or group good or bad and not the religions making them do it. Stark and Bainbridge analyzed that religious effects within the individual human psyche and the human group found religion to sustain the moral order primarily through being social.³⁶ The influence of a society is great on each individual in the way they behave and think. Stark and Bainbridge revealed that a person could have deep religious convictions to lead a blameless life, but their capacity to sustain this religiousness or the lack of it around them changed ways in which people thought and acted.³⁷ In other words, people can follow a set of rules and patterns but human beings make errors and thus falling short of the

³³ Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *Religion, Deviance, and Social Control* (New York, New York: Routledge, Inc., 1996), 7.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 7

³⁵ *Ibid*, 8.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 9.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 9.

religious rules and standards. Stark and Bainbridge wrote that although religion supported the moral order, clearly it did not consistently do so in life.³⁸ This source was used to demonstrate that that was what happened between the Native Americans and the Spanish, which was that the moral order did not always stand. Stark and Bainbridge wrote that many times, religious groups and movements challenged the secular culture, and in so doing could be seen as a source of deviant behavior rather than a way to social control.³⁹ Their ways of the Spanish and the Native Americans differed and therefore, created issues.

Religion has been seen as playing a social role by many historians through the years and that has not changed. Stark and Bainbridge discussed that social theorists had claimed that religion was not the only basis for community morality and French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) argued that humans were moral only to the extent that they were social. Durkheim declared that people conform to societal norms because of their relationships and attachments to people.⁴⁰ In general, people conform to maintain and protect their good position and the attitude others have on each other and themselves. Rules and conformity can control and they did between the Spanish and the Native Americans during the Spanish colonization period. Stark and Bainbridge mentioned that attachments and moral norms brought coherence and meaning, and that the world's great religions not only imposed sacred obligation toward the divine, but specified moral demands of behavior such as the Ten Commandments, which concerned the

³⁸ Ibid, 9.

³⁹ Ibid, 9.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 10-12.

duties towards God and basic interpersonal morality.⁴¹ These Ten Commandments influenced generations to conform to a certain code of being and behaving. These commandments have been presented through the centuries to many different people and the words have stood the test of time, but the people have not always stood for the words or by them. Each individual throughout history has made their choice to follow something or not. In the Bible it was written that “Thou shalt not kill.” (Exod. 20:13 [KJV]) and it was also written that “Thou shalt not steal.” (Exod. 20:15 [KJV]) These commandments were part of Catholicism and helped to maintain the religion and its beliefs among people of the past and today. However, these commandments were broken by all and in the case of the Native Americans and the Spanish. The individual in any culture is the one that is truly responsible for their actions.

There are other ideas besides religion that produced a moral following and this was seen in the work of Auguste Comte who was a French philosopher and lived from 1798-1857. Comte wrote *A General View of Positivism* in 1844.⁴² This source offered insight into how religious thought and philosophy changed. Comte wrote that theological synthesis failed to include the practical side of human nature and that a positive spirit was in human nature, which promoted a positive system of affection and that order of the external world, as revealed by science, that the selfish could be controlled and unselfish strengthened.⁴³ Instead of religious laws there were other ones contemplated. Comte wrote, “By the discovery of sociological laws social questions

⁴¹ Ibid, 14.

⁴² Auguste Comte, “*A General View of Positivism [Discours sur l'Esprit positif 1844]*, trans. J.H. Bridges,” Gutenberg.org, access date June 13, 2017, <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/53799>.

⁴³ Ibid, See Note 139.

are made paramount; and thus our *subjective principle* is satisfied without danger to free thought.”⁴⁴ This other concept of Comte revealed that even without religion, people created some form of code to follow or believe. Whatever the code, it influenced thought and behavior. The influence of a religion was great and not always the reason for the very downfall of societies and cultures. However, it had such an influence that it did change many people and cultures.

The Native Americans had their own religion too. Spanish Catholicism was not the only religion around during this time. Joel W. Martin is a professor of history the University of Massachusetts and he wrote that spirituality stood at the center of the Native American societies before European colonization.⁴⁵ The Native Americans had their own religion and beliefs. They did not need a new one according to some historians and the Native Americans themselves. Martin wrote that the Native American Indians saw everything meaning something in the world and the women and men of the tribes sought many ways to express their spirituality through how they cooked, ate, danced, painted, married, buried, dressed, and spoke.⁴⁶ These spiritual ways of the Native Americans made them who they were and what they established. Archeologist R.F. Heizer and writer M.A. Whipple wrote, “There were no hereditary priests in California. A religious function often passed from father to son or brother’s son, but the successor took his place because his kinship had caused him to acquire the necessary knowledge, not in virtue of his descent as such. At that there was hardly a recognized class of priests.”⁴⁷ However, the wisdom

⁴⁴ Ibid, See Note 139.

⁴⁵ Joel W. Martin, *Native American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 8.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 13.

⁴⁷ R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple, *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1971), 28.

from the priest along with the practices of the Native American groups saw the living world in a spiritual way. Joel W. Martin wrote, “Wisdom comes by paying attention to the living world, discerning the spiritual dimension within it, and debating its significance with others in a community.”⁴⁸ This spiritual Native American sense helped to guide their nation and people. The spiritual and living world were one. Martin wrote that for the Native Americans, dreams were very important, gods could be in many things such as mountains, and even the daily task of tilling land could be considered sacred.⁴⁹ The land was a part of the individual and the group. Martin wrote that Native American Indians such as the Delaware Indians considered animals, plants, stones, and rivers to be persons that had spiritual power and a social identity.⁵⁰ The perspective of the Native Americans and how their religion was established and viewed was just as important as Catholicism. The point is that religion has had a strong presence in the world and there is no way of getting away from it or it influencing people. However, religion is not to blame for all the world problems. Religion does not do the action but people do.

Martin wrote that overall, most Native Americans believed that creation related to origins of the first human beings and that several stories said that the original people emerged from the interior of the earth.⁵¹ The earth was resembled by a mother and her womb nurtured the proto-humans and when they were complete, they emerged to the surface.⁵² In the Christian religion,

⁴⁸ Joel W. Martin, *Native American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 13.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 13.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 40.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 13-15.

⁵² *Ibid*, 13-15.

God made the earth and the human being as well as the world. The concepts of the two religions are the same in the sense of something being created but the way it was done was completely different. These differences affected human relationships and understanding of one another. Martin wrote that to the Native American Indians, religion was connected to the landscape and their way of life.⁵³ There were many gods and many ways to interpret what the gods said. This was in contrast the Catholicism because Christianity was based on one God (three in one Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) who set the foundation and laws. The Native American religion saw the law and foundation in the trees, mountains, and animals, for example. There were not people emerging from a womb, but were made by God's hands and put in the Garden of Eden. God made Adam and Eve to live in the garden however, they sinned because they had eaten from a certain tree that they were told by God not to eat and therefore banned from the garden. This was stated by God when He said "But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." (Gen. 3:3 [KJV]). In each of these religions there were consequences for bad behavior or sin. These two religions had distinctive beliefs but the foundation of a spiritual life were in both.

In the Christian religion, the base for moral direction and life was following one God and obeying Him. William H. Brackney is a Professor of Christian Theology at Acadia Divinity School in Nova Scotia and he wrote from First Genesis 2:17 "...that the tree of knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in that day you eat it you shall die."⁵⁴ The law was not

⁵³ Ibid, 13-15.

⁵⁴ William H. Brackney, *Studying Christianity: The Critical Issues* (New York, New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010), 119.

followed and sin entered the world. Brackney wrote that Christianity is founded on Jesus Christ, the Messiah of God.⁵⁵ Christianity is based in Judaism concerning a monotheistic worldview.⁵⁶ The basic differences in the two religions brought confrontation at times when these two societies and cultures met in Alta California. It is important to note that there are similarities and differences between the Native American religion and Christianity. They both have spiritual worlds, spiritual beings, and a moral basis in which to abide by in their lives. For example, Joel W. Martin wrote about the Apache Indian tribe where an Apache woman worried about her younger brother who had handled a snakeskin, which was an act that would produce spiritual harm.⁵⁷ The younger brother suffered but learned from his ways in the end. Just like Adam and Eve, who ate from the tree of knowledge learned a lesson. Each religion established a moral code and/or direction for its people. The basis for each religion intertwined to influence one another's people, culture, and society. Theda Perdue wrote that the Native Americans used songs to help to teach the next generations about motherhood. For example, Perdue wrote that in the Kumeyaay tribe there was a song about information on childbirth.⁵⁸ There were codes of behavior and things to be followed and the tribe used song to help their people understand. The moral direction of people was laid by a foundation of their gods, God and people. The similarities in religion brought the Spanish and the Native Americans together, but the differences in religion made them split apart.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 14-15.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 55.

⁵⁷ Joel W. Martin, *Native American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 17.

⁵⁸ Theda Perdue, *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 194.

Chapter 3: Economic and Cultural History

The economy of Spain and its feverish desire to have power controlled it and demanded much. Jeremy Black is Professor of History at the University of Exeter and he wrote *The Atlantic Slave Trade in World History*.¹ This source provided a view of the world through an economic lens to understand the countries involved like Spain that dominated this time period. Black wrote that the interaction of economics, demographics, of demand, supply, and labor were crucial to the Western expansion.² The need for resources, labor, and control dominated the Spanish Crown's agenda. Black wrote, "Western raiding into unconquered areas in the Americas was widespread and continued for centuries."³ Many countries and peoples wanted a piece of the power or all of the power and they sometimes used savage and intellectual ways to find that power. The changes of economy and the wealth brought into the conquered areas helped in some ways but destroyed in others. This concept supported the thesis if positive things happened during this time. The growth that occurred for many countries such as Spain opened world trade which, in the end brought wealth to the communities that were conquered and back to the conquering countries. Money and exchange of goods offered prosperity and a rise in lifestyle for each person and society. The Spanish Catholic Missions in Alta California to be discussed brought wealth to the area and stability for the Spanish Crown.

It is important to understand some history of how things came about during this time in order for Spain to be so dominate. Philip D. Curtin was a historian on African and Atlantic slave

¹ Jeremy Black, *The Atlantic Slave Trade in World History* (New York, New York: Routledge, 2015), 19.

² Ibid, 19.

³ Ibid, 23.

trade and worked as a professor at John Hopkins University. This source was important to understand what the Spanish had done in their past and how it affected others that they encountered. Curtin wrote that the nations of Spain and Portugal in the Iberian Peninsula were the first to begin the slave trade, and the last to quit.⁴ This demonstrated how powerful Spain was at the time. Curtin wrote that the Spanish and Portuguese carried the rudimentary institutions of the South Atlantic System from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Islands, then to Santo Domingo and Brazil.⁵ The domination of these two countries influenced many. Curtin wrote that Noel Deerr presented an estimate that in 1458-1460, that 700 or 800 slaves were exported annually from Africa to Europe because this countries needed to help with the supply and demand of sugar.⁶ The pressure for more resources mandated that Spain pursue all avenues. Curtin wrote that Spain did not carry many slaves under her own flag and they wanted to break the stronghold that Portugal had on the Africa trade.⁷ Spain came up with a plan that put them in the forefront to establish more power. Curtin wrote that Spain decided to revert to a system of licenses or asientos, issued to foreign firms, which gave the foreign shipper permission to infringe the Spanish national monopoly over the trade of the American viceroyalties, in return for an obligation to carry a stipulated number of slaves to specified destinations over the period of the contract.⁸ The importance of the asientos to exploration helped Spain to get their control.

⁴ Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 15.

⁵ *Ibid*, 15.

⁶ *Ibid*, 17-20.

⁷ *Ibid*, 21.

⁸ *Ibid*, 21.

Curtin wrote that the *asiento* was considered a great commercial prize, but not for the sake of profits to be made on the slave trade.⁹ Curtin wrote that it was used to not just to fill ships full of slaves but to put other goods in the ships to make a profit.¹⁰ However, the *asiento* led to much activity for Spain and the foreign firms. This meant that Spain could gather many slaves for work and production and the foreign firms were able to make money and have access to other areas. The power that Spain accumulated brought it strength to go forward into the Americas. Spain used its abilities to enter into Alta California and take over Native American territory. Curtin wrote that the Spanish created a free commerce or *commercio libre* that did not give free entry of foreign ships but slacked on the control over Spanish shipping.¹¹ This endeavor by Spain put pressure on Portugal for power and control, which in turn, provided the opening for the Spanish to create the missions in the Americas. In the end, the Spanish established small “Spanish” style towns to command supremacy.

In the Americas, the Native American tribes had their economy as well. Catherine C. Robbins is a freelance writer for such publications as the *New York Times* and she wrote that João Rodriques Cabrilho, a Portuguese explorer sailing for Spain, became the first European to visit the present-day California and he made accounts of his voyage.¹² This source was used to demonstrate how Spain began to find land and maintain power. This exploration planted the seed for colonization. Robbins wrote that Cabrilho’s three ships went as far as Monterey and he found

⁹ Ibid, 21.

¹⁰ Ibid, 21-22.

¹¹ Ibid, 25.

¹² Catherine C. Robbins, *All Indians do not Live in Teepees* (Lincoln: Bison Books, 2011), 1.

“savage” villages (the Kumeyaay tribe or Diegueño Indians by the Spanish) had Native people who were organized, agriculturally skilled, and had built many canoes for traveling.¹³ The Native Americans had a life and an economy before the Spanish. They lived among each other working and living in Alta California as a functioning unit of culture and society.

The Native Americans had their ways of using things to their advantage. Robbins wrote that the Native Americans in this area made shell jewelry and agave nets.¹⁴ They used the shell jewelry for making money and the canoes for traveling and the nets for gathering food. Theda Perdue is a professor at the University of North Carolina, College of Arts and Science and wrote on Native peoples of the United States. Perdue wrote that the coastal Kumeyaay was a culture where survival depended on the migratory patterns tied to food resources, sacred land formations.¹⁵ This was the way for this tribe to maintain their tribe’s economy and livelihood. This was just one example to help to understand a large and vast economy that would be influenced by the Spanish. This source was also used to show how the Native Americans had their own economic and societal ways to live. The Spanish wanted to hone in on this economy and the work of the natives helped them succeed in the region and overall. James Mahoney is a professor at Northwestern and is a comparative-historical researcher on political regimes and methodology. Mahoney wrote that Spain’s economic institutions created a high level of colonizing power.¹⁶ The money and supremacy from the Spanish Crown and the relationship

¹³ Ibid, 3.

¹⁴ Ibid, 6.

¹⁵ Theda Perdue, *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 189.

¹⁶ James Mahoney, *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1.

with the Catholic Papal State proved to overpower the Native Indians in the Americas in many ways, but the Native Indians proved their power and usefulness as well. The Native Americans were not savages as seen by most Europeans but rather knew much about the importance of the economy. Alexandra Harmon is a professor of American Indian Studies at the University of Washington and she wrote that Native Americans prized substance and wealth, and sustained a political and social hierarchy with the acquisition, accumulation, and exchange of valuables.¹⁷ They produced their own goods and exchanged them with others to make profits and sustain the needs of their communities. The colonists who explored these lands saw these native ways to be profitable. Harmon wrote, “For colonists, appraising the Indians’ resources and economic competence was top-priority task; it was vital to carrying out the colonial mission of generating wealth.”¹⁸ The colonists were savvy and knew that the Native Americans provided new sources of income. The Native Americans, especially the chiefs, understood the importance of the exchanging of goods and other peoples around them. Lynn H. Gamble is a professor at the University of California, Santa Barbara in the Department of Anthropology and she wrote that in 1792, José Longinós Martínez was impressed with the Chumash trade and use of shell bead money.¹⁹ The use of the shells as a monetary value was seen as a positive and beneficial asset to the Chumash and the Spanish. Gamble wrote that when the Spanish first encountered them, the Chumash practiced systems of wealth finance involving exchanges of prestige goods and a

¹⁷ Alexandra Harmon, *Rick Indians: Native People and the Problem of Wealth in American History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 19.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 19.

¹⁹ Lynn H. Gamble, *The Chumash World at European Contact: Power, Trade and Feasting among Complex-Hunter Gatherers* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2008), 223-224.

system that was partially supported by marriage ties linking settlements in different ecological zones.²⁰ The sense of community and commercial exchange brought a sense of confidence to the Spanish to pursue their endeavors. Gamble wrote that the chiefs amassed considerable wealth in the form of goods, foods, canoes, and shell bead currency.²¹ Observations like these of the Native Americans helped Spain see the opportunity in the area. However, the good nature of exchange would lead to other changes and influences of both societies that were good and bad.

The exploration of Alta California opened up the area and Spanish missions were established. S. Robert Aiken was a professor at the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur before he taught at Concordia in 1975. Aiken wrote that the Spanish mission in Alta California was an agricultural and manufacturing center.²² This source was used to demonstrate how the missions became a powerhouse and how the missions began to influence the people who lived there. Aiken wrote that the Spanish missions were not just for religious purposes and that the Spanish mission housed numerous activities that reflected the agricultural and largely self-sufficient basis of society: milling, weaving, tanning, carpentry, pottery, metal working, and the production of soap, candles, wine, and other products.²³ The mission was a driving force of material making and a place for people to gather, live, and create a self-sufficient society that would help to develop relationships economically, politically, and spiritually. The mission was created to be a small piece of Spain on the Native America territories in order to establish itself and its

²⁰ Ibid, 223-224.

²¹ Ibid, 223-224.

²² S. Robert Aiken, "The Spanish Missions of Alta California Rise, Decline, and Restoration," *Pioneer America* 15, no. 1 (1983): 3-19.

²³ Ibid, 8.

ambitions. It must be noted that even before the establishment of the missions, the Native Americans such as the Chumash manufactured items by themselves such as boats, baskets, and jars. R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple wrote that fishing canoes, fishhooks made of shells, baskets, and jars were made with great skill.²⁴ This tribe used their skills in hunting and manufacturing their own goods to produce a strong economy. They used any resource that was deemed useful and of worth. For example, Heizer and Whipple wrote that the Chumash used a root of some kind that was in great abundance that they spread and dried in the sun until flour was left.²⁵ They used this flour to make food for their people and perhaps used to sell. Heizer and Whipple wrote that the Native Americans made gruel and a very sweet, nourishing flour.²⁶ Some of the Spanish discovered these Native American ways and used these skills and ideas at the missions. Once the missions were established they became a hub of activity for the economy of the area.

²⁴ R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple, *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1971), 257.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 256.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 256.

Chapter 4: Political and Cultural History

Spanish Catholicism was a powerful force and this was seen in its politics. It is important to discuss the connection with Rome because without Spain owning territory in Rome and working with the Papacy then maybe Spain would not have had the power and influence that it did. The powerful influence of the Roman Catholic Church changed many regions around the world. The relationship between Spain and the Papacy showed how this clout dominated through pull and sway. Thomas James Dandeleit is a professor of history at the University of California, Berkeley and he wrote that the Spanish monarch in Rome helped King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain to increase their authority both internationally and at home.¹ The relationship between Rome and Spain created the foundation for how Spain used its influence around the world. This source by Dandeleit was used to see the relationships made and how it influenced the world. Dandeleit wrote that the Spanish Crown sent funds to the San Pietro church in Montorio in the Kingdom of Sicily, Italy and this church adjoined the Franciscan convent that had been rebuilt by the patronage of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain.² The connection with Rome created a strength for Spain that endured for years. Dandeleit wrote that the decision by Ferdinand and Isabella to become the patrons of the Franciscan convent and church established a Spanish royal tradition of patronage in the city for two hundred years.³ These very Franciscan convents influenced the priests that sailed to the Americas. Dandeleit wrote that Spanish rule in Sicily brought the monarchy into ever closer contact with the Papal State.⁴ The power of the

¹ Thomas James Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 1-2.

² Ibid, 1-4.

³ Ibid, 2-3.

⁴ Ibid, 3.

Roman Catholic Church dominated and controlled. Dandeleit wrote that this relationship between the 1500s and the 1700s with the Roman Catholic Church and the popes helped with sources of income and to sustain power throughout Spain and the areas that they wanted to conquer.⁵ This association with the popes, the economy, and political links provided backup to supports Spain's future endeavors. Dandeleit wrote Spain was seen as a threat to Rome, but the relationship was integral to the way Spain functioned in the rest of the world.⁶ Most relationships like these provided an integral foundation to any society. Dandeleit wrote Spain was like the son and Rome was the parent, and each needed the other to work.⁷ Spain had its own abilities, control, and money however, this relationship helped with the Spanish leaders goals. Dandeleit wrote Spanish policy and practice on local and global scale was that Spain defended the Papal State with its money, ships, and soldiers. In return the Spanish Crown demanded favored status.⁸ The power of religion, money, and military helped Spain to control not only parts of Rome but areas such as the Americas.

In the Native American society there were politics and control just like in the Spanish society. In the Native American culture, people were led by a chief and the rules set by the chiefdom were followed. R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple wrote that the political conditions in southern California were obscure and among the Chumash there were towns of some size that

⁵ Ibid, 6.

⁶ Ibid, 6.

⁷ Ibid, 6.

⁸ Ibid, 6.

were inhabited century after century, which were the bases of political groups.⁹ This proved an establishment of a society and that the Native Americans were not an uncivilized and unorganized group. Heizer and Whipple wrote that the California Indians were attached to a site, or at most a few miles of stream or valley.¹⁰ The Native Americans had their own ways and territory that they lived on before the Spanish arrived. Heizer and Whipple wrote that the Native California Indian lived with his blood kindred or a small group of lifelong contacts and intimates.¹¹ This was similar to the Spanish people in that they had communities and towns where they lived with their families and lifelong contacts. It is necessary to state this because the Spanish thought that the Native Americans were uncivilized. Heizer and Whipple wrote that the Chumash (Barbareño) and the Kumeyaay (Diegueño) had chieftainships.¹² There was a seat of power just like that in Spain. The tribes were not unruly. Heizer and Whipple wrote however, the chieftainships were obscure and vague as political bodies, but they did exist to bring together and lead the groups.¹³ Therefore, there was some form of governance and order. Heizer and Whipple wrote that the chief was generally put into position because of hereditary influence in the southern half of the California and the level of authority of the chief was extremely difficult to guess, however, the chief was considerable everywhere.¹⁴ The leader was followed by the

⁹ R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple, *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1971), 26.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 27.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 27.

¹² *Ibid*, 27.

¹³ *Ibid*, 27.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 27.

people. The Chumash and the Kumeyaay were organized and established before the Spanish came. Heizer and Whipple wrote the groups such as the Chumash and Kumeyaay had chiefs, the assistance or religious chief, their wives or children, were known well and had titles.¹⁵ This was before the Europeans, for example came into the region. Heizer and Whipple wrote that the Chumash had gone to war to avenge slights upon their chiefs therefore this showed the important position of the chief.¹⁶ Heizer and Whipple wrote, “The chief was everywhere distinctly a civil official.”¹⁷ Even with a chief that led the group scholars like Heizer and Whipple had written that California had been long regarded as a region lacking clans, group totems or other exogamous social units.¹⁸ Even though this was found by Heizer and Whipple, the Diegueño (Kumeyaay) and the Barbareño (Chumash) formed strong social, political, economic, and religious foundations that were established many years before the Europeans arrived. However, it is important to acknowledge that the Native American tribes made use of the Spanish presence and the Spanish made use of the Native American tribes to advance their own interests as they understood them.

¹⁵ Ibid, 27.

¹⁶ Ibid, 27.

¹⁷ Ibid, 28.

¹⁸ Ibid, 29.

Chapter 5: Colonization

Spanish colonization was part of the strategic manners in which Spain maintained power. James Mahoney wrote, “Colonialism was a great force of change in the modern era.”¹ The taking over of the Native American people in Alta California, its culture and society were changed forever. Mahoney wrote, “But the consequences of colonialism were, of course, felt most deeply in those territories and by those people subjected to this intervention.”² The Chumash and Kumeyaay had their lives set but the Spanish changed it. However, there were positive changes that occurred and it was not all negative between the Spanish and the Native Americans. Mahoney wrote that colonialism structured the societies to fit the way that Spain ruled. Nevertheless, the Native Americans still maintained their own ways. Mahoney wrote that within those borders, colonialism shaped economic arrangements and state mechanics that structured productive activity, affected levels of prosperity, created socially stratified systems and political regimes.³ Spain used this form of establishment to change the Native American nation. Spain wanted to rule the land that they found in the Americas and wanted to maintain that. Mahoney wrote that colonizing wanted to implant settlers, maintain governance, and extract resources in the territory.⁴ The political power and money were intertwined in this endeavor. Spain wanted to have dominance over the inhabitants. Spain used its political power to gain control. Mahoney wrote that political and economic power institutions were needed to create long-running

¹ James Mahoney, *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1.

² Ibid, 1.

³ Ibid, 2.

⁴ Ibid, 2.

developments and colonial power.⁵ The social welfare, real income, access to basic goods, education, and health were vital to maintaining the colonies. Mahoney wrote that social welfare, economy, and basic services were necessary to successful expansion and colonization.⁶ The Spanish Crown established its power through many avenues, but the major way they colonized was through Spanish Catholic missions. The priests created towns with a church, housing, and manufacturing which, established ways to create monies and continuity. For example, Augustine Thompson was a Catholic Christian and a member of the Order of Preachers, Dominicans, which was considered the twin of Francis's own Friars Minor, the Franciscans, and he wrote about Francis of Assisi.⁷ This Franciscan order was the main connection from Spain straight to the Native American people in Alta California. The priests were the first line of how to establish relationships and begin the process of dominating the area by the Spanish Crown. Thompson wrote that the Franciscan priests were in the Order of Friars Minor (Ordo Fratrum Minorum, O.F.M.) and this organization was part of the Catholic Church and founded by Francis of Assisi, who traveled to Rome, and received approval from Pope Innocent III in 1209 to establish the order.⁸ The power of the Catholic Church was in many areas and Spain set its sights on California for control of land and resources. Franciscan priests were devoted to travel and preach the Word of God, board in church properties, reject extravagance, and follow the teaching learned. For example, Henrietta Stockel is a researcher and works at the Cochise College and she

⁵ Ibid, 4.

⁶ Ibid, 4.

⁷ Augustine Thompson, *Francis of Assisi: A New Biography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), ix-300.

⁸ Ibid, ix-300.

wrote about Kieran McCarty, who was a Franciscan priest of the O.F.M.⁹ This source was important to give an account of what the Catholic Church wanted to do. Stockel wrote that McCarty had written that the Spanish Crown became the pope's representative in the Spanish New World mainly because the king and queen of Spain supported the missionary endeavors.¹⁰ The Spanish king and queen used the priests to promote their desires. Stockel wrote that the priests became the agents of the Spanish king and spread the Word of God and bring about cultural assimilation of the native people.¹¹ The Franciscan priests had a mission of God but the power of the Spanish Crown may have had another mission. Stockel wrote, "Under this authority, Spain, a Roman Catholic nation, gained the legitimacy to eradicate the traditional ancestral lifeways of indigenous cultures."¹² The indigenous people were introduced to something that they knew nothing about but learned. Stockel wrote that the Indian tribes had no idea about Christianity.¹³ However, the priest soon became the Native Americans guide to this new religion and Spanish ways.

The priests who arrived in North America changed the endeavor of the Spanish Crown. The priests had a religious and spiritual mission from God to speak and teach of salvation. However, priests also assisted the Spanish Crown with explorers, scientific observers, and chroniclers. One of these priests was Junípero Serra. Rose Marie Beebe is a Spanish professor at

⁹ Henrietta Stockel, *Salvation through Slavery: Chiricahua Apaches and Priests and the Spanish Colonial Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), ix-171.

¹⁰ Ibid, ix-171.

¹¹ Ibid, 29.

¹² Ibid, 29.

¹³ Ibid, 30.

Santa Clara University and Robert M. Senkewicz is a history professor at Santa Clara University and they wrote that Serra was a Roman Catholic priest of the Franciscan order, who was born in Mallorca, Spain.¹⁴ This area had a religious school that Serra attended. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that Serra was baptized in the village of Petra as Miquel Joseph Serra and was influenced by the Franciscan friary and school that he attended.¹⁵ The influence of the priestly order came at an early age for Serra. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that at the age of 15, he was enrolled at the Franciscan school in the capital city of Palma de Majorca, where he studied philosophy.¹⁶ This school and the influences of Christianity led him to his life's work as a priest. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that in 1730, Serra joined the O.F.M. and this led to him spending most of his years preaching and working in the Americas and eventually establishing himself in Alta California.¹⁷ This source was utilized to demonstrate the powerful influence of the Spanish priests and how they were used in this time of history. If the Spanish priests had not been the ones to establish the region in Alta California things may have been different. The Franciscan priests had a modest and humble life that allowed them to open hearts and minds. The priests were not out to get anyone like some of the powerful leaders of the Spanish Crown. Priests like Junípero Serra were much better foot soldiers than the real military soldiers because they offered a sense of calm. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that Serra spent the first half of his life on the island of Mallorca, but he soon ascended quickly through the ranks when he entered the Franciscan

¹⁴ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Junípero Serra: California, Indians, and the Transformation of a Missionary* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 39-46.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 42-46.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 42-43.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, i-550.

order, which led to being a lead professor and preacher among the order.¹⁸ This priest showed great value and offered much. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that Serra came to California to work mid the native people.¹⁹ Serra had a religious calling to do this by founding a mission near the native people living in the Alta California region. Serra founded the first Spanish mission San Diego de Alcalá on July 16, 1769. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote, “Serra formally founded Mission San Diego de Alcalá two days later on July 16, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.”²⁰ The Kumeyaay tribe lived in the area and he spent many years involved with these people and culture. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that Serra communicated with the Kumeyaay and wanted to help them as well as show them Christian ways.²¹ Relationships created with priests like Serra were a link between the Spanish Crown and the Native American people. These associations influenced and altered much of the Native American culture. However, the Native American culture was not lost forever. After the Spanish empire started to decline the missions weakened. Robert S. Aiken wrote that the missions were intended to be a temporary frontiers and after ten years it was to be secularized.²² Aiken wrote that the Franciscan order was to be replaced by secular clergy and the mission converted into a town with a civil government.²³ The Native Americans integrated their old traditions with the new ones that were learned from the Spanish

¹⁸ Ibid, 39.

¹⁹ Ibid, 17.

²⁰ Ibid, 209.

²¹ Ibid, 209-210.

²² S. Robert Aiken, “The Spanish Missions of Alta California Rise, Decline, and Restoration,” *Pioneer America* 15, no. 1 (1983): 8.

²³ Ibid, 8.

encounters. For example, the Native Americans kept their idols. Heizer and Whipple wrote that the Native Americans placed idols near the village to protect the seeds and crops.²⁴ The Catholic religion and the Spanish who believed in Catholicism saw these people as idolaters.²⁵ Despite the religious influences of the Spanish missions, the Native Americans still kept some of their ways. The Native Americans went on with their lives with new skills and maintained some of their religious and cultural ways along with Catholic influences. Kathleen Deagan wrote that depending on the intercultural interaction through things such as, trade, religion, rituals, and craft production, it might promote continuity or social collapse.²⁶ The Native Americans continued in some ways but not in others. Many Native Americans depended on the mission and may have lost skills of how to live like a Native American and other Native Americans may have used what they learned from their Spanish education to go to higher levels of schooling in local towns of European societies that stayed in Alta California. The educational issues of the Native Americans in the past and today are complicated however, the influences of the past can be seen. Life did continue after the Spanish arrived and the changes either motivated or destroyed peoples and societies.

²⁴ R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple, *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1971), 259.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 259.

²⁶ Kathleen Deagan, "Reconsidering Taíno Social Dynamics after Spanish Conquest: Gender and Class in Culture Contact Studies," *American Antiquity* 69, no. 4 (2004): 598.

Chapter 6: Spanish Missions of San Diego de Alcalá and Santa Bárbara along with the Chumash and Kumeyaay Native American Tribes

To understand the missions, one needs to understand how they came about during this time. There had been many priests and missionaries preaching in the Americas from Peru, Mexico, and Alta California. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz wrote that Serra left Cádiz, Spain on a ship at the end of August 1749 about the vessel *Villasota*. He was part of a group of twenty Franciscans and seven Dominicans priests that were headed for the Americas.²⁷ Many of the priests started their journeys on ships leaving Spain to go off into the Americas to evangelize and colonize. This idea of conquering and missions were tied together from Spain's past. John Frederick Schwaller has a Ph.D. in History from Indiana University and his work was used in order to prove the power of the Spanish Crown and Catholicism. Fredrick wrote that Alfonso X of Castile (1221-84), known as El sabio, "the Wise," wrote Cantigas de Santa María (Songs of the Virgin Mary) and his legal code, the Siete Partidas (the Seven Books or Parts) to attempt to regain power to the crown at the expense of the cities, towns, nobles and the Church.²⁸ These codes, songs, and writings influenced many. Schwaller wrote that central to these notions were a core function that the king was judge, and all other functions emanated from that.²⁹ The Spanish Crown and the Papacy gave the orders and the priests and others followed. Schwaller wrote that Alfonso X posited that royal law superseded local law and he envisioned a uniform

²⁷ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Junípero Serra: California, Indians, and the Transformation of a Missionary* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 66.

²⁸ John Frederick Schwaller, *The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond* (New York, New York: New York University Press, 2011), 14-16.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 14-16.

royal law that could be applied throughout the realm in spite of local laws and jurisdictions.³⁰ Priests like Serra, were on a mission in the Americas religiously while the Spanish soldiers were on another. Alfonso's successors extended this principle and the order of the Knights Templar, for example were used as a military-religious order to seek to regain the Holy War and crusade against the Muslims.³¹ This order went for anything against Christianity not just Muslims. For centuries warriors and religious missions were linked together in order to dominate and rule. Schwaller wrote that one was to participate in waging war and ministering at the same time.³² The ventures and missions of Spain in Peru were to conquer and convert. Schwaller wrote that in the 1670s in the city of Cuzco in the highland of Peru, thousands witnessed the feast of Corpus Christi, the celebration of Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, which was a religious procession that had its roots in Spain.³³ This ceremony was persuasive to the Native Inca Indians. Schwaller wrote that the Inca native nobility proudly took an active role in the procession and wore their native traditional vestments and apparel of their status.³⁴ The influences like these of the Spanish mixed with the traditions of the native people represented much of the Americas from Latin America, Mexico to Alta California. Schwaller wrote, "The developing Catholic Church in Latin American reflected both the European traditions of the conquerors and the native traditions of the conquered."³⁵ These two societies Spain, and Native Americans in the Americas conquered the

³⁰ Ibid, 14-16.

³¹ Ibid, 14-16.

³² Ibid, 16.

³³ Ibid, 71.

³⁴ Ibid, 71.

³⁵ Ibid, 71.

human spirit to remember their pasts. However, the priests and soldiers sent to the Americas tried to change, influence, alter, and conquer the Native Americans.

When the Spanish heard about the travels of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and the place that he discovered in Alta California, it was a new venture for Spain. Zephyrin Engelhardt was a Roman Catholic priest of the Franciscan order and he wrote the San Diego harbor was first discovered by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese navigator in the service of Spain.³⁶ Cabrillo arrived to this area 50 years after Christopher Columbus had planted a Cross on the Island of San Salvador.³⁷ Cabrillo provided information and understanding of the area. Engelhardt wrote that Cabrillo had two ships San Salvador and Victoria that entered the bay on Thursday evening, September 28, 1542.³⁸ In the bay area, they observed some people and things. Engelhardt wrote that Cabrillo had written in a diary that they had seen and been in contact with Indians.³⁹ These contacts were significant and informative to the future of Spain. Engelhardt wrote that later, in 1602, Sebastian Vizcaino, who was in command of the Spanish ships Sand Diego, San Tomas, and Tres Reyes, explored port San Diego.⁴⁰ His observations were important as well. Engelhardt wrote that Vizcaino wrote in his diary that this land was protected on all sides, good water, many fish, royal ducks, rabbits, deer, life oak timber, and wholesome plants.⁴¹ The abundance of

³⁶ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission* (San Francisco, California: The James H. Barry Company, 1920), 3.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 3.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 3.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 3-4.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 6.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 6.

sources influenced these explorers to look further. Engelhardt wrote that Vizcaino ordered Captain Alonso Peguero, Fr. Antonio de la Ascension, and eight archers to survey the land and they came back with much of the information told by Vizcaino in his diary. After the report was made by these men, a tent was pitched on the land and it served as a church, where the religious might celebrate Mass.⁴² Years later, Junípero Serra came upon the shores in Alta California near San Diego and establish the Mission San Diego de Alcalá. The point was that this one priest like many other Spanish Catholic priests influenced and changed Alta California and without them the Spanish colonization process would have not been as successful as it was during this time.

Alta California was important to Spain and its control in the world. Engelhardt wrote that Spain feared that the Russians would take advantage.⁴³ Russia had been in the area in the past and saw the potential as well. Kent G. Lightfoot is Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley and is trained in North American archaeology. Lightfoot's work was used to express the relationship of the missions and the Native Americans as well as the position of control of others in the region. Lightfoot examined how native entanglements with missionary and mercantile colonies produced a range of multi-cultural experiences.⁴⁴ This scholar provided a way to see how encounters were more than just two people meeting but a cultural and societal change. Lightfoot discovered that the Spanish and the Russians had been in the area and that they exploited the Indian people.⁴⁵ This was a common practice during the colonization period and

⁴² Ibid, 6.

⁴³ Ibid, 9.

⁴⁴ Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Mission, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colony Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley, California: University of Berkeley, 2005), 234.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 234.

that the Spanish and the Russians influenced the region with meetings with the Native Americans. The Spanish and the Russians wanted the Native Americans to be more like them. Both the Spanish and the Russians exploited the Native Americans in their own ways. Lightfoot wrote that the Spanish Franciscan padres converted and civilized the Indians and that Russian used them politically and as laborers.⁴⁶ These ways and means altered the Native American way of life. The explorations that Spain conducted helped to find the most valuable areas to conquer and the Native Americans had fit the Spanish ideas. The Spanish used Fr. Junípero Serra to establish the Spanish way of life and command respect of the Catholic religion. Zephyrin Engelhardt wrote that on July 1, 1769, Fr. Junípero Serra came to the Bay of San Diego and a few days later wrote his first letter from Upper California (Alta California).⁴⁷ The letter described a pleasant scene. Engelhardt wrote that Serra had written in a letter that stated that Port of San Diego was beautiful and justly famed.⁴⁸ Serra confirmed what most explorers of the past had seen. Engelhardt wrote that Serra continued and wrote that the natives were numerous and they lived on seeds and fish.⁴⁹ The descriptions continued and were enlightening. Engelhardt wrote that the Indians were very friendly and the women and girls were decently covered with clothes on their bodies.⁵⁰ These descriptions of Serra and other missionaries in the area demonstrated the justification of Spain occupying the land. There were good Native Americans who seemed civilized and there was food and resources. Engelhardt wrote that Serra came to

⁴⁶ Ibid, 234.

⁴⁷ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission* (San Francisco, California: The James H. Barry Company, 1920), 17-18.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 18.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 21.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 21.

California to convert savages to Christianity and the zealous friar wanted to establish a center of missionary activity.⁵¹ This priest like many other had a goal. Engelhardt wrote that Fr. Serra had a High Mass and dedicated the new Mission San Diego de Alcalá near what is now Old Town, San Diego.⁵² The mission became the first mission of many in Alta California that influenced the people and region. King Charles I of Spain wrote a letter to his Franciscan priests to thank them for their continued good work and encouraged them.⁵³ The approval of the leadership and the continued support of the Spanish Crown through the years was important to the overall missions. The importance of including this primary source was to demonstrate how the connections of the Spanish Crown and the Franciscan priests in Alta California kept an ongoing dialogue and contact in order to maintain continuity and power. The Spanish Crown had ideas of civilizing people around the world that were not literate, not Christianized, and not Spanish. The Catholic priests and the Spanish Crown worked together to maintain their order that they wanted.

The Spanish missions were led by Franciscan priests who served the Church as protectors of the Native Americans. The priest of the mission was to bring the Native Americans together and integrate them into Spanish society. The priests did this by entering the native people into a church-oriented community. The Native Americans were used to build their own communities under the direction of the priest. This was done with the help of the Spanish soldiers, who were usually at the nearby presidio. Engelhardt wrote that Fr. Serra touched on the military system of

⁵¹ Ibid, 24-25.

⁵² Ibid, 25.

⁵³ “Royal Cedula to the Provincial of the Franciscan Order in New Spain,” *Parallel Histories: Spain, the United States, and the American Frontier, Historias Paralelas: España, Estados Unidos y la Frontera Americana*, July 11, 2017, http://international.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?esbib:12:./temp/~intl_d1_HwpO::

California and January 1, 1774 the military department of Upper California was to consist of the presidios of Monterey and of San Diego.⁵⁴ The soldiers taught the Native Americans to use arms and the presidio was a protector of the mission from any belligerence in the area.

The daily life of a neophyte Indian, which is what they were called by most friars after their conversion. However, some of the friars gave the Native Americans that name of the places of the mission such as Diegueño because of the San Diego name in the title. The mission began its mornings with a bell call. Louis Charles Kleber wrote the journal article “California’s Spanish Missions,” in 1992 and he wrote that daily life for the mission Indians began at dawn, as it did the padres (priests or fathers).⁵⁵ The mission inhabitants rose with a bell for morning Mass, singing, prayers, religious teachings and then went to their morning meal. Kleber described that there was an hour-long religious service followed by breakfast.⁵⁶ After the meal, then the Native Americans would go to work, which consisted of hunting and building for the men and cooking and weaving for the women. Kleber wrote that the Spanish that did not work in the fields were taught skills by the Spanish such crafts as spinning, weaving, and shoemaking.⁵⁷ Later in the day was the noon meal and more work in the afternoon. When sunset arrived, there was Mass, a meal and all went home. It is important to note that even though the native people worked and were persuaded to conform there was not penalty of death, at least by the mission padres. Kleber wrote, “Conversion, not death, was the keystone of the missionisation concept in California and

⁵⁴ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission* (San Francisco, California: The James H. Barry Company, 1920), 45.

⁵⁵ Louis Charles Kleber, “California’s Spanish Missions,” *History Today* 42, no. 9 (1992): 44.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 44.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 44.

all of the Americans.”⁵⁸ However, there were issues of abuse from padres and soldiers of the presidio. Not all at the mission was orderly and calm.

Another Spanish mission was the Mission Santa Bárbara, which is located in Santa Barbara, California. The official founding name was La Misión de la Señora Bárbara, Virgen y Mártir (Mission of Lady Barbara, Virgen and Martyr). This mission was founded by Father Fermín Lasuén on December 4, 1786 and it was the tenth mission. There was a presidio, where Spanish military resided to protect the mission. Reverend J. J. O’Keefe, O.S.F. (Ordo Sancti Francisci) wrote that about the middle of April in 1782 the Governor Felipe de Neve, accompanied by Father Junípero Serra along with sixty soldiers set out to establish the Presidio and Mission of Santa Bárbara.⁵⁹ They searched the land to find a suitable location to establish the Spanish Crown and the work they wanted to accomplish. O’Keefe wrote that Serra and Governor Felipe de Neve found a large ranchería of many Indians and decided to use the land for their Presidio.⁶⁰ They used an already established community and location to help their endeavors. O’Keefe wrote that orders were given to march, occupy the place and encamp.⁶¹ These orders began the change of this area. O’Keefe wrote that Father Junípero Serra blessed the place and the Presidio was founded on April 29th, 1782.⁶² The Spanish had established their location and began the process of ruling. O’Keefe wrote that Father President Lasuén was named the first Minister

⁵⁸ Ibid, 44.

⁵⁹ J. J. O’Keefe, O.S.F., *The Buildings and Churches of the Mission of Santa Barbara* (Santa Barbara, California: Independent Job Printing House, 1886), 5.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 6.

⁶¹ Ibid, 6.

⁶² Ibid, 6.

of the Mission.⁶³ Priests like Lausén became the leaders of the community as well as guides. Charles E. Chapman was a history professor and played a lead role in founding the *Hispanic American Historical Review* and he wrote that little was known about Lasuén but he was probably born about 1720, and served under Friar Junípero Serra.⁶⁴ This mission like San Diego de Alcalá had Native Americans living and working for the mission. O’Keefe wrote that the Indian population increased and a village was needed to be formed with separate houses for each family.⁶⁵ The Native American tribe that lived in this area was the Chumash tribe and they helped build the mission. They were also called the Barbareño by the Spanish. The Franciscan order of the Roman Catholic religion ran and guided the people of the mission in Santa Barbara. The mission of the priest at Mission Santa Bárbara was to convert the indigenous local Chumash or Barbareño people.

The Native Americans that came to live near the mission had a life before the mission. Kent G. Lightfoot wrote, that the Native Indians prior the Spanish and the Russians coming to settle and colonize lived in village clusters demarcated by large settlements surrounded by one or more diminutive hamlets.⁶⁶ This proved that the Native Americans had established areas. Lightfoot wrote that each village contained dome-shaped thatched houses with adjacent outdoor hearth and extramural work areas where people might be flaking stone tools and manufacturing

⁶³ Ibid, 9.

⁶⁴ Charles E. Chapman, “A Great Franciscan in California: Fermín Francisco de Lasuén,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 5, no. 2/3 (1919): 132.

⁶⁵ J. J. O’Keefe, O.S.F., *The Buildings and Churches of the Mission of Santa Barbara* (Santa Barbara, California: Independent Job Printing House, 1886), 14.

⁶⁶ Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Mission, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colony Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley, California: University of Berkeley, 2005), 30.

fishing nets or preparing acorn gruel for meals.⁶⁷ The Native Americans had a home and work that were foundations to their community. Lightfoot wrote that there were ceremonial structures and central places for community-wide celebrations for rituals and feasts.⁶⁸ This example demonstrated that there was a place for spiritual and festival practices. The source was used to prove the point that the Native Americans had a life before the Spanish and that they were productive and prosperous. The fact that the Spanish came into the region and changed it confirmed that the Native American nation had been converted, transformed, and altered. The Native Americans had their own ways of living. For example, Lightfoot wrote that men and women and children would gather shellfish, gathered materials for baskets and hunted.⁶⁹ The Native Americans lived a structured and productive life by doing these activities. They had a system and it worked. When the Spanish arrived, this structure was disrupted.

When the Franciscan priests founded the missions, they wanted to create little Spanish villages and societies. They saw the Native Americans as savages and uncivilized but this was not true. Since, the mission was near a presidio the missions in a way were run like an army combined with village life. Lightfoot wrote that the mission had foundations of the neophyte barracks, springhouses that had a water filter system made by the Native Americans and old tanning vats.⁷⁰ Many of the Native Americans chose to live on the mission and work to build these structures. Lightfoot looked at the plowed fields, agrarian structures, aqueduct system,

⁶⁷ Ibid, 30-31.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 30-31.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 30-31.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 50.

neophyte-barracks, church, and other buildings and he realized that the Franciscans really designed an enculturation machine where they would attempt to transform Native Californians into Catholic peasants.⁷¹ The Native Americans had their own spiritual buildings and housing and had done just fine before the Spanish or for that matter the Russians ever arrived. They had their ways of living, praying, eating, hunting, and living together in their own society. Lightfoot wrote that the Spanish Christian monarchs wanted to explore and occupy Alta California, and that the first glimpses of the European ships elicited surprise and much astonishment by the Indians.⁷² The Native Americans were like any other human being that was curious of a new person and wanted to help people in need. Lightfoot wrote that local Indians met with voyagers and they danced, traded food and crafts goods with the Europeans.⁷³ These encounters were brief at this time and from what had been understood from this reading, there was mild contact and no confrontations from the Spanish. The importance of the source and using it was to illustrate that the Spanish and the Native American societies had their own ways of life and that when they met for the first few times briefly that encounters were cordial. This source also helped to prove that there were positive interaction between the Spanish and the Native Americans.

The Spanish did not come to Alta California for many years after the first exploration in 1500s. Lightfoot wrote that there was a Manila trade in the late 1500s and the Spanish Crown wanted to establish a port in Alta California.⁷⁴ The explorers had given the Spanish leaders much

⁷¹ Ibid, 50.

⁷² Ibid, 50.

⁷³ Ibid, 50.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 50.

to think about and much to review. Lightfoot wrote that it was one hundred years of silence from the Spanish until the 1700s when they decided that financially and politically that Alta California would be a good idea.⁷⁵ The Native Americans in this region would be forever changed by the Spanish. Lightfoot wrote that in 1769 was the “second coming” of the Spanish to Alta California under the leadership of Gaspar de Portolá.⁷⁶ Spanish explorers followed after this time with Spanish scouts on horseback, scouring the countryside in search of the best routs, waters, and pastures to make a place for the soldiers, Christian Indians brought from Baja California, and some Franciscan padres to establish Spanish society, religion, and culture.⁷⁷ The Native Americans villages, their hunting and gathering ways, their religion, and their pleasant life was about to change. The Franciscan priests had been well versed in their religious studies, politics, and forming other missions in the Americas to know enough to come to Alta California to influence and establish their system. Lightfoot wrote that Franciscan priests were spiritually zealous, politically savvy, and knew much about the proselytization of natives.⁷⁸ The Native Americans were just as zealous, political and intelligent in their ways as well. Lightfoot wrote that the Franciscan priests thought that the Native Californians had little or no experience with agriculture or making settlements.⁷⁹ However, that was not true. The Native Americans were capable and able. Lightfoot wrote that each tribe had an identity and they had each native polities

⁷⁵ Ibid, 50-51.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 51-52.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 51-53.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 53.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 82.

had there ceremonial center, village cluster, outlying territories for fishing, and gathering.⁸⁰

Lightfoot wrote that each had its own political and religious leaders and renowned craftspeople.⁸¹

The Native Americans had skills and were not ignorant and did not need the Spanish to help them live. The Spanish just wanted them to be Spanish and Catholic.

Even though the Spanish wanted the Native Americans to live like the Spanish and be Catholic, these missions were voluntary. Lightfoot wrote that according to the doctrines of the Church and Spanish Crown, the conversion of native peoples to Catholicism was to be voluntary.⁸² The Native Americans were able to choose. Lightfoot wrote that the Indians could move in and out of the mission, prior to baptism.⁸³ When one was baptized into the church, then one was considered part of that family. The freedom that they once had was changed because of their choice to convert. Lightfoot wrote that the neophyte Indians were allowed to observe their fellow people who became Christians and their daily routine of mission life.⁸⁴ If they agreed to live in the mission and convert to being a Christian then they remained at the mission and did not return to their previous village life. Lightfoot wrote that once the vow to God was made during baptism, the Native Indian became subject of the Crown and they were no longer free to leave

⁸⁰ Ibid, 48.

⁸¹ Ibid, 48.

⁸² Ibid, 82.

⁸³ Ibid, 83.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 83.

the mission unless given permission from the padres.⁸⁵ Once upon a time, the Native Americans lived free in their respective villages minding their own business when change came along.

Good and bad changes were seen throughout history between the relationships among the Spanish and the Native Americans. Most of the time the changes and situations were bad and difficult among the Spanish and the Native Americans. Louis Charles Kleber wrote, “The fate of the Indians, particularly the Chumash, who inhabited the region around present-days Santa Barbara and to the north, is a sad one.”⁸⁶ This was because their population was diminished because of diseases brought by the Spanish, the changes in their own culture by some of the Spanish mission ways, the harassment of Spanish soldiers, their religious beliefs altered or cut out completely, and overall shifts in their society. Kleber wrote that Europeans diseases took a toll on many Native Americans across the Americas and in California it was the smallpox disease.⁸⁷ The smallpox epidemic was a dramatic event. The death of fellow Native Americans and the disturbances to their culture created anger. Some of the Native American’s feelings of frustrations were smoldering like a small fire and then one day that fire grew to a blazing inferno of revolt. One revolt that took place was the Pueblo Revolt of 1680s. Nicholas A. Robins wrote that the natives had learned from their mistakes and did not want any more economic, religious, and physical oppression.⁸⁸ Some Native Americans were tired of the dominations and harassment of the Spanish and wanted to have their lived back to how they had grown up and

⁸⁵ Ibid, 83.

⁸⁶ Louis Charles Kleber, “California’s Spanish Missions,” *History Today* 42, no. 9 (1992): 44.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 45.

⁸⁸ Nicholas A. Robins, *Native Insurgencies and the Genocidal Impulse in the Americas* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2005), 23.

learned. Robins wrote that the economic, religious, and political power of the Franciscan friars was too much for the Native Americans.⁸⁹ The authority that the friars and the Spanish Crown had on the Native Americans was very powerful. Robins wrote, “The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was a culmination of decades of endemic resistance of the Pueblo Indians to Spanish rule.”⁹⁰ The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was an uprising of the Native American people in present day New Mexico and there were many Spanish killed and driven out of the area. The Spanish colonists and the Pueblo peoples were usually violent because the Native Americans did not want the Spanish to occupy the area and interfere in native life. Robins wrote that the friars did not master the native languages, wanted to exterminate traditional native beliefs and religious practices, and the Indians were unwilling to accept the way of the friars.⁹¹ This example was used to show that not all native people were willing to convert and follow the Spanish ways. Some Native Americans decided to take matters in their own hands to bring back what they had lost to the Spanish.

The revolts occurred out of frustration and anger. Robins wrote that the Pueblo Revolt was among the Pueblo people and the Spanish in the province of New Mexico during 1680 and many Spanish were killed.⁹² These kinds of revolts proved that relationships were not all good and that people had their own views. The Chumash and Kumeyaay revolted in their ways as well. These sources were provided to look at how some encounters were not as positive as

⁸⁹ Ibid, 23.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 23.

⁹¹ Ibid, 23.

⁹² Ibid, 26-29.

others. The Spanish came into the Native American region and home to alter the Native Americans lives and the Native Americans revolted. Any human being told to change a life they knew created internal and external conflicts throughout history and this situation was no different.

Tensions created between the different religious beliefs of the Spanish and the Native Americans were found in the area of religion. Religion was one area of contention because the Chumash and the Kumeyaay had their own ways of living and believing. There were some Chumash and Kumeyaay that did not want the Spanish missions and the priests in their lives. There were confrontations on topics of religion. For example, Heizer and Whipple wrote that the Spanish saw the Chumash as idolaters because they placed idols near the village to protect fields and seeds.⁹³ Many Native Americans wanted to keep their idols, but they were repressed by the priests and the rules of the new religion that they learned about in the mission. This was just a small example of the divisions of the religion. Christians worshipped one God and the Christian priests wanted the Native Americans to do the same. These differences created confrontation. There was a Chumash revolt in 1824 against the Spanish at the Mission Santa Bárbara and it was one of the largest revolts that was organized in California. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz wrote that the Chumash were incorporated into the mission system, there was tension in the Chumash region because of the bad encounters with Spanish soldiers and the Chumash.⁹⁴ The negative interaction between some of the Native Americans and the Spanish made for

⁹³ R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple, *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1971), 259.

⁹⁴ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 323.

troubled times. Beebe and Senkwicz wrote that tensions rose for example when a Chumash man wanted to see one of his relatives at Santa Inés mission and a soldier refused.⁹⁵ The refusal of this man to see his kin created seeds of contempt. These small issues turned into larger issues and the revolt in the end let the mission leadership understand that they needed to be aware of the people and their lives before and what had occurred between the Spanish and the Native Americans.

The establishment of the missions and the need to make relationships was a good concept, but the tearing down of previous customs of other cultures proved to be a serious problem. The force of conformity produced rebellion. The Kumeyaay revolted as well. Beebe and Senkwicz wrote that the Kumeyaay attacked the San Diego mission.⁹⁶ Their reasons were similar with rivalries between Christians and non-Christians as well as issues with the soldiers. The Mission San Diego de Alcalá was in the homeland of the Kumeyaay Indian tribe and in 1775, the Kumeyaay revolted and burned down the mission and killed one priest. Zephyrin Engelhardt wrote that on November 4, 1775, not only the mission buildings but also the mission registers were destroyed.⁹⁷ Some of the Kumeyaay did not accept the Spanish domination and conversion to Christianity and destroyed the mission. However, that did not deter other priests. Engelhardt wrote that Fr. Serra took steps to rebuild the mission and it was rebuilt.⁹⁸ The confrontations between the missions and the Native American tribes were continuous because of

⁹⁵ Ibid, 324.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 202.

⁹⁷ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission* (San Francisco, California: The James H. Barry Company, 1920), 83.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 77.

two societies vying for their place in the life. Things did calm down between the Spanish and the Native Americans however, the foundation for distrust was laid and the rode for the conversion process of the Spanish was difficult. There were some negative things on both sides, but there were also some positive things.

Many historians saw colonization as purely evil and devastating, but some historians saw positive relationships and things that happened during this time. For example, Helen Hunt Jackson wrote a book called *Glimpses of California and the Missions*, which was about the Mission Indians in 1882.⁹⁹ She was an activist for the Native Americans and did not like how they were treated by the colonists. Another historian was José Refugio de la Torre Curiel who teaches at the Universidad de Guadalajara in social sciences and humanities. De la Torre Curiel wrote *Twilight of the Mission Frontier: Shifting Interethnic Alliances and Social Organization in Sonora, 1768-1855* in 2013.¹⁰⁰ De La Torre Curiel saw that the Native Americans were disrupted and destroyed however, he did add a few positive notes that will be discussed further in the work. The point was that encounters between the Spanish and the Native Americans altered each society. The changes that occurred were sometimes negative and sometimes positive. Through this thesis, the positive experiences discovered proved that not all the encounters during the Spanish colonization were bad. There is good and bad in any situation from the past to the present in historical events and the history of the human race.

⁹⁹ Helen Hunt Jackson, "Glimpses of California and the Missions," *Library of Congress: memory.loc.gov* access date April 27, 2017, <https://www.loc.gov/item/02012719/>.

¹⁰⁰ José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, *Twilight of the Mission Frontier: Shifting Interethnic Alliances and Social Organization in Sonora, 1768-1855* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2013), 2-276.

The relationships of the Spanish and the Native Americans, mixed marriages accepted, schools established, rising of Native American individuals in Spanish society, and other skills learned by both sides were analyzed by historians. The examples such as mixed marriages, encounters with the Spanish, and primary schools were seen with the Kumeyaay and the Chumash Native American tribes. These examples were used to consider the positive and negative influences during this time. Theda Perdue wrote that the Kumeyaay originally inhabited the mountain and coastal regions of what is now San Diego County and that their ancestors lived under the Spanish Colonial mission system in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁰¹ Human beings want to learn from one another and have a great desire to have a sense of themselves and being part of a community. The Chumash tribe was a local tribe that the Spanish wanted to convert to Christianity. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz wrote that Fr. Serra described the Santa Barbara Channel as “full of a huge number (numerisimos) of formal pueblos, and a most wonderful (provehidísima) land” and the development of the area was a great prospect of evangelizing the area.¹⁰² Serra saw and described the potential. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that this Chumash territory was a territory that Serra wanted to establish for the mission of Santa Barbara and he found the Native tribe to be very hospitable.¹⁰³ The initial greetings were favorable. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that Mallorcan Juan Crespí was on the expedition with Friar Junípero Serra from San Diego to San Francisco Bay and noticed that the

¹⁰¹ Theda Perdue, *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 189.

¹⁰² Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Junípero Serra: California, Indians, and the Transformation of a Missionary* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 379.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 379.

Chumash tribe had well-laid-out pueblos and they were curious about the Spanish.¹⁰⁴ There was structure and lands to work from for the Spanish. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that Crespí noted that the people made musical instruments such as flutes, which were well carved and that they were interested in his wooden rosary that was carved.¹⁰⁵ The encounters were of curiosity and desiring genuine friendship on both sides. There was a basis to begin to create relationships through observations, exchanging of items, and human interaction.

The Spanish and the Native American tribes of the Chumash and Kumeyaay had many interests and ways of living, but religion became the focal issue of the day. Power, money, and religious conversion were the main objectives of the Spanish Crown. For the Native Americans, living among their own people, believing in their gods, having sustainable resources, and providing for the family was their main objectives. Peter L. Berger wrote, “Every human society is an enterprise of world-building. Religion occupies a distinctive place in this enterprise.”¹⁰⁶ To believe in something is very personal and it forms a connection in one’s soul. Each human being was created with a soul and each human has to live within that soul to find some kind of reason for life and living. Humans cannot live alone and need to form a society to function. Berger wrote, “Society is a dialectic phenomenon in that it is a human product, and nothing but a human product, that yet continuously acts back upon its producer. Society is a product of man. It has no other being except that which is bestowed upon it by human activity and consciousness.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Junipero Serra: California, Indians, and the Transformation of a Missionary* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 379.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 381.

¹⁰⁶ Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967), 3.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 3.

Society and the people of that society make up the rules, customs and beliefs that should be followed. Through society a person makes an identity. Berger wrote that within society an individual becomes a person and that this person attains and holds onto an identity within it.¹⁰⁸ The identity that a society brings to individuals helps to create their life and how they live it. Most societies that are created run fairly well and people live in peace. It is when others from other societies and cultures intrude on a society already set that troubles come to pass. When the Spanish and the Native American tribes of the Chumash and Kumeyaay met, they greeted one another and were curious about one another. The problems came when one group imposed their rules, customs, and beliefs on the other. However, through this change and confrontation of peoples, cultures, and societies a new way of thinking and living was formed.

The Spanish Catholic mission priests and the Native American Chumash and Kumeyaay men, women, and children combined to really form a new way of living. There were traditions, rules, and beliefs mixed among the people and in the end even though a tug of war of values, beliefs, and rules went on over the years during this time, there was growth and positive change. The intertwining of two cultures was good and bad. Relationships that were made between the priest of the mission and the individual native was important to establishing the new society that would be made. Friar Junípero Serra had encountered the Chumash and the Kumeyaay Native American tribes, but it was the Chumash that was given as a friendly example of relationships and friendship that were a positive effect of colonization. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that Serra had an encounter with a friendly groups of Chumash in December 1776 and he wrote it in a

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 3.

report to Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa on March 1, 1777.¹⁰⁹ Serra had written that on a recent journey to Santa Bárbara Channel, strong winds, and rough seas did not allow them to set foot from the ship to the beach.¹¹⁰ The Native Americans, who he called “poor gentiles” proved themselves worthy to receive all that was good because they were there to help Serra. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that here was a Native Indian on either side of Serra to help carry Serra over the muddy hills.¹¹¹ This relationship lasted many years between the priest and the Chumash. The inner workings of the human spirit joined two people not understanding one another to help each other. Now, Serra wanted to convert the people from their native religion to Christianity and the bad side was that it brought some confrontations.

The inner human spirit of the souls of both the Spanish and the Chumash and Kumeyaay was tested. Another issue that hurt the relationship was the presidio and the soldiers. The soldiers and their relationship with the mission and the Native Americans was positive and negative. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that Serra had written to Rafael Verger (governor) on August 19, 1778 and discussed the dangers of how the soldiers were unjust acting and inciting the gentiles.¹¹² The Spanish soldiers had not been acting well in the region and this proved to be a negative aspect. For example, Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that an Indian muleteer named Simón Carpio had sexual intercourse with a baptized woman named María Victoria and this was not

¹⁰⁹ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Junipero Serra: California, Indians, and the Transformation of a Missionary* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 384-385.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 384-385.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 384.

¹¹² Ibid, 384-387.

allowed and Carpio was put in the stocks at the presidio.¹¹³ There were also incidents with soldiers bothering women near the missions. The positive part of the story and that supports the thesis is that the priests of the mission decided to do something about the situation. The priests moved the mission to stop any further issues with the soldiers or at least diminish them. This was a positive and noble act of the Spanish to protect the Native American people. However, the relationships in general with the Chumash went well. Serra wrote in a letter to Fermin Francisco de Lasuén on March 31, 1782 and wrote that Indians from La Asumpta, the ranchería nearby were pleased and we asked them using interpreters if they approved of the new mission establishment.¹¹⁴ Many priests in the missions established in Alta California gathered to discuss and form relationships with the Native American people. It was not all doom and destruction during this period.

Another positive outcome was the education of the individuals in the region. The Spanish mission brought literacy and avenues to help develop Native Americans' lives, when the priests established schools. Zephyrin Engelhardt wrote that the friars wanted schools conducted at each mission.¹¹⁵ The importance of educational instruction provided a basis for understanding. Engelhardt wrote that there was this desire to establish schools to teach children in particularly to read so they might be able to serve at the altar or sing in choir.¹¹⁶ The schools led to a way for the friars to introduce the Spanish language, help the Native Americans learn to read in Spanish,

¹¹³ Ibid, 278-279.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 387.

¹¹⁵ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission* (San Francisco, California: The James H. Barry Company, 1920), 208-210.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 209.

and develop their overall skills. Engelhardt wrote that the friars were the ones who fostered a knowledge of reading and writing.¹¹⁷ This was positive in the sense that the Native Americans grew in their understanding of the world. The Native Americans benefited by learning another language, to read and write, and to understand European society. This allowed them to have better ways of communicating in trade and commerce situations in order to help their Native American communities. Most friars saw school as a way to connect and help others, but other Spaniards saw it as a way to “civilize” the savages. It must be said that the Native Americans had their own languages and were highly intelligent. The lack of understanding by the Spanish at this time demonstrated the gap in comprehending other cultures and ways.

The Native Americans had their ways of educating their youth as well. R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple wrote that children were permitted to watch adults at work as much as they wanted in order to learn how to make bows and arrows as well as hunt and gather food.¹¹⁸ Learning was encouraged and the Native Americans were not uncivilized as thought by many Spanish. Heizer and Whipple wrote that the Native American adults praised their children for what they accomplished.¹¹⁹ The children had school, but it was not in an institution or a building. Their school was their environment around them. For example, Heizer and Whipple wrote that Native American boys went out into the land with their bow and arrows and looked for chub fish and killed frogs too.¹²⁰ The children learned through what they saw done by the adults. The

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 210.

¹¹⁸ R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple, *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1971), 425.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 425.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 426.

children were trained well in all areas of their life. Heizer and Whipple wrote that from an early age children were trained in ethics, behavior, and tradition.¹²¹ The Native American parent taught their children right from wrong. Heizer and Whipple wrote that parents were insistent that children obey.¹²² The Native Americans had a civilized and organized way of living. They had ethics and education as part of their culture, but most Spanish individuals did not take the time to find that out and pushed their agenda. The Spanish individuals like the priests were the ones who realized that the children were able to learn. They began to help the children to learn something new and that was the Spanish language and culture. The positive integration of the Native American education and the Spanish education provided a new way of living and thinking for the next generations to come. This proved that some positive things did happen at the Spanish missions and between the Native American and Spanish people.

Another positive experience was that the Spanish exchanged goods and created an economy in Alta California which, brought even more benefits to the Native Americans in the region even though the Native Americans already had a great economy running during this period of time and before the arrival of the Spanish. Lynn H. Gamble wrote that the Chumash tribe was a tribe that practiced a system of wealth finance involving exchange of goods.¹²³ The Chumash had already established a currency and were selling and exchanging goods. Gamble wrote that the chiefs redistributed the goods and that created a sort of store house idea, the

¹²¹ Ibid, 428.

¹²² Ibid, 429.

¹²³ Lynn H. Gamble, *The Chumash World at European Contact: Power, Trade and Feasting among Complex-Hunter Gatherers* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2008), 223.

Chumash organized ceremonies where attendees were to bring food, money, and resources.¹²⁴ The chiefs had to make enough to take care of their villages and supply themselves when there was drought. Gamble wrote that people came from the mainland, islands, and interior villages to gather and the chiefs spent months preparing and amassing enough resources.¹²⁵ Some Spanish explorers observed that the Chumash had an established system and that it was good. When the Spanish mission priests arrived and established the San Diego de Alcalá mission, they began to exchange and form relationships with the Chumash. The positive parts were that the Spanish also showed that Native Americans other skills such as crafts to add to their repertoire and promote their economy. The interaction of the tribes and the Spanish for the most part was prosperous.

The Spanish thought that the Native Americans were uncivilized but this was not true. The Native Americans had built houses and areas to live in to establish their communities. Gamble wrote that the Chumash did lack monumental architecture which, is trait of complex societies however they did have a variety of structures and settlements.¹²⁶ The Chumash had many abilities and skills to make homes for themselves, but it was the Spanish who did help them become more skilled in making buildings such as the missions. For example, Zephyrin Engelhardt wrote that the Indians labored with will, the men tilled the land, cared for livestock, wove garments, made shoes, and build enlarged buildings at Mission San Diego.¹²⁷ The new skills learned helped to improve living conditions and create larger buildings than before the

¹²⁴ Ibid, 225.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 225.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 114.

¹²⁷ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission* (San Francisco, California: The James H. Barry Company, 1920), 147.

Spanish came. Engelhardt wrote that a new church building, the sacristy, and ten other houses had been roofed as well as other buildings under construction.¹²⁸ The Spanish picked up on the fact that the Native Americans were very skilled and intelligent as well as the Native Americans who learned a new way of building structures.

Another positive outcome in this period was the acceptance of mixed marriages between Native Americans and the Spanish. Kent G. Lightfoot wrote that interethnic marriages with Hispanic soldiers and settlers provided family identity and stability.¹²⁹ It was positive because the race of the individuals was not seen as a negative point and that it was seen as a way to establish families. However, some historians such as Lightfoot did mention that it was also a way for Indian identity to transform to the *gente de razón* (people of reason), which were the Spanish and their way.¹³⁰ Remember that the Spanish thought that the natives did not have reason like them and that they were not civilized. The Native Americans were given Hispanic men's name to the family and this established the Christian family which created civilized people. Ramón Guitérrez wrote that *gente de razón*, which meant literally "people of reason," or rational beings had several meanings such as neophyte Indians not understanding the Catholic faith or not being civilized like the Spanish.¹³¹ However, the Native Americans did have reason and were a great people. Marriage was a ritual for Native Indians and the Spanish. Guitérrez wrote that marriage

¹²⁸ Ibid, 160.

¹²⁹ Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Mission, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colony Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley, California: University of Berkeley, 2005), 73.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 73.

¹³¹ Ramón Guitérrez, *When Jesus came, the Corn Mothers went away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991), 195.

was a vital ritual in life that was necessary for the honor of a family and uniting two properties and households together, for example.¹³² The importance of these marriages and the stability in the Chumash and Kumeyaay tribes and Spanish society were vital. These examples presented two conflicting ideas of a positive and a negative view of mixed marriage however, it did show that there was something positive with the marriages between the Native Americans and the Spanish. The relationships made between these two cultures must have been positive enough for each culture to accept the marriages.

The two cultures had honorary ideas of marriage and the importance to society. Gutiérrez wrote that marriage was the most important event in the course of life and honor to the family.¹³³ This marriage concept was supported by the Spanish and the Native American cultures. The significance of forming a family was the foundation of establishing civilization and maintaining it. Gutiérrez wrote that parents would arrange marriages to their advantage and respect of the family.¹³⁴ This custom of arrangement was found in both Spanish and Native American lives. The focus of marriage at the missions was just as important. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that the issue was forcing the concept of Christian marriage.¹³⁵ The objective of the Spanish was to create Christian marriages and leave the Native American marriages behind. Kent G. Lightfoot wrote that interethnic marriages between Hispanic soldiers and settlers provided on way for native

¹³² Ibid, 227.

¹³³ Ibid, 227.

¹³⁴ Ibid, 227.

¹³⁵ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 251.

women to become gente de razón.¹³⁶ Biracial marriages were allowed and this was a positive step for society. However, on the other hand it was a way to create conformity to the Spanish way of life too. Lightfoot wrote that Franciscan priests like Father Serra promoted marriages of single male soldiers to female neophytes at the missions because he believed it would help to provide good role models at the mission.¹³⁷ This good role model idea was seen by the Native Americans as well. The idea of marriage was fine, but it was how it was used that became the issue. However, the point was that there was a positive effect that was made in each society on the marriages made.

The influences of the presidio had positive and negative effects. The presidio protected the mission and the town. The presidio was also a place that held much power. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that there were three interrelated institutions—the town, the presidio, and the mission, which played roles in the development of California.¹³⁸ The Spanish wanted to create small Spanish-like town in the Americas. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that the town had a central plaza, houses, agricultural lands outside the urban areas, missions, and the presidio.¹³⁹ The presidio was where the soldiers worked and lived. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that the presidio was a garrison.¹⁴⁰ The garrison was used to protect the missions and to establish authority. Beebe

¹³⁶ Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Mission, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colony Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley, California: University of Berkeley, 2005), 73.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹³⁸ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 67.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 68.

and Senkewicz wrote that the presidio was there to protect the entire west coast of California to stop others such as the Russians.¹⁴¹ The Spanish wanted to protect their conquests and make sure that they were the only ones who would occupy the territory. The relationship between the town, mission, and the presidio was important for the establishment of the Spanish Crown and the leader's objectives. Research found that some of the soldiers at the presidio did not treat the natives well which, created problems for the missionary goals and town production. Beebe and Senkewicz wrote that the missionaries consistently complained that the soldiers' brutal treatment of the Indians and the abuse of Indian women turned the native Californians against the Spanish and in turn to the priests.¹⁴² The soldiers who were under the Catholic rule and supposedly schooled in the Catholic religion disobeyed the laws. Florian F. Guest is a member of the O.F.M and specializes in ecclesiastical institutions and he wrote that it was forbidden for any soldier to enter an Indian village and if they violated an Indian women or mistreated an Indian person in any way they would be punished.¹⁴³ There were consequences to the soldier's actions and the Spanish rule did not want disobedience. This proved what sociologist Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge had stated about religion not being the problem and it was the heart of the person.¹⁴⁴ The mission priests went to great lengths to even move missions to get away from the presidio to help the native people. The priest who tried to help and comfort the Native Americans

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 119.

¹⁴² Ibid, 163.

¹⁴³ Florian F. Guest, "The Indian Policy under Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, California's Second Father President," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (1966): 195-197.

¹⁴⁴ Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *Religion, Deviance, and Social Control* (New York, New York: Routledge, Inc., 1996), 1-389.

showed good hearts and it had nothing to do with religious laws, but it was a sense of common human decency. Zephyrin Engelhardt wrote, “The truth is, the Franciscans did not enrich themselves nor their Order by as much as a dollar. They had made the vow of poverty before they set foot in California, and they returned to Mexico or died at their post as poor as they had come.”¹⁴⁵ Most friars were not out to get the Native Americans. They had a spiritual mission and were not out to hurt anyone. The friars truly believed in their mission. The positive or negative aspects of the relationships formed in the town, mission or presidio influenced many and in the end changed many.

¹⁴⁵ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission* (San Francisco, California: The James H. Barry Company, 1920), 190.

Conclusion

Historians have debated over the Spanish colonization of Native Americans over the years and the majority concluded that it was a negative and horrible experience. The thesis question opened discussion and analyzed the Spanish colonization in a different way which, was to see some positive aspects of Spanish colonial times. Using religion, economics, politics, and history about this time period between the Spanish and the Native Americans helped to understand the peoples and the relationships among different cultures.

What happened those many years ago in Alta California among the Spanish and Native Americans at the Mission San Diego de Alcalá and the Mission Santa Bárbara still has strong influences today on people, societies, and cultures. Most historians that have been researched discussed the brutality and death of many Native American nations and their people. Robert H. Jackson wrote, “The demographic collapse of the native populations in the Americas in the four centuries following sustained contact with Eurasia has been a major topic of discussion among scholars for decades.”¹ The downfall of the Native Americans was tragic and one must never forget the tragedies of a people. Looking back on history will keep a subject like this alive to remember and reflect. However, the need for re-interpretation was important to the historiography because there needs to be further understanding of the people and times.

The Spanish did come to dominate, convert people to Christianity, and gain resources to further the Spanish Kingdom. The Native Americans were influenced and changed due to the encounters with the Spanish and there was much devastation of their lands and peoples. There

¹ Robert H. Jackson, “The Population of the Santa Barbara Channel Missions (Alta California), 1813-1832,” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 12, no. 2 (1990): 268-274.

were positive effects of the Spanish missions and encounters with the Native Americans through accepted mixed marriages, educations, and good relationships among the people at the mission. During and after the Spanish colonization time, the Native Americans and the Spanish intertwined their lives and went on as in any society that has confronted change. As a human being, one learns to adapt, change, and make things one's own to start a new life. The Spanish and the Native Americans did this and went on to have prosperous and established cultures. The idea of total destruction and absolute devastation from many historians while true was not the full story of the good relationships made for example between the priests and the Native Americans within the Chumash and Kumeyaay tribes.

The majority of historians have interpreted the history, the encounters and the personal one on one contact of priests and natives to conclude that colonialism was a disaster and unnecessary. However, there were some historians who offered a different way of looking at this period of time and saw the value in cultures interacting. The Spanish were very powerful during the colonialization period and the Natives Americans that they encountered from Latin America, Mexico to Alta California were affected deeply but not totally destroyed. Lee M. Panich and Tsim D. Schneider. Panich and Schneider wrote that between the late sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, Catholic missions from Jesuit, Franciscan, and Dominican orders established and ran missions from Florida to the Californias, known as Spanish Borderlands.² The Spanish Borderlands that were established transformed the Native Americans and the Spanish. Panich and Schneider wrote that the argument was that there was more to the missions

² Lee M. Panich, Tsim D. Schneider, Julienne Bernard, Elliot H. Blair, Willet A. Boyer, III, and Glenn J. Farris, *Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspective from Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 2014), 5.

than irreversible entry points of Indigenous people into colonial society and that these scholars looked to understand the varied ways that Native people incorporated into the Spanish mission system.³ These new ways of looking at history has helped in historical understanding of peoples and periods of time. Panich and Schneider concluded that there were multiple lines of evidence to understand Native Americans negotiations of colonialism and that they rejected the idea of the colonial period as only European domination and saw the “indigenous perspective” as well.⁴ These historians saw more to the Spanish than a destructive people and also saw more to the Native Americans than an uncivilized people.

This thesis corrects the view of encounters being mostly negative, or the local Native American societies being totally without agency. Most historians did not discuss a positive effect of the encounters between the Spanish and the Native Americans. The shortcomings in the literature proved that there was a need for this discussion. It was necessary to understand that colonization had constructive and optimistic aspects, and that the Native Americans, as well as, the Spanish brought positive and negative aspects too. The Spanish and the Native Americans were both to blame for violence, destruction, peace, and fruitful relationships. The blame cannot be fully positioned on the Spanish or the Native Americans. In general, there was give and take in relationships and in their life. There were no easy answers and there were no concrete conclusions. The gap that was found helped to provide a new way to look at history and open a conversation to discuss the Spanish Catholic missions and the encounters with the Native

³ Ibid, 6.

⁴ Ibid, 21.

Americans in Alta California. The conversation was productive, rewarding, and provided an understanding that was not seen before in the research.

In the end, it can be said that one can conclude that the Native Americans overall were treated badly and with disdain. The Native American life was seen by the Spanish to be primitive, uncivilized, and spiritually lacking. These negative assumptions of the Spanish created many problems for the Native American way of life and in the end destroyed it in many ways. However, it also must be said that the Spanish priests in particular at the Mission San Diego de Alcalá and the Mission Santa Bárbara wanted to sincerely help and make a positive difference with the Native Americans. Friar Serra and Friar Lausén cared deeply for the missions and for the people. There were many times that the friars tried to protect the Native Americans. All the Spanish were not out to get the Native Americans. There were some that saw a people and land in need even though the Native Americans had been just fine before the Spanish arrived. This reverts back to the idea that human beings make their own life and directions. All societies and the people in them have a desire to make relationships and improve themselves. Native Americans and the people that lived in Spain and Alta California had their own ways of living, but it was the desire for one to be a part of something bigger than oneself that connected them. Most of the Spanish explorers and priests that left their homes to go to explore new lands did it in order to connect with other human beings to help them make sense of themselves and their world. Some of the encounters that the Spanish explorers and priests made with the Native Americans created foundations of learning, growing, and understanding which in the end, created a positive effect.

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