BOYD COTHRAN *and* MARTIN RIZZO

The Many Lives of Justiniano Roxas: The Centenarian Fantasy in American History and Memory

SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA. December 1873. The sweet smell of burning redwood met the visitors as they entered the small apartment. The last rays of the winter solstice shone through the window, casting gossamer shadows across the bare pine floor. Earlier that morning, the old man had attended mass at the Holy Cross Church, one of the original twenty-one California missions. But on this cool afternoon, the elderly Justiniano Roxas sat on the floor of his twelve-by-six-foot suite at the county hospital on Mission Hill. He huddled close to the fire, surrounded by chopped wood, and he sewed a patch onto his coat.[1]

Residents of the central California coastal village of Santa Cruz had known of Roxas for some time. A recent illness had forced him to seek the aid of the Sisters of Charity, who, for their own reasons, took on his care, placing him in the county hospital, which they managed. Roxas received a room, a warm fire, and regular access to food and tea. And then the sisters informed the local newspaper of their benevolence. The Sisters of Charity had saved "the oldest living inhabitant on the face of the globe!" they said. He was, they claimed, 121 years old and "the last of his race."[2]

The *Santa Cruz Sentinel* sent a reporter to interview Roxas. But when the reporter entered the room, Roxas remained quiet. The parish priest of Santa Cruz, Father Joaquin Adam, accompanied the reporter. He approached the elderly man and placed his hand upon his shoulder. He might have whispered, "Mi hijo, tienes invitados." With a jerk, the old man woke from his thoughts and, according to the reporter, "looked around and commenced jabbering in Spanish to the Father—shaking his head at every word." The reporter was convinced that the Indian, hoary and frail, was aged. But could he really be 121 years old? To prove the sisters' claim, Father Adam produced the mission's baptismal record and translated it for the reporter. As the *Sentinel* later reported, the entry read: "On the 4th of March, of 1792, in this church of the Mission of Santa Cruz, I [Father Isidro Salazar] solemnly baptized a man of about 40 years belonging to a ranch, who I name Justiniano Roxas now." The man who was described in the baptismal record and the

man who was in the Santa Cruz hospital were, the newspaper declared, one and the same. "The testimony on this point is conclusive," it reported. In the early 1870s Santa Cruz was gaining a reputation for being a healthy town. Local boosters claimed that its "benign" climate extended life and rejuvenated the infirm. The survival of Justiniano Roxas, they now began to boast, was living proof.[3]

This article is the story of that old man in the county hospital. It is part archival mystery and part methodological essay. As a self-reflective examination of a joint scholarly endeavor, it is a story about how two historians worked together to unearth and discover the tale of an Indigenous man whose true-life story is far more interesting than any fictional account. But it is also a meditation on the meaning of Indigenous survival in California history. In a state notorious for its history of genocide and renowned for its famous "last" Indians, unexpected stories of survival remain hidden in plain sight. This article, then, is about what can be gained from reconstructing, piece by piece, the lives of those individuals who claimed to be centenarians. It is also about what can be gained when historians work together to look beyond the fantastical headlines and invest the time and energy necessary to understand the real person behind these fantasies. This is the story of the many lives of Justiniano Roxas.

The story of Justiniano Roxas begins with a critical engagement with Jean O'Brien's concept of "lasting" as an analytical lens. In basic terms, "lasting" describes a practice among nineteenth-century New Englanders, especially antiquarians and local community leaders, of marking the supposed extinction of Indigenous peoples by celebrating someone as the "last" member of their Indigenous community. These celebrations of a "solitary Indian survivor"—usually a "pure blooded" Indian—appeared in local histories and public commemorations to mark the end of Indigenous presence in New England. Between 1820 and 1880, O'Brien found, local historians in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island produced historical narratives of southern New England that recast the region as the cradle of a modern, Anglo-Saxon nation. As such, these narratives celebrated Indigenous extinction as a necessary step in the maturation of American modernity.[4]

But O'Brien, of course, was not the first scholar to identify this cultural practice among settler communities in North America. A generation earlier, Brian Dippie identified the notion that Indians were doomed to extinction to be a central and ubiquitous aspect of American culture, as well as a self-fulfilling prophecy. In his 1982 classic, *The Vanishing American*, Dippie traced the origins of this doomed race theory back to the eighteenth century and

then documented the profound ways this assumption influenced U.S. Indian policy from the nation's founding through the 1930s Indian New Deal.[5] More recently, Patrick Brantlinger compared the discourses of extinction found in nineteenth-century North America with similar narratives from Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere, and he discovered that the idea that so-called primitive or savage races were doomed to extinction in the face of modernity was in fact a commonly held view around the world, especially among English-speaking intellectuals.[6] In other words, discourses of extinction have received some scholarly attention over the years. They are at once a kind of imperialist nostalgia—to use Renato Rosaldo's term—in which settlers bemoaned the vanishing Indian as doomed in order to bolster their own claims to modernity while promoting a discourse of innocence that portrays Indigenous people as peacefully giving way before a benevolent and superior civilization.[7] Discourses of extinction are, ultimately, racial mythologies of authenticity that redefine surviving Indians as "degenerate relics." And they are a surprisingly enduring characteristic of nineteenth-century settler colonialism in North America and beyond. But in the case of Justiniano Roxas, he was not just the "last of his race" but also a centenarian of extraordinary longevity. How did discourses of centenarianism fit into the colonial legacies of the vanished race?

Many historians have observed that discourses of extinction have played an important role in the creation of a collective memory of colonialism as part of developing an American identity. In this process of historical memory creation, local texts such as county histories and antiquarian collections are unexpected sites to begin recovering and writing Indigenous history.[8] And in reconstructing the story of Justiniano Roxas, the earliest history of Santa Cruz County, one from 1879, contains a reference to him. After providing a very generic history of the demise of the California mission Indians, Wallace Elliott, the author, included a full-page image of Roxas seated in a wooden chair. With a well-trimmed beard and hair neatly combed and parted and sporting a rough-hewn wooden cane, Roxas appeared healthy, dressed in a new black overcoat complete with luxuriant lapels and a new straw hat on his knee (Figure 1). Elliott captioned the image: "This ancient relic of a forgotton [*sic*] race lived to the extreme age of 123 years. Nothing is known of the particular tribe to which he belonged, or of his early career, as he had lived beyond the recollection of the "oldest inhabitant." *He was the last of his race and seemed to have been, for more than six score years, forgotten by the Angel of Death*."[9] The caption included an excerpt from the local newspaper regarding Roxas's "discovery," Father Salazar's testament to the baptism, and Father Adam's letter to Elliott attesting to Roxas's death.

FIGURE 1. Image of Justiniano Roxas from Wallace W. Elliott's 1879 *Illustrations of Santa Cruz County, California*. Courtesy of Wallace W. Elliott's 1879 *Illustrations of Santa Cruz County*.

Certainly, he could not have been 121 years old when this portrait was made, could he? A search for the name Roxas in the Huntington Library's Early California Population Project—a database of California mission records prior to 1850—revealed that an Awaswas Ohlone man "como de 40" (about forty) and from the "San Daniel (Ulypin) Ranchería" was indeed baptized at the Santa Cruz Mission on March 4, 1792.[10] He took Justiniano Roxas as his Spanish name. Roxas was baptized along with his wife, Misapat, who took the Spanish name Viridiana Lardizabel. They were the 109th and 110th neophytes to be baptized at La Exaltación de la Santa Cruz.[11]

The Early California Population Project database revealed something more: Justiniano Roxas's death record. The date recorded there was not March 10, 1875, as the *Sentinel* reported with great fanfare, but April 16, 1808, nearly seventy years earlier.[12] Rather than being "the Oldest Man on Earth" or even in Santa Cruz County, Justiniano Roxas was the 885th soul buried in the mission cemetery.[13]

This is unsurprising. Additional research into the secondary literature revealed a very brief article written by Robert H. Jackson in 1986 called "The Roxas Hoax" that had also documented the death of Roxas in 1808.[14] An article written by Geoffrey Dunn, a local historian in Santa Cruz, shed a lot of light on how the story of Justiniano Roxas became a national event, how stories of Roxas appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, and how his portrait was exhibited in the south gallery of the California building at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.[15] Father Adam had painted this portrait—which can still be seen today in the Santa Cruz Mission replica museum—from a photograph commissioned by John Elijah Davis Baldwin, owner of the Star Gallery in downtown Santa Cruz. The photograph was one of a pair; Edward Payson Butler, owner of the Pioneer Gallery, took the other. Roxas enjoyed quite a bit of fame in his afterlife. At some point in the early twentieth century, Chester A. Wood and the Improved Order of Redmen placed a plaque marking Roxas's grave (Figure 2). They named a street after him. In 1958 the Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors—with the urging of local historian Margaret Koch but apparently without the support of local Indigenous communities—declared Roxas an honorary chief of the Costanoan Tribe. Throughout the 1960s, Italian American actor Malio Stagnaro always performed the role of Chief Roxas in local plays and pageants in Santa Cruz (Figure 3).[16]

Intrigued but not surprised, we soon shelved the story of Roxas. It seemed to be just another fantasy of white people's imagination conjured up to justify and legitimize their conquest and possession of Indigenous land while

FIGURE 2. The headstone of Justiniano Roxas placed by the local Improved Order of Red Men attests to his longevity. Photo by Boyd Cothran.

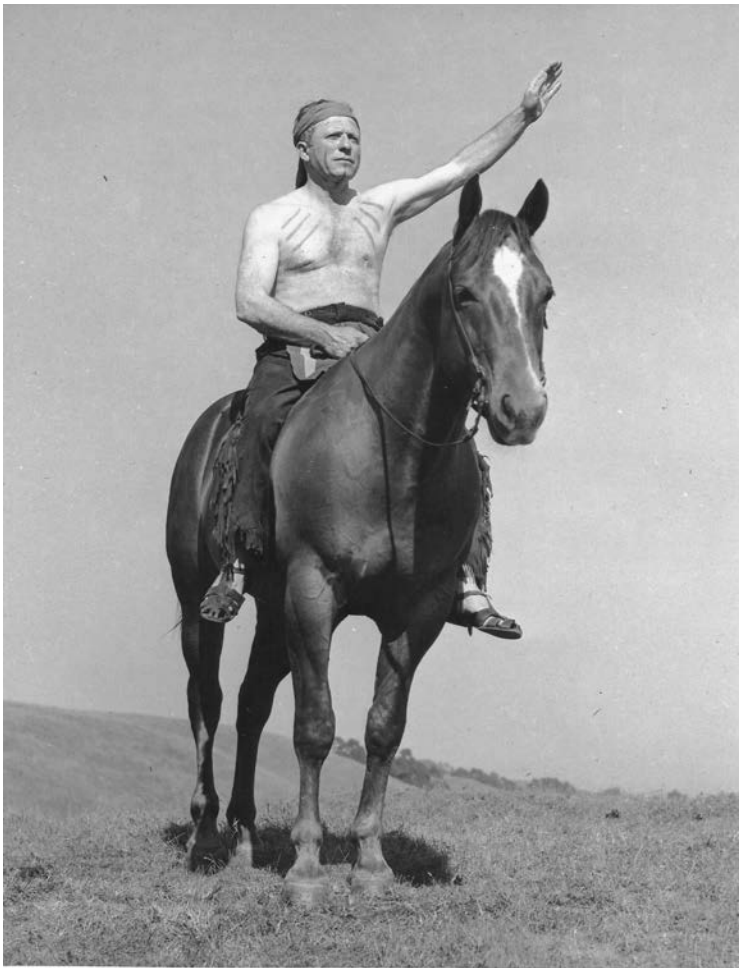


FIGURE 3. This publicity still of Italian American actor Malio Stagnaro performing the role of Chief Roxas in a pageant suggests Justiniano Roxas's prominence in the city's historical memory of its Indigenous past. Courtesy of the Geoffrey Dunn Collection.

advancing their own claims to modernity. Justiniano Roxas was just another "last Indian." But the story of Roxas continued to interest us, even though we knew it was problematic. In our estimation, California has a "last Indian" problem. It appears to be all people want to write about. Discourses of Indigenous extinction dominate the California historiographical landscape. The three pillars of California Indian history are the missions and the attendant demographic decline of Spanish colonization; the gold rush and the question of genocide in the American era; and Ishi, North America's so-called last wild Indian.[17] Each of these historiographical traditions barters to one degree or another in discourses of extinction. But why have California historians been so obsessed with documenting, quantifying, and categorizing Indigenous lasting?

In a recent article in the magazine *Boom: A Journal of California*, historian William J. Bauer argued that it's because Californian settlers are looking to understand themselves. "As with many aspects of American Indian history," Bauer writes, "people often look for those things that tell them something about themselves, not about indigenous people." The historiographical obsession with California's supposedly vanishing and dying Indians, then, has been more about settlers in California and their own anxieties about this place. Writing specifically about the enduring fascination with Ishi, Bauer concludes: "People have searched for Ishi not necessarily to learn more about Ishi, but to inform their own understandings of the world. This may be one reason that Ishi has avoided capture. Perhaps it is a good time to stop hunting Ishi and let him rest."[18]

On the one hand, we agree with Bauer. We think one of the problems with the study of discourses of extinction is that too often they end up resulting in histories of ideas *about* Indians rather than histories *of* the Indigenous experience.[19] One problem with the ongoing genocide debate in California historiography is that it doesn't focus enough on survival and the stories of adaptation, creation, persistence, and regeneration. Instead of highlighting these stories of perseverance, we become distracted by questions: Was it genocide, yes or no? If so, what kind? And then there are the much more annoying questions: Is genocide too political a term? Is it too ahistorical? Is its definition too narrow or too broad to apply to situation x, y, and z?[20]

On the other hand, we disagree with Bauer because we don't believe these histories can only tell us about settlers and their preoccupations. Extinction discourses have structured the lives of Indigenous people in California in profound ways. We can't understand the California Indigenous experience without grappling with how people like Justiniano Roxas engaged with or employed these discourses. Because, behind all the romanticism and nostalgia, that old man in the Santa Cruz County Hospital was a real person. But

who was he really? What was his life like? What had he witnessed? What stories might his life—not his legacy, not the centenarian fantasy—reveal? And what about all the other Indigenous men and women who had been labeled the last of their tribe in every town and county in California? What were their stories?

We are interested in the lives of the hundreds of individuals throughout history who have been identified as the so-called last Indigenous person in their community. We are interested in these men and women not for what they could tell us about the American settlers who fetishized them but for the plucky stories that might hide behind their whimsical names.

Consider the story of Old Gabriel, celebrated as the "oldest inhabitant" of Monterey County and a "mythical character." Old Gabriel, like Justiniano Roxas, lived out his final days in the county hospital. According to local lore, Old Gabriel had been a Tulare chief and was present the day Junípero Serra—founder of the California missions—landed in Monterey and offered Old Gabriel salvation 120 years earlier. This connection to the legendary founder of the California missions won Old Gabriel a place of honor in the San Carmel Mission Cemetery, where he was buried following his death on March 10, 1890, at the age of no less than 151 years (Figure 4). Old Gabriel's passing was front-page news, and it engendered considerable debate over his longevity. Some doubted the tale. But the public was eventually convinced of his legendary longevity after it was discovered that Old Gabriel's son, Zachariah, from his third or fourth marriage, had died just a few years earlier at the "verified" age of 114. Case closed.[21]

Or consider the story of Marcello the Builder. Marcello was said to be 125 years old when he died in 1875. He was also said to be six feet tall and a "pure Aztec" sent to Mission Santa Clara de Asís to guard the mission and protect the padres "from the hostile California tribes." Having subdued the local Indigenous people and saved the mission, Marcello supposedly became

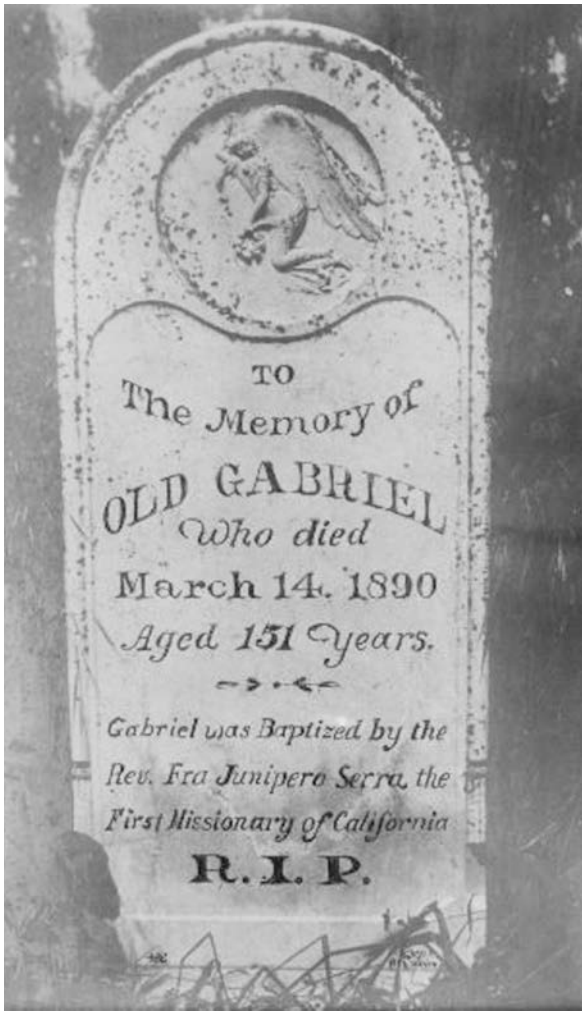


FIGURE 4.
Photograph of the Headstone of Old Gabriel, a California Mission Indian by L. S. Slevin (1922). Courtesy of the Monterey County Free Libraries.

their chief. As their leader, he was said to have led a rebellion against the padres, but once the rebellion was put down, he was loyal. Later in life, Marcello also became renowned for his skills as a mason: he helped construct the sanctuary at Mission Santa Clara and maintained the structure for years. After secularization, Marcello is rumored to have received a large land grant known as the Ulstack grant. But he lost this land to some American settlers a few years later and spent the rest of his life working on Joseph Fenton's *ranchería*. Marcello was buried in the cemetery near the Mission Santa Clara.[22]

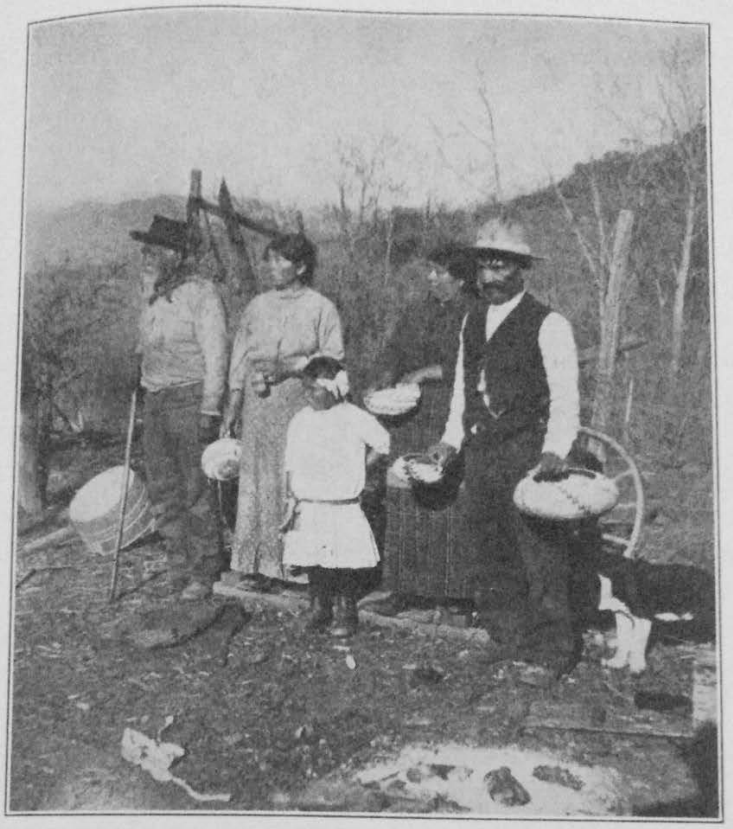
Or consider Boo-Tchi-Ka, an Indian woman living in Lake County who was said to be 130 years old. She had supposedly survived the infamous Bloody Island Massacre, perpetrated by Lieutenant Nathaniel Lyon after the death of Andrew Kelsey and Charles Stone in 1850.[23] A *San Francisco Call* reporter discovered her living on the North Fork of Cache Creek half a century later along with her son, Old Zeb, who was also said to be over 100 years old.[24]

And then there's old Juan Mario, who was said to be 110 years old and was said to live with his wife, 102, in Switzer Canyon near San Diego along with another old man estimated to be between 125 and 150 years of age.[25] And there's Vincente Carrillo, who was supposed to be the oldest Indian in northern California when he died in 1902 at the age of 114.[26] And let's not forget Fernando, supposedly "the last of the Sotoyome Indians," who died at the reported age of 129, though the account of his death appeared, seemingly without irony, in a history of Sonoma County along with a photo of Fernando with "his children and grandchildren" (Figure 5).[27]

As of today, we have identified sixty-three centenarians and supercentenarians who were named the last of their tribe by journalists, historians, anthropologists, and others.[28] And these include last speakers, last full-blooded Indians for any given region, and sometimes just the oldest Indian anyone could find at the time. What would a history of California look like if we could unravel and demystify the stories of these individuals?

Telling the story of these men and women and their engagement with, participation in, cooperation with, and complicity in the production of discourses of Indigenous extinction in California could, ironically, subvert the very idea of the last Indian.

FIGURE 5. An Indigenous man identified in 1926 by Honoria Tuomey in her *History of Sonoma County, California*, as "Fernando the Last of the Sotoyome . . . with his children and grandchildren." Courtesy of Honoria Tuomey's *History of Sonoma County, California*, 1926.



FERNANDO, HIS CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN

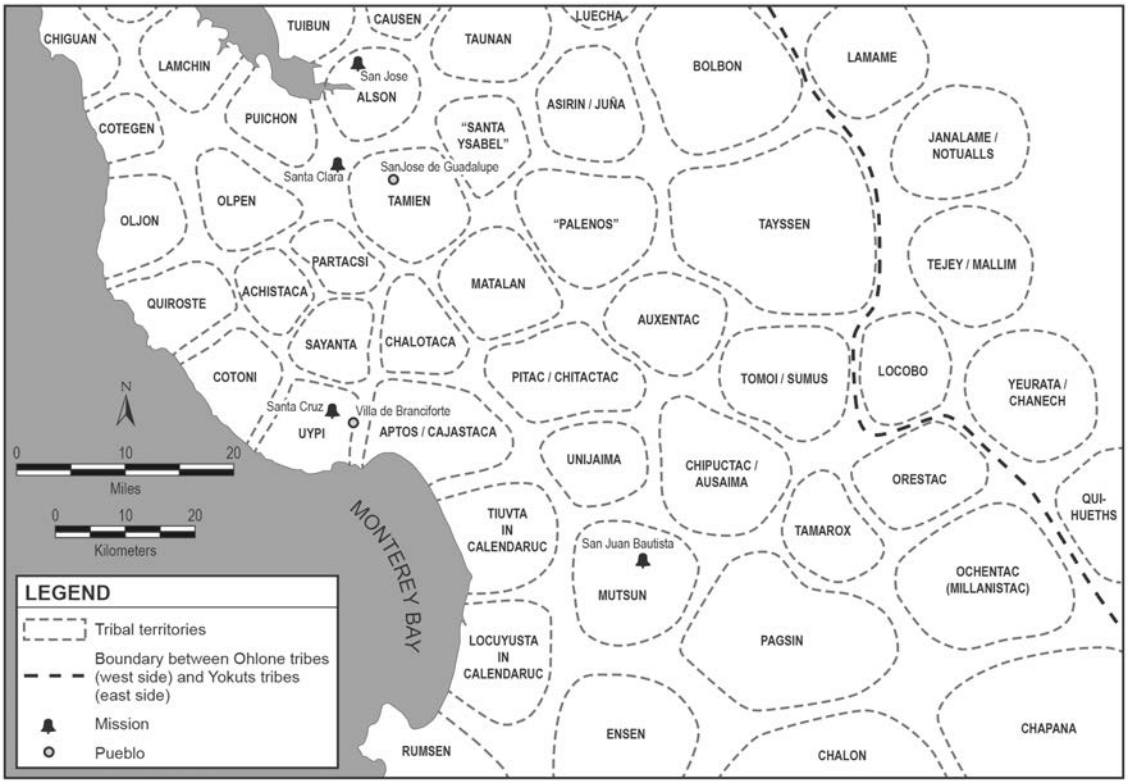
FERNANDO, LAST OF THE SOTOYOME INDIANS
Was 129 years old at his death

By the 1870s Roxas was perhaps the most visible member of the local Indigenous community, but he was certainly not the last.[29] Jackson and Dunn had both done great work in drawing attention to the mythologizing of Roxas, and yet his real story remained a mystery. We knew that if we could work closely enough with the existing documents, we could cut through the fantastical accounts of his life and learn the true story of the man in the Santa Cruz County Hospital. By tracing out tribal and familial histories through the Spanish colonial period, we could gain a more nuanced understanding of this Indigenous community, leading us to a better understanding of Roxas's story. Based on previous research, Martin Rizzo had compiled a database out of the various sacramental registries: records of baptisms, marriages, burials, godparentage, and confirmations. Drawing initially from the Early California Population Project database, he put together tens of thousands of individual records.[30] He examined patterns of movement. He reconstructed kinship networks. And piece by piece, individual by individual, he reconstructed the complex social, political, and spiritual world of the Indigenous families at Mission Santa Cruz. The following is a glimpse into that world.

First we traced out the life of the original Roxas. This was rather straightforward. On March 4, 1792, a mere four months after the establishment of Mission Santa Cruz, Father Isidro Salazar baptized an Indigenous couple named Chusis and Misapat.[31] Salazar christened Chusis with the name Justiniano Roxas. The establishment and growth of each mission differed according to location, the priests involved, and the Indigenous polities in the region, as well as other variables. In the initial months at Mission Santa Cruz, the priests baptized children from the local Uypi and Aptos tribes (map 1). The families of these baptized children—referred to by the Spanish as neophytes—soon followed.[32]

Chusis and Misapat followed their three children—Guegues, Negpus, and Tomasa—in receiving baptisms.[33] But why? There are a few possible explanations. First, competition for new Spanish trade goods such as beads, cloth, and livestock may have provoked preexisting tensions between the Uypi and their neighbors. For instance, the Spanish sergeant Hermenegildo Sal gave Uypi leader Soquel two birds and two cows as tribute for establishing the mission in Uypi territory.[34] Second, oral accounts seem to suggest that tension existed between Aptos leader Molegnis and Soquel. Could competition for social standing and Spanish material goods have provoked these tensions? Possibly.[35]

Given the situation, Chusis and Misapat may have felt that their family would best maintain social standing by joining the growing number of converts.[36] Alternatively, a third possibility is that diminishing access to



MAP 1. Map showing Indigenous territories and boundaries for tribes in the greater Monterey Bay region. Tribal territories estimates are drawn from the research of Randall Milliken and further modified by Martin Rizzo. Map illustration courtesy of Stella D'Oro.

traditional foods may have motivated them to receive baptism and to relocate to mission lands. Immediately upon the founding of Mission Santa Cruz, Sergeant Sal set about ordering neophytes to clear large fields of native grasses to make room for Spanish crops, disrupting traditional resource practices.[37] Perhaps the effects of ecological disruption from the introduction of foreign crops, cattle, sheep, and pigs along with a few harsh winters prompted neophytes' relocation to the mission.[38] It's unclear. But whatever the reasons, it is clear that in this rapidly changing world, survival required a strategy of opportunistic adaptation.

The Franciscan friars administered Catholic marriage rites for Chusis and Misapat within a few days of their baptism.[39] A few years after their arrival, Misapat gave birth to a fourth child. They named this child Justiniano Roxas, the same Spanish name given to Chusis. It appears that around this time Chusis began to go by the name Lorenzo Justiniano for reasons that are not clear.[40] Did he change his name after gifting his previous name

to his son? Perhaps. If he did gift his name to his son, it might have reflected a long-standing and traditional Indigenous naming practice, but the available records offer no clarification on the matter.[41]

In the 1790s Santa Cruz was an unhealthy mission. Death rates were high, and Chusis experienced and suffered great loss. On May 7, 1797, Misapat died.[42] A few months later, Chusis remarried, this time to Tiucá, a woman from the same tribe as his deceased wife, Misapat.[43] Tiucá already had two children, Mascám and Ssácar, both from an unnamed father.[44] But tragedy struck Chusis and his family again shortly after the marriage when illness spread throughout the mission in the winter of 1797. In the span of four days, both Mascám and Guegues died.[45] Nine years later, this scenario played itself out again in the spring of 1806, when Chusis lost his second son, Negpus, on April 11 and his second wife, Tiucá, nine days later.[46] Chusis, the original Justiniano Roxas, himself died two years later on April 16, 1808. The man in the hospital couldn't have been Chusis, the Justiniano Roxas whose baptismal record the Santa Cruz boosters paraded about.

But if Chusis was not the Justiniano Roxas of Santa Cruz fame, could it have been his son, the Justiniano Roxas born at the mission in 1795? He wouldn't have been 121 years old in 1873 but a still very respectable 78. So we looked into his story and tried to figure out what his life was like. Here's what we figured out: the Justiniano Roxas born at Mission Santa Cruz to Chusis and Misapat (we'll call him Justiniano Roxas Jr.) lived a fascinating life. As one of the first of a generation of Indigenous children to be born and raised at Mission Santa Cruz, he would play an important role, bridging the two communities and building a new one that blended Indigenous cultural practices with Hispanic Catholicism.[47]

Based on mission records, Justiniano Roxas Jr. married an Aptos woman named Suman in 1812.[48] And while little information about the life of Justiniano Jr. is recorded, evidence suggests he worked as a cook. More enticingly, it seems almost certain that he was involved in some way in the infamous assassination of the sadistic padre Andrés Quintana in December 1812.[49] The padre was notorious for inflicting pain on certain disobedient Indians. In the weeks leading up to the assassination, the friar reportedly beat several men nearly to death. Yet even the official tools of punishment and torture were insufficient for Quintana. The assassination coincided with his unveiling of a special whip customized with iron straws. And as if this was not enough, rumors circulated in the decades following his demise that Quintana had sexually assaulted members of the mission community. These rumors help explain why his murder involved some form of castration

or genital mutilation.[50] Initially, Spanish authorities believed that Quintana died of natural causes. Then sometime during the following year, Justiniano Roxas Jr.'s wife, Suman, along with another woman, unintentionally revealed the assassination plot when Carlos Castro, a Spanish soldier who understood the local Awaswas language, overheard the two seamstresses discussing the assassination.[51]

While the exact date of this conversation and the subsequent arrest of the conspirators are unknown, it is likely the conversation took place sometime shortly after Justiniano Roxas Jr. and Suman's marriage on May 18, 1813.[52] The couple was married along with four other couples that day.[53] One of these other couples was Padre Quintana's personal page, the principal conspirator and frequent target of Quintana's abuses, Lino, and his wife, Humiliana. It was this Humiliana who was overheard speaking with Suman about the assassination and their husbands' involvement. But if Justiniano Roxas Jr. had been involved, how did he avoid prosecution and death for his involvement in the plot? Spanish soldiers marched fifteen men to the presidio in San Francisco, eventually sentencing nine of them to lashings, years of hard labor, and imprisonment.[54] It is unclear exactly how Justiniano Roxas Jr. avoided this fate, but he was not the only one to avoid conviction.[55] It seems, moreover, that the larger concealment of this assassination from Spanish authorities for months suggests widespread collaboration within a population of over four hundred at the mission in 1812. We will probably never fully uncover the role Justiniano Roxas Jr. played in this famous murder case. But the possibility that he was involved gives depth to his story and fleshes out the forms of resistance he and others engaged in even as he grew into adulthood within the mission walls.

Justiniano Roxas Jr. survived the fallout of the Quintana assassination. But after that his story becomes thin. Based on mission records, he and Suman went on to have two children, Carlos Antonio and Fernando, but little other information is available.[56] And like so many Indigenous people living at Mission Santa Cruz in those difficult years, Justiniano Roxas Jr. died at the mission on March 3, 1816.[57] He never became the "Oldest Man in the World."

If not Chusis or Justiniano Roxas Jr., who was the old man at the Santa Cruz County Hospital? To answer that question, we returned to the work of Robert H. Jackson, who in the 1980s conducted a large genealogical study of the Indians living in the Neary-Rodriguez Adobe, part of the Santa Cruz Mission State Historic Park.[58] Jackson located two complete censuses of the Santa Cruz Mission Indigenous population during and following secularization in the 1830s, one from 1834 and the other from 1845. These crucial documents

included many details, such as an individual's name, age, work skill, and even tribal affiliation. Jackson examined these censuses and found no one named Justiniano.[59] But we looked at these censuses again, carefully connecting each entry with our registry data. Upon closer examination, two possible candidates for the real Justiniano Roxas, the man in the hospital, emerged. The first candidate appeared in the 1834 census as "Justo Gonsales" and the 1845 census as "Jose de Justo." We were fairly confident that "Justo Gonsales" was the Tomoi man baptized as "Justo" in 1806 at the age of eight and who died at the age of seventy on June 20, 1864.[60] The second possible candidate appeared in the 1834 census as "Hostiano Tapia," who was from the Chipuctac village and who appeared again in the 1845 census as "Ustiano."[61] Could this be the old man in the Santa Cruz County Hospital? Or was this just another dead end?

We were excited but hesitant. We began by tracing "Hostiano Tapia" back through the missionary record. We discovered that at the time of his baptism in 1796, he was an eight-year-old Chipuctac boy christened as Ostiano. The age matched up, but could we be sure this was the same person? Our next step was to trace out his whole family. And when we did that, we found a note in his aunt's baptismal record referring to her nephew as "Justiniano."[62] This was conclusive evidence that he used both names![63] The man who appeared in the 1834 census as "Hostiano Tapia" and in the 1845 census as "Ustiano" was indeed the celebrated Justiniano Roxas, the Oldest Man in the World. And here is his story:

The old man in the Santa Cruz County Hospital who became famous as "Justiniano Roxas, the Oldest Man in the World" was born around 1788 in the Chipuctac villages northeast of the modern-day town of Gilroy. His name was Yrachis (Figure 6). During the wet winter of 1795–96, Yrachis and his family came to Santa Cruz, possibly in search of a steady source of food. Or perhaps they moved to the mission under duress after receiving threats from the newly arrived Padre Manuel Fernández. Padre Fernández had a reputation for causing tension between Spanish soldiers and tribal members with his aggressive proselytizing. On more than one occasion he is reported to have threatened to burn down Native villages.[64] We don't know whether Fernández's tactics were a factor for Yrachis and his family. Regardless of the circumstances of their arrival, most of the family resisted their removal to unfamiliar lands distant from their ancestral homelands on the far side of the mountains.

Yrachis and his family were from the Chipuctac village, one of the village sites of the Ausaima people (see map 1).[65] Brought or enticed into the mission, they were soon incorporated into the community through the ritual of baptism. On Friday, January 15, 1796, Yrachis was baptized as "Ostiano."

FIGURE 6. The image of Yrachis, known in Santa Cruz as Justiniano Roxas, used in *Harper's Weekly*, August 7, 1875. This is from the original Edward Payson Butler photograph from 1873. The original was discovered by Carolyn Swift in the 1970s. Courtesy of the Santa Cruz Museum of Art and History Photograph Collection.

He was one of thirty-three mostly infants and children from the Chipuctac villages baptized that day in a mass ceremony, including his five siblings and his parents, Tallup and Murejate.[66] Yrachis was eight years old.

Although baptized into the community, Yrachis's family probably did not adapt easily to life at Mission Santa Cruz. As the mission community grew to include tribal members from farther inland, corresponding to increasing Spanish military forays and "recruitment" expeditions, flights of Indigenous

fugitives became common. Many left the missions to return to their familiar ancestral homelands. The majority of Yrachis's family appears to have joined in these flights. Their burial records indicate that they died far from the mission.[67] Within a few years, Yrachis's parents and all his siblings, except for Seynte, were dead. Did Yrachis and his brother choose to stay at the mission, or did they leave with their family, only to return after the deaths of their other family members? Maybe they were captured and returned by Spanish soldiers. The details are unclear to us, but the temptation for Yrachis to stay with his family must have been strong. Perhaps Yrachis was emboldened to stay at the mission by the quick assimilation of Seynte, his older brother.

The story of Seynte reveals much about the experiences of that first generation of Indigenous children in the California missions. Four years older than Yrachis, Seynte quickly became an integral figure within the mission community. By 1799 Seynte began serving as a frequent marriage witness.[68] The same year he married Samórim, a member of the local Achistaca tribe.[69] This marriage helped to build kinship with local members of the community and might have been part of Seynte's quick integration into mission life. The couple had eight children together, but only two lived into adulthood.[70] Their daughter Antonina lived to about twenty-one years of age, but her death may be indicative of abuses going on in the mission.[71] Her burial record includes an elaborate note by Padre Luis Gil y Taboada, suggesting that she was revered by the padre, but this may be an indication of something more nefarious.[72] Padre Gil y Taboada is remembered in oral histories for his kindness, for his facility with Indian languages, and even for sneaking in and playing gambling games with the Indian men. But he is also remembered for his fondness for Indian women and his struggles with syphilis. Asisara recalls that Gil y Taboada "was very amorous. He hugged and kissed the Indian women, and he had contact with them until he had syphilis and skin eruptions broke out."[73] Gil y Taboada's eloquent and passionate remembrance of Yrachis's niece Antonina, taken in conjunction with Asisara's testimony, suggests the likelihood of sexual violation underlying his effusive praise.

Yrachis's life at the mission was marked by staggering losses. In 1804, at the age of sixteen, he married a young Tomoi woman named Quichuate, but she died just three years later on April 1, 1807, without having any children.[74] Two years later, Yrachis remarried, this time to a much older woman named Cosorom. She was probably from near his home village. Nine months later almost to the day, she gave birth to a son, Benbenuto. But the boy did not live to see his second month, dying on September 20, 1810. Just ten weeks later, Cosorom also died.[75] Twice a widower, Yrachis married once again on July 21,

1811, this time to a recent convert from the Auxentaca village of Saipan, east of the Santa Cruz Mountains.[76] But five months later, she died too.

The death of two wives and his only son within eighteen months must have devastated Yrachis. He does not appear to have married again. In fact, Yrachis disappears from the mission records altogether for over a decade. Like so many others who persevered through the mission years, Yrachis turned to kinship relations to survive these years of devastation. Sometime in the 1820s or early 1830s he appears to have moved in with the family of the Achistaca man Samectoi, whose baptized name was Seferino Arce, and his wife, Gepeson, whose baptized name was Maria de la Piedad Tapia.[77] Gepeson, herself from the same Chipuctac village as Yrachis, was certainly a relative of Yrachis.[78] The three of them formed a communal household.

Yrachis, Samectoi, and Gepeson probably settled into one of the three multiethnic Indigenous settlements to the west of the mission that formed in the region after emancipation in 1839.[79] These communities formed out of tribal, kinship, and linguistic connections that tied families together. Increased mobility led to some local Indians moving inland to work at Alisal *ranchería* in Pleasanton or El Molino in Nile. Others found work in Sunol, Monterey, and San Juan Bautista.[80] But it seems that Yrachis, at least, moved back and forth over the Santa Cruz Mountains in search of a livelihood. He told the *Santa Cruz Sentinel* reporter that he had worked for a time at the New Almaden quicksilver mines.[81] Local Ohlones had first led Secundino Robles, a resident of the Villa de Branciforte, to the rich source of quicksilver and cinnabar in 1824.[82] Was Yrachis among those Indian guides? Possibly. If so, he might have been spared the worst of the disruption associated with the arrival of American rule and the gold rush farther east. Then again, he almost certainly would have witnessed many atrocities in the region. That Yrachis survived these trying times is a testament to his perseverance; how he survived is a mystery.

In the spring of 1837 Gepeson died of a respiratory illness. A few months later, Samectoi died too, possibly of smallpox.[83] Bereaved once more, Yrachis seems to have found solace in the company of a fellow widower, forty-year-old Gabriel né Labarsec, and another Ausaima couple, Sipon, sixty, and his twenty-six-year-old wife, Sergia, who shared a distant relationship to Yrachis through her godmother and Yrachis's second wife.[84] They all lived together until at least 1845 and perhaps quite a bit longer.

The movement of Yrachis and other Indigenous individuals and families after secularization and emancipation is unknown. Some appear to have left the mission lands, likely returning to be closer to their ancestral homelands. This was especially the case for many recently arrived families from Yokuts territories to the east. Hereditary lands held important historical, spiritual,

and familial significance, and it is not surprising to find that some families relocated to their homelands.[85] But why did Yrachis and others decide to stay on lands adjacent to the mission? Why didn't they return to their traditional homelands? Why did they stay at the mission, where they had endured so many traumatic experiences? The fact that Yrachis and others remained suggests two things. First, it reflects the importance of the new kinship networks and community ties formed within the mission. Second, these families had worked daily in the fields and meadows surrounding the mission, creating homes and imbuing them with meaning through their own rituals and practices. Their remaining on these lands demonstrates that the California missions were Indigenous spaces.[86] We believe that Yrachis and others remained because they had become attached to these lands that they and their families had labored on, lived on, and made their own.

As Yrachis aged, he found wage labor difficult. At some point in the 1850s he seems to have moved back to the outskirts of the towns of Santa Cruz and Branciforte. Indeed, by the late 1860s and early 1870s the now-elderly Yrachis lived in a makeshift dwelling probably along the San Lorenzo River in the lands behind the former mission, known as the Potrero.[87] His home seems to have contained all his worldly possessions, as he was quite concerned about its safety when the *Sentinel* reporter interviewed him in 1873. During these years, Yrachis seems to have lived a very reclusive life. It was probably safer to keep your distance from the white Americans, especially the increasingly racist Workingman's Party of Santa Cruz. Periodically, Yrachis came into town to find work or scrounge for food, and he gained a reputation as a beggar.[88] Few people actually hired him, though a few kind souls likely took pity on him and offered him the odd job. And the padres and the Sisters of Charity could always be counted on for a hot meal.[89]

Sometime in the summer of 1872 Yrachis fell ill. Maybe he had a run-in with some ruffians who beat him up and stole what few possessions he had. Maybe the harsh conditions he would have been exposed to for so many years finally caught up with him. Whatever occurred, Yrachis must have turned to the one constant source of moderate sympathy he knew: the sisters up on Mission Hill. To his great fortune, they had recently taken over the management of the county hospital. The Sisters of Charity had built their reputation for kindness toward Indigenous people in the region. In the 1860s the sisters (also known as the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul) founded a school and orphanage adjacent to the mission. Shortly before Yrachis's sudden illness, they took over management of the county hospital.[90] Did the sisters see Yrachis's care as an opportunity to extend their reputation for kindness to Indigenous people to their management of the hospital as well? He seemed so old and frail! And when they asked

his name and he responded, "Ostiano," they probably asked Father Adam, "How old is he?"

Father Adam seems to have had an entrepreneurial spirit. Following his success with promoting the good works of the Catholic Church through the story of Justiniano Roxas, he also promoted two other Indigenous centenarians, Marino Hablitas and Telos, in the following months.[91] So Father Adam probably went back into the old baptismal records in search of the earliest "Justiniano" he could find. And when he came upon the entry of "Justiniano Roxas" from 1792, he asked Yrachis if that entry referred to him. What was the old man to say? He was ill, possibly injured. He had been called Justiniano before. He had lived a hardscrabble, rolling stone kind of existence for decades. He had seen such tremendous suffering and death and violence. And here he was being offered a room and a fire and all the food and tea he could want. Imagining that moment, we could almost hear him say, "Sí, sí, me llamo Justiniano Roxas!"

The many lives of Justiniano Roxas are enigmatic, to say the least. They give rise to more questions than answers. Why was it so important for Yrachis to be Justiniano Roxas and for Justiniano Roxas to be 121 years old? Why were so many California Indians plucked up by settler promoters and newspapermen and celebrated as biblically old remnants of the past? And why did these men and women participate in the widespread phenomenon of romanticized narratives that cast them as "ancient Indians" and the "last of their race"? Why, in other words, did California in the latter half of the nineteenth century become ground zero for the centenarian fantasy in American history and memory?

The Indians' motivations seem opportunistic and survivalistic. A surprising number of these ersatz centenarians appear in the historical record living in county hospitals or otherwise receiving public support in recompense for their reported longevity. This would have been motivation enough. It was terribly difficult being old and Indigenous in late nineteenth-century America. Excluded from the meager social safety net forming at the time, elderly Indigenous men and women, especially those cut off from their kin networks by death or dislocation, had few choices and almost no resources to draw upon.[92] Living marginal and rough lives, Indigenous men and women in Gilded Age California survived—when they survived—on meager and nutritionally deficient diets, lived in substandard and unsanitary conditions, and would have been victim to far higher rates of disease and violence than the average population in the state. Their bodies would have reflected that history. Indeed, it is highly unlikely that any of these so-called centenarians

were really anywhere near their reported age. In 1980 the Center for Disease Control (CDC) estimated that one in fifteen thousand people in the United States was over one hundred years old. Assuming that Indigenous Californians in the 1890s—who experienced state-sponsored genocide, starvation, systematic violence, denial of health care, and substandard living and working conditions—had health outcomes similar to those of the average American a century later, the CDC's rate of centenarianism would mean that of the 15,238 Indigenous Californians enumerated in the 1890 census, one would have been over one hundred, statistically speaking. And, of course, statistically speaking, even that estimation is unlikely.[93]

Indigenous people participated in the centenarian fantasy for the opportunities and benefits it provided them as they sought to survive and thrive within California's settler colonial society. But the centenarian fantasy proved a malleable narrative device for advancing their various causes. From improving public health to advertising the region's benign climate to rebuilding and preserving its heritage, Indigenous centenarians seemed always to lend their visages to the project.

From a public health perspective, the centenarian fantasy permitted Progressive Era reformers to examine the bodies of these Indigenous peoples for evidence or proof of their longevity. As in the case of Old Gabriel, reports of his death—which often included the results of an autopsy performed on the old man by three local doctors—emphasized the sobriety and cleanliness of his lifestyle. "He is the living exemplification of the age to which a person with a strong constitution and hygienic methods of living can attain," declared one account from nearby Monterey. "He has never used liquor nor tobacco. His diet has been of the simplest and plainest food, and his habits regular. He has paid particular attention to bathing . . . having a sweat-house on the bank of a stream near where he lived. Even now, when circumstances and old age deprive him of this hygienic regulation, he scrapes himself with an old case-knife, thereby keeping the pores open and the skin active."[94] Other accounts dwelled upon his sleeping habits ("to bed early and rose early"), his physical health ("his senses were all acute and good as in a person of middle age"), and his body ("like all Indians, he had small and shapely hands and feet").[95] This kind of surveillance, performed by male settler doctors and reporters for the consumption of their predominantly settler audiences, alleviated concerns and anxieties about the health and behavior of Indigenous people while also rationalizing their claims to longevity through the language of science.

Sometimes stories of centenarians intersected with other fantasy narratives of California. Indeed, by the beginning of the twentieth century, California was famous for its warm beaches, its giant redwood trees, and

its ancient Indians. "It is not unreasonable to assume that where trees and other vegetation grow so marvelously and attain such wondrous age that man should be able to live at his best and live longest," wrote George Wharton James in the pages of the *Tribune*. "The Indian of California lives longer by fifty to seventy-five years than he does in any other state or country [*sic*] in North America," he insisted. It was the state's health and benign climate that promoted such longevity in both the trees and the people. "Indians 150 years old—proven beyond question—have lived in this state . . . and if we could arrive at the age of the early Indians prior to the advent of the whites, we might find them nearer 200 years old."[96] Such were the emerging colonial fantasies of the day.

But fantasies often layer atop one another. Golden State promoters in the late nineteenth century were eager to promote the region's romantic Spanish heritage to tourists. A key site for this "fantasy heritage" was the state's crumbling and decaying missions. Not surprisingly, promoters enlisted centenarian Indians in their efforts. Consider the famous photograph and postcard *Ancient Belles of San Luis Rey* (Figure 7). The work of traveling photographer Charles C. Pierce, the image juxtaposes three Indigenous women sitting in the foreground with the crumbling remains of the Mission San Luis Rey behind them. They are ruins.[97] A local newspaper article featuring the photograph elaborated on these women's lives. It identified them as "Rosaria, Tomása, and Vaselia," "all over 100 yr old." The article explained that the women's combined age "exceeded 300 years." Little is known of Rosaria, who came from a distant mission, but Tomása was said to be over 130 years old. "She claims that she packed 'dobes' when the mission was built" and that "she was the mother of a large progeny, some of whom lived to be very old, she surviving them all, as is the case with Rosaria and Vaselia."[98] Not only were they relics of the past, but they were also the last of their race. Images such as *Ancient Belles of San Luis Rey* combined the centenarian fantasy with the Spanish heritage fantasy to advocate for the preservation and reconstruction of the missions while bathing the Indigenous and Hispanic history of the region in romantic nostalgia. This was not the only strategy used by southern California promoters, but it was an effective one.[99] Deploying the centenarian fantasy, the image both invites viewers to revel in their own modernity and assures them that these ruins were not the product of conquest or neglect but the result of time and natural causes.

The centenarian fantasy, then, is also a discourse of extinction. It serves to write Indigenous people out of history, but in doing so, it celebrates their longevity. Indeed, when we add the centenarian fantasy to the various extinction discourses identified by Brian Dippie, Patrick Brantlinger,

FIGURE 7. Charles C. Pierce, *Ancient Belles of San Luis Rey* (1893) appeared in numerous publications around the turn of the century. It was also reproduced as a popular postcard. The image's title is, of course, a pun. As one postcard writer, Harvey, explained in the spring of 1905, "This is a joke on the mission bells so much talked of out here." Courtesy of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

and Jean O'Brien, the Janus-faced nature of colonial discourses of extinction emerges. Within the context of these faux centenarians, stories about Indigenous extinction become not just a means of claiming modernity on the part of American memorialists but also a site for interrogating the often contradictory impulses of settler colonialism itself. "Lasting" as it emerges in the centenarian fantasy is an autoantonym, a word that can mean the opposite of itself. Like *cleave* (to cut apart) and *cleave* (to seal together) or *bound* (moving toward) and *bound* (unable to move), *lasting* serves to both signal (wrongly) the tragic end of Indigenous presence in a region and celebrate (wrongly, again, but for different reasons) the tenacious and almost miraculous survival and longevity of a people despite all efforts to eliminate

them. In its ambivalence the centenarian fantasy becomes a particularly potent form of extinction discourse. But centenarianism's dual meaning also created opportunities for some. Indeed, the prevalence of this particular variant of extinction discourse and its espousal by Indigenous Californians themselves must be understood within the larger context of widespread genocide in California throughout the American era. Indigenous survivors of the mission years had learned Spanish and embraced to varying degrees Mexican culture. They had used these skills to avoid being targeted by American vigilantes or the widespread market in child slavery. But the centenarian fantasy offered a temporary respite and created another avenue of survival. By inhabiting a fictional identity, faux centenarians could both be Indigenous and claim a safe space within the public sphere.

But perhaps the most pernicious aspect of the centenarian fantasy was the stories it told and did not tell about colonialism and the Indigenous experience in California. These are whimsical stories about simple, hardworking Indians slipping into the past after more than a century of living in the Garden of Eden. In each example there is almost always an American businessman, civic leader, or religious institution that steps in and provides for these childlike relics of the past. These stories celebrate a benevolent settler society. In these quaint stories, American settlers are not the prosecutors or dispossessors of Indigenous peoples and their land but the protectors and caregivers of a once noble people reduced by time and nature. The centenarian fantasy does not include any discussion of the prosecution of Indigenous Californians by local militias. It does not include stories of systematic violence, of rape and slavery. It does not include the conditions of places like Round Valley and the Yurok and Hoopa reservations, where hundreds died of starvation and malnutrition.[100] It does not include stories of the eighteen unratified treaties that were negotiated in good faith by tribes throughout the region but that were ultimately ignored by the federal government and resulted in the theft of millions of acres of land without compensation or recognition.[101] The centenarian fantasy is the fantasy of colonialism.

The many lives of Justiniano Roxas reveal both the challenges of reconstructing the individual lives of Indigenous Californians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the necessity of deconstructing the centenarian fantasy in order to demystify Indigenous California history. The untold stories of these men and women are part of American history. Derided as beggars, celebrated as builders, these faux centenarians were, at the end of the day, survivors. When presented with narratives of California Indigenous extinction, they manipulated the dominant society's belief in their eminent extinction to their own ends. In the process, they promulgated the centenarian fantasy. They had to. But in exploring here the many lives of

Justiniano Roxas and the legacy of these colonial stories, we hope that we have, paradoxically, deconstructed and subverted the story of California Indigenous extinction that Santa Cruz promoters, and Americans all over, sought to celebrate.

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Notes

1. "Old Times Roxas," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 27, 1873.

2. "Old Time Roxas"; "Santa Cruz Hospital," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, July 11, 1873.

3. "Old Times Roxas"; "Justiniano Roxas," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 27, 1873; "Miscellaneous Advertisement: To the Afflicted and Others," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 26, 1873; "Natural Resources," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, May 17, 2873; "Santa Cruz," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 6, 1873. For more on how western boosters promoted a certain region's benign climate and supposed health benefits, see David Wrobel, *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 35–49.

4. Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xii–xvii, 116–18, 127.

5. Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), xi–xii.

6. Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800–1930* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003), 1–16, 45–67, 117–63.

7. Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 107–22. For more on discourses of innocence, see Boyd Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), esp. 18–23.

8. For an innovative use of local histories, booster literature, and pioneer reminiscences, see James Joseph Buss, *Winning the West with Words: Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 165–211; and Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 95–145. O'Brien also explores

these kinds of texts, stating, "Preoccupied as they generally were with the Anglo-Saxon origins of the nation, how can these texts serve as source material for Indian history? Because asserting a break from the past demanded the inclusion of stories about Indians, these texts operate as source material on multiple levels. They narrate events about Indians. They include Indian historical figures. They make judgments about the morality of their colonial history. They chronicle—often in great detail—the history of land transactions on which they based their claim to be a benevolent and just colonialism. They make claims about Indian fates and especially about Indian disappearance. And in this way they construct narratives about non-Indians, they implicitly make arguments about what counts as legitimate history, and who counts as legitimate peoples. Thus, even when the subject matter of local texts is not explicitly about Indians, it is frequently implicitly so" (O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, xvii–xviii).

9. Wallace W. Elliott, *Illustrations of Santa Cruz County, California* (San Francisco: W. W. Elliott & Co., 1879), f2 (emphasis added).

10. The Uypi were the original people of the Santa Cruz region, living along the mouth of the San Lorenzo River. The name for the Uypi village that became the modern town of Santa Cruz was Aulintak, which the Spanish renamed San Daniel Ranchería. Justiniano Roxas was almost certainly from this village. Alfred Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (New York: Dover Publications, 1976), 465.

11. Baptismal records for Mission Santa Cruz (hereafter referred to as SCZB) nos. 109 and 110, Huntington Library, Early California Population Project, http://www.huntington.org/information/ecppmain.htm (hereafter ECPP).

12. "Roxas Is No More," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, March 13, 1875; death records for Mission Santa Cruz (hereafter SCZD) no. 885.

13. SCZB no. 885.

14. Robert H. Jackson, "The Roxas Hoax: Uprooting the Myth of 'The Oldest Man in the World,'" *The Californians* 4, no. 6 (December 1986): 44, 56.

15. Geoffrey Dunn, "Deconstructing Roxas: Beneath the Layers of Mystery Surrounding Santa Cruz's Celebrated 'Chief Roxas' Is a Truth Most of Us Would Rather Not See," *Santa Cruz Metro*, June 26, 2008.

16. Margaret Koch, "The SC Mission Indian Whose Life Spanned Three Eras," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, February 8, 1966; "Chief Roxas Appears Again," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 12, 1963; Marian Goodman, "Last of His Race," *Santa Cruz Mobile Keno*, April 14, 1972; "Clippings Relating to Justiniano Roxas," all in Clipping Box: "Biography—R," Santa Cruz Public Library, Santa Cruz, Calif.; "Roxas, Our Oldest Inhabitant," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, n.d. [1919], in "Roxas Notes," Cabinet E, Drawer 4, Folder 18, Kimbro Archives, Watsonville, California.

17. The field of California Indigenous history is vast, but some notable recent studies that confirm this three-pillar hypothesis include for missions Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850*

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Kent Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008); Lisbeth Haas, *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013). For genocide, see note 20 below. For Ishi, see Theodora Kroeber, *Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965); Karl Kroeber and Clifton Kroeber, eds., *Ishi in Three Centuries* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); Douglas Cazaux Sackman, *Wild Men: Ishi and Kroeber in the Wilderness of Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). There are obviously many notable exceptions to this general trend, including but not limited to William J. Bauer Jr., *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California's Round Valley Reservation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Khal Schneider, "Making Indian Land in the Allotment Era: Northern California's Indian Rancherias," *Western Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (2010): 429–50; Nicolas G Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration & Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Tanis C. Thorne, *El Capitan: Adaptation and Agency on a Southern California Indian Reservation, 1850 to 1937* (Banning, Calif.: Malki-Bellena Press, 2012).

18. William J. Bauer, "Stop Hunting Ishi," *Boom: A Journal of California* 4, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 50.

19. We contend that while historians have explored the history and origins of discourses of extinction, they have rarely investigated the lives of those who lived amid their predictions and who engaged with and contested their narratives. Studies of discourses of extinction, in other words, have focused on the narrative rather than its subject. A prime example of this comes from Brian W. Dippie's wonderful and groundbreaking study of extinction discourses in American history, *The Vanishing American*. In a particularly revealing passage in the introduction, Dippie writes: "This is not a book about the Indian but about perceptions of the Indian" (xi–xii).

20. Among U.S. historians there is a debate going on about the whether or not genocide is the right term to use. Benjamin Madley in *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846–1873* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2016) argues definitively that it was. Brandon Lindsay in *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846–1873* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012) argues yes it was but that it was a genocide from the bottom up. Gary Clayton Anderson's *Ethnic Cleansing and the Indian: The Crime That Should Haunt America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015) argues that genocide is not the right term; instead, we should understand American history as one of ethnic cleansing. Boyd Cothran's comments on these issues appear in "Melancholia and the Infinite Debate," *Western Historical Quarterly* 47 (Winter 2016): 435–38, part of a roundtable of responses to the work of Gary Clayton Anderson.

21. *Monterey County History* (1889), 86–87; "Old Gabriel," *Salinas Weekly Index*, March 20, 1890; "Old Gabriel," *Pacific Rural Press*, April 5, 1890.

22. "When San Jose Was Young, No. 52: Marcello, the Builder," *San Jose Evening News*, December 5, 1916. We would like to thank Charlene Duval for bringing Marcello to our attention.

23. Andrew Kelsey and Charles Stone were two notorious settlers who brutally enslaved many local Pomo men and women. Their deaths precipitated the Bloody Island Massacre. For a fascinating study of historical memories of the massacre, see Jeremiah Garsha, "'Reclamation Road': A Microhistory of Massacre Memory in Clear Lake, California," *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* 9, no. 2 (October 2015), doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/1911–9933.9.2.1292. Incidentally, Lyon would rise to the rank of brigadier general, and he would become the first U.S. general to die in the Civil War.

24. "Over 100 Years Old, According to Her Tribe," *San Francisco Call*, January 15, 1899.

25. "Five Score and Ten: Death of One of the Oldest Indians in Southern California," *Daily Alta California*, March 6, 1890.

26. "Northern California's Oldest Indian Dead," *San Francisco Call*, March 26, 1902.

27. Honoria Tuomey, *History of Sonoma County, California* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1926), 121–22.

28. The Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada has funded the compilation of this database with the generous support of an Insight Development Grant. Boyd Cothran would like to thank Nathan Ince and Stacy Nation-Knapper for their invaluable work on this project.

29. Roxas was a member of the Indigenous community that remained in town after the closing of the mission in the 1830s. The U.S. Census of 1860 and 1890 reported 218 Indians in Santa Cruz County in 1860 and 131 in 1880.

30. The ECPP finished digitizing many of these important records around 2006. The collection of the original data from the California mission registries was begun in earnest in the 1970s by Randall Milliken (for the northern California missions) and John R. Johnson (for the southern California missions). The ECPP, under the direction of Steven W. Hackel, has helped make these records available to the public. However, there are some limitations, as the ECPP database only extends to 1850 and does not include confirmation records. To supplement missing data, Martin Rizzo visited the original Mission Santa Cruz sacramental registries, which are on file in the archives of the Monterey Archdiocese under the care of the wonderfully helpful Father Carl M. D. Faria. More recently, he has had access to Milliken's personal database, which includes his unique insight into geographic locations of tribal territories throughout the San Francisco Bay Area. Milliken's database and additional records can be found listed under Randall Milliken Papers, BANC MSS 2013/157, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter BL).

31. SCZB no. 109. Misapat was baptized as Viridiana Lardizabal (SCZB no. 110). Her baptismal note identifies her as Uypi, the same tribe as her partner, but her death record claims that she was Aptos (SCZD no. 232). Intermarriage

between neighboring groups was common. We believe that the burial record is correct.

32. They probably followed their children into the mission after they realized that the padres required their children to remain near the mission in order to receive regular Catholic instruction. The term "neophyte" is problematic, as it assumes a subservient spiritual position in relation to the padres and fails to recognize existing knowledge, wisdom, and expertise. Some of these "neophytes" were themselves spiritual leaders and keepers of tribal wisdom. We use the term only to distinguish between baptized and unbaptized individuals while recognizing the problematic nature of the designation.

33. Seven-year-old Guegues, baptized as Pacifico Zeredano (SCZB no. 52), and six-year-old Negpus, baptized as Formorio Rojas (SCZB no. 53), received their baptisms along with a large group of twenty-three Uypi, Aptos, and Sayanta peoples. This group included the chief of the Aptos, Molegnis, baptized as Baltasar Dieguez (SCZB no. 42), suggesting that the children followed with the Aptos tribal identity of their mother, common practice for Bay Area Ohlone. Their infant sister, whose Native name was never recorded, was christened Tomasa Roxas on February 12, 1792, a month before her parents.

34. Soquel and his wife, Rosuem (SCZB nos. 2 and 3). Hermenegildo Sal, September 25, 1791, BANC MSS, California State Provincial Records, C-A 54, 270, BL. Milliken suggests that two contextual factors contributed to these early baptisms: (1) Spanish technology and complex social order challenged traditional criteria for economic and social success, and (2) Spanish soldiers proved themselves to be the most dangerous fighting men in the region when they killed any opposing men during the first few weeks of settlement in 1770. See Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1810* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1995), 221.

35. For reference to tensions between Molegnis (under his christened name, Balthazar) and other leaders, see Lorenzo Asisara's interview with E. L. Williams in Edward S. Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County* (San Francisco: Pacific Press Publishing, 1892), 46.

36. One way to identify social or political hierarchies within the mission community is through examining the ordering of Catholic ceremonies such as baptisms and confirmations. Chusis is listed among the earliest Indigenous converts to receive Catholic confirmation, listed as Santa Cruz Confirmation Number (hereafter referred to as SCZC) no. 13, Archives of the Monterey Archdiocese. The first to receive confirmation at Mission Santa Cruz was Aptos chief Molegnis (SCZC no. 1). Molegnis is the only Aptos listed amongst the first to receive confirmation, the majority being Uypi. This large group of 200 individuals received confirmation together in May of 1793. Soquel, chief of the local Uypi, actually received his confirmation with a small group of five Indigenous men and women at Mission Santa Clara, SCLC no. 1522, dated February 18, 1792. It is unclear why Soquel and the other five received his confirmation at Mission Santa Clara, but it is possible that this ordering involved a preservation of status within the relocating community.

37. Technically, the field work was the third thing that Sal ordered, following

Catholic ceremony by the padres and a demonstration of Spanish firepower by the soldiers. See Sal, September 25, 1791, BANC MSS, California State Provincial Records, C-A 54, 270, BL. For more on the sophistication of California Indigenous land management practices, see Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

38. Floods destroyed the initial site of Mission Santa Cruz during the winter of 1791. The mission was rebuilt on the bluff, where Holy Cross Church now stands. During the first phase of baptisms up until 1796, roughly 63 percent of baptisms took place between the winter months of November and February. See Martin Rizzo, "'No somos animales': Indigenous Survival and Perseverance in 19th Century Santa Cruz, California" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Cruz, 2016).

39. Marriage Records for Mission Santa Cruz (hereafter referred to as SCZM) no. 13, March 18, 1792, ECPP.

40. Chusis first appears under the name "Lorenzo Justiano" on his son's baptismal entry (SCZB no. 605). He appears as some combination of Lorenzo Justiano or Justiniano on different records. It is not uncommon for baptized Indigenous people to switch between names or spellings.

41. As with many cultures, the practice of naming infants often reflected the building and cementing of familial or tribal identities. A few patterns have been noted regarding Indigenous Californian naming practices, including the use of multiple names over time, as well as a practice of gifting of names to infants from older relatives, frequently grandparents. This gifted name came along with social identity and standing. See Linda E. Dick Bissonnette, "Indian Names and Naming Practices in the Sierra Nevada Foothills," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 21, no. 1 (1999): 6–16.

42. SCZD no. 232.

43. SCZB no. 716. Misapat and Tiucá were from the Aptos tribe. Tiucá was forty years old by the time of her baptism in April 1796. Complex kinship relations often shaped partnerships. Perhaps Tiucá and Chusis had previous connections through Misapat or Tiucás's deceased partner?

44. Mascám, baptized as Maria Digna, SCZB no. 683, and Ssácar, baptized as Arabia, SCZB no. 685. Mascám's baptismal record notes her father as being deceased (*difunto*).

45. SCZD no. 272 (Mascám) and SCZD no. 269 (Guegues).

46. SCZD no. 755 (Negpus) and SCZD no. 762a (Tiucá).

47. There is considerable debate about the degree of adaptation and integration of spiritual, social, and political life within the mission community. Some like Hackel and, to a lesser degree, Sandos tend toward interpretations favoring a more complete Hispanicization. In contrast, we side with historians like Haas who argue along with a growing body of archaeologists for a more hybrid understanding, recognizing that Indigenous residents of the mission integrated Spanish Catholic material goods, rituals, and cultural practices into existing Indigenous traditions. See Hackel, *Children of Coyote*; Sandos, *Converting California*; and Haas, *Saints and Citizens*. Archaeologist Lee M. Panich refers

to a similar approach within his field as the "Archaeology of Persistence," utilizing persistence as an analytic lens. See Panich, "Archaeologies of Persistence: Reconsidering the Legacies of Colonialism in Native North America," *American Antiquity* 78, no. 1 (2013): 105–22; Lightfoot, *Indians*; and Lee M. Panich and Tsim Schneider, *Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014).

48. Suman (alternatively spelled Shomam) was baptized as Tata and appears in later records as Tata Suman (SCZB no. 689). Their marriage appears in SCZM no. 545.

49. Historians looking at the California missions have referenced the assassination frequently as a rare instance of Franciscan fratricide. These accounts invariably draw on the interviews provided by Lorenzo Asisara, who was born at the Santa Cruz Mission. He gave a rare glimpse of life within the mission in his three interviews conducted in the 1870s and 1880s. The originals are found at the Bancroft Library: José María Amador, "Memorias sobre la historia de California," BANC MSS C-D 28, 58–79. These have been reprinted twice. See the two articles by Edward D. Castillo, "The Assassination of Padre Andrés Quintana by the Indians of Mission Santa Cruz in 1812: The Narrative of Lorenzo Asisara," *California History* 68, no. 3 (Fall 1989): 116–25, and "An Indian Account of the Decline and Collapse of Mexico's Hegemony over the Missionized Indians of California," *American Indian Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (Autumn 1989): 391–408. See also Gregorio Mora-Torres, *Californio Voices: The Oral Memoirs of José María Amador and Lorenzo Asisara* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2005). Martin Rizzo's research steps beyond this crucial account by Asisara by reconstructing the tribal, familial, and kinship networks of those involved, revealing patterns of movement between missions, female spiritual and political leadership, and an extended kinship network in the center of this story. See Martin Rizzo, "Dios no manda eso: Indigenous Community and Leadership in the Assassination of Padre Quintana in Santa Cruz, 1812," in *Evangelization and Cultural Conflict in Colonial Mexico*, ed. Robert H. Jackson (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2014).

50. Sir George Simpson reported these rumors in his *Narrative of a Voyage to California Ports in 1841–1842* (Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1988), 105–6. This account is also addressed and questioned by Franciscan historian Maynard J. Geiger and Ward Ritchie, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769–1848: A Biographical Dictionary* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1969), 205–6. As for the genital mutilation, accounts differ on how exactly Quintana was killed, but both Spanish and Indigenous sources cite some sort of genital mutilation. See Geiger and Ritchie, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 206; and Amador, "Memorias," BANC MSS C-D 28, 65, BL.

51. This is mentioned by former soldier José Eusebio Galindo. See Galindo, "Apuntes para la historia de California," Santa Clara, 1877, BANC MSS C–D 87, 64, BL. Asisara gives more detail and names the women. See Amador, "Memorias," BANC MSS C-D 28, 60, BL. Asisara mentions Suman (as Maria Tata) as "la mujer del cosinero" (the wife of the cook). While this is partly a mistake by Asisara, as Justiniano Roxas Jr. was not the cook arrested for the assassination

(that would be Ètop, or Antonio Alberto, SCZB no. 755), it does suggest that Justiniano Roxas Jr. may have been one of the unnamed conspirators who escaped arrest. For more on the conspirators and survivors, see chapter 3 in Rizzo, "No somos animales."

52. SCZM no. 545.

53. SCZM nos. 543–47.

54. Only two of the nine survived their sentencing. The details are found in Rizzo, "Dios no manda eso."

55. Asisara claims that his father was also involved, but his father, the Cotoni man Llencó, baptized as Venancio (SCZB no. 215), was not among those arrested. Also, Fausta (née Yaquenonsat), the woman credited with proposing the assassination plan and ensuring its success, was not arrested. I believe that she may have benefited from Spanish patriarchal views, which failed to recognize women's prominent standing in Indigenous communities.

56. SCZB no. 1590 (Carlos Antonio) and SCZB no. 1616 (Fernando).

57. SCZD no. 1251.

58. Jackson focused on Mission Santa Cruz in much of his early work. Martin Rizzo's research has necessarily followed many of the same paths first taken by Jackson. See Jackson, "Disease and Demographic Patterns at Santa Cruz Mission, Alta California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 5, nos. 1–2 (1983): 33–57, and "An Introduction to the Historical Demography of Santa Cruz Mission and the Villa de Branciforte, 1791–1846" (senior thesis, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1980).

59. Jackson, "The Roxas Hoax," 54. The 1845 census included members of the Villa de Branciforte, which lay across the San Lorenzo River from Mission Santa Cruz. See Robert H. Jackson, "The 1845 Villa de Branciforte Census," *Antepasados* 4 (1981): 45–57.

60. SCZB no. 1279a and SCZD no. 2447a. His burial record listed him the same as his baptism: Justo.

61. SCZB no. 629, baptized on January 15, 1796, as "Ostiano Yrachis," the latter name being his Indigenous name before baptism. Yrachis was one of six siblings (baptismal information provided in a later note), including his brother "Projecto Seynte" (SCZB no. 626).

62. Ostiano's aunt Masihúmu (Sabina, SCZB no. 1425), recorded in March 15, 1809. Her record actually lists two nephews: "Justiniano" and "Projecto." This is clearly a reference to these same brothers, as there is only one "Projecto" in the Santa Cruz Baptismal Book. It was common for individuals to list family members at the mission site for baptismal officials. At the time of Masihúmu's baptism in 1809, Seynte and Yrachis were the only surviving members of this large Chipuctac family, which would explain why these two are listed in this record. This familial note clearly refers to these two young men, proving, at the very least, that "Ostiano" was alternatively known by the name "Justiniano."

63. As mentioned previously, it is not uncommon for names to change over time within the mission community. The 1834–35 padron lists "Hostiano Tapia," a forty-six-year-old Chipuctac. The 1845 census lists "Ustiano" as living on the west side, which fits with the reports contained in the land case

regarding these lands. See Documents Pertaining to the Adjudication of Private Land Claims in California, Land Case 285 SD, 660 pages, Transcript 591: "Tres Ojos de Agua" Nicholas Dodero, Claimant, circa 1852–92, BANC MSS Land Case Files 1852–92, BANC MSS C-A 300 FILM, BL. These records indicate that Justiniano had moved onto the west side by the early 1840s after emancipation from the mission in late 1839. The 1845 "Ustiano" is listed as being a sixty-year-old from the Tulares (the generic Spanish name for the diverse Yokuts tribes of the inland San Joaquin Valley), distinct from the Chipuctac. We believe this is a mistake made by the 1845 enumerator, as that census is filled with similar errors.

64. Padre Fernández was originally stationed at Mission Santa Clara in the summer of 1794, but after almost inciting a rebellion against the neighboring Pueblo of San José, he was sent to the more remote Mission Santa Cruz. See Commissioner Gabriel Moraga to Lieutenant Jose Arguello, October 30, 1794, C-A 7, 125–33, BL. See also Milliken, *Time of Little Choice*, 124–29. For more on his behavior at the Mission Santa Cruz, see Father Fermin de Lasuén to Fray Manuel Fernández, May 23, 1796, in *Writings of Fermín Francisco De Lasuén*, ed. and trans. Finbar Kenneally, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1964), 1:380. Fernández did not last long at Mission Santa Cruz, leaving Alta California by 1798.

65. The Ausaima were one of the large groups that resisted Spanish encroachment even after the settling of Mission San Juan Bautista in 1798. Chipuctac may well have been the name given to the Ausaima at Mission Santa Cruz. It was not uncommon for tribal members to be split between mission communities. Around forty people identified as Chipuctac received baptism at Mission Santa Cruz, while missionaries at Mission San Juan Bautista baptized nearly three hundred Ausaima. In November 1798 a series of confrontations occurred between Ausaima villagers working together with fugitive neophytes against Spanish soldiers. See State Provincial Records, BANC MSS C-A 24, Governor Borica to Virrey, November 27, 1798, 430–31, BL.

66. Yrachis's family arrived with a group the padres identified as being from the "San Juan" tribe. Missionaries frequently renamed tribes according to Catholic saints, and at Mission Santa Cruz the "San Juan" people typically referred to any of the various tribes living on the eastern side of the local mountain range. Yrachis's siblings include SCZB nos. 626 (Projecto, né Seynte), 627 (Prisco, né Tallap), 640 (Novato, né Sichirimas), 643 (Vicencia, née Megeroa), and 655 (Rita, née Ceyuén). His parents, Tallap (SCZB no. 660, his name also spelled Taupo, Toyop, or Toiop in his children's records) and Murejate (alternatively spelled Morejaste or Mugerate), appear to have never received baptism, indicating that either his mother was dead before her family came to Mission Santa Cruz or that she avoided baptism and relocation altogether. Tallap entered with his second wife, Aschi (Nicefora, SCZB no. 667).

67. Their deaths are recorded in SCZD nos. 468, 701, 708, and 713. Family members who died at Mission Santa Cruz and appear not to have run away include his stepmother, Aschi, who died on May 22, 1804 (SCZD no. 637), and younger brother Tallap (Prisco), who was buried at the mission on May 27, 1810 (SCZD no. 992).

68. Seynte appears as witness for forty-one marriage ceremonies between 1799 (SCZM no. 239) and 1805 (SCZM no. 363). Seynte eventually served as witness for his brother, Yrachis's marriage, (SCZM no. 342).

69. SCZM no. 256. Samórim (alternatively written as Sambray and baptized as Fabiana Arraez, SCZB no. 62) was herself an important member of the spiritual community, frequently serving as *madrina* in thirty-five baptisms between 1815 (SCZB no. 1607) and 1821 (SCZB no. 1911). She died in January 1823 (SCZD no. 1499).

70. Their children include Lazaro Domingo (SCZB no. 1014), Francisco Solano (SCZB no. 1129), Francisco (SCZB no. 1165), Antonia (SCZB no. 1364), Tomas (SCZB no. 1429), Hana Maria de la Espectation (SCZB no. 1578), Vicenta Rafaela (SCZB no. 1612), and Alvaro (SCZB no. 1758), all in ECPP.

71. Antonina, SCZB no. 1364.

72. SCZD no. 1721, April 26, 1828. The burial record notes that she was "exactly fulfilling the duties of a virgin and married woman: extremely modest, silent, and ready to perform the work to which she was destined."

73. This story is referenced in the interviews by Thomas Savage of Lorenzo Asisara, found in José María Amador, "Memorias," BANC MSS C-D 28, 99, BL. References to sexual violations by padres in California Indigenous oral histories have recently been the focus of important scholarly attention. For example, see Deborah A. Miranda, "'They were tough, those old women before us': The Power of Gossip in Isabel Meadows's Narratives," *Biography* 39, no. 3 (2016): 373–401. Miranda looks at sexual violence at Mission Carmel, proposes a methodology for reading these historical traumas, and, more crucially, recognizes that these accounts serve as "an astonishing healing mechanism within Indigenous narratives, one which takes experiences that could result in shame or self-loathing, and transforms them into opportunities to connect with community, redeem one's confidence and self-respect, and nourish an identity under fire from, for example, colonization and the long-term after effects of that violence" (382–83).

74. Quichuate and Yrachis married on November 23, 1804, SCZM no. 342, SCZB no. 1124 (Pacifica, née Quichuate), SCZD no. 848.

75. Cosorom was baptized on March 2, 1802 at the age of twenty-seven and given the name "Genoveva" (SCZB no. 1005). When she married Yrachis on October 23, 1809, she was thirty-four and he was twenty-one (SCZM no. 475). Her death was recorded in SCZD no. 1019 on December 1, 1810. Cosorom had a son from a previous marriage, Raymundo (Mission Santa Clara Baptism no. 3803), who was baptized at Mission Santa Clara and moved to Santa Cruz with his parents. Cosorom and her family fit a larger pattern of parents who visited the missions, allowing their children to receive baptism, possibly in exchange for goods like cloth and beads. Some of these parents chose to receive baptism as well, while others remained outside of the mission system. Others joined other mission communities, ostensibly caught in the splitting of tribal members between missions, as seen with the Ausaima/Chipuctac.

76. The Auxentac village site was situated along the Coyote Creek, in the vicinity of modern Gilroy Hot Springs and Henry Coe State Park, just east of

Morgan Hill. Saipan was baptized as Alexandra (SCZB no. 1204). Their marriage took place on July 21, 1811 (SCZM no. 531). She died five months after their marriage on December 16, 1811 (SCZD no. 1097).

77. The Achistaca man Samectoi (alternatively spelled Samecloi or Samedoi in his children's baptismal records, baptized as Seferino Arce, SCZB no. 320) and Gepeson (Maria de la Piedad, SCZB no. 902).

78. In the 1834–35 census, Yrachis appears as "Hostiano Tapia" and is identified as a forty-six-year-old Chipuctac. Given their shared Chipuctac connection and that in the 1830s, at least, Yrachis adopted the same surname as Maria de la Piedad Tapia, it is reasonable to assume they shared some kinship bond.

79. Secularization of the California missions was officially mandated in 1834, but it wasn't until 1839 that Native peoples were emancipated from the missions. For a detailed account of the secularization and emancipation processes in California, see Carlos Salomon, "Secularization in California: Pío Pico at Mission San Luis Rey," *Southern California Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (Winter 2007–8): 349–71. While the Spanish and Mexican colonizers referred to these "Indigenous settlements" as "*rancherías*" (little *rancho*), the title is misleading. It falsely suggests a legal right to these lands along the lines of the many large Mexican *ranchos*. In Santa Cruz, as in other mission communities, these Indigenous *rancherías* did not include any such guarantees.

80. Lauren Teixeira, *The Costanoan/Ohlone Indians of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Area: A Research Guide* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Ballena Press Publication, 1997), 4–11.

81. "Old Times Roxas."

82. Secundino was the son of don José Antonio Robles and Gertrudis Merlopes, one of the founding families of the Villa de Branciforte. Secundino was born at the Villa de Branciforte in June 1811 and baptized in July (baptismal record no. 61). The Villa de Branciforte baptismal registry is not included in the ECPP, as the original was recently unearthed and now sits in the archives of the Monterey Archdiocese. Charles W. Snell, "New Almaden," *National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings*, April 24, 1964, http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NHLS/Text/66000236.pdf.

83. SCZD nos. 1986 and 2029.

84. Labarsec (Gabriel, SCZB no. 1874) hailed from the Huocon tribe, one of the linguistically and culturally distinct Yokuts tribes from the inland San Joaquin Valley. Large numbers of Yokuts (known by the Spanish as Tulareños for the tule-filled marshlands of the inland valley) began arriving in large numbers by 1810. Sipon (Alvino, SCZB no. 538) and his wife, Sergia (SCZB no. 2069). Sergia's father was Utana (Eutropia, Mission San Juan Bautista Baptism no. 610), an Ausaima baptized at Mission San Juan Bautista. Utana moved to the Santa Cruz region and married Sergia's mother, Benvenuta (SCZB no. 868), daughter of two local Uypi parents baptized in the earliest days at Mission Santa Cruz, Yucuquis (Antonio Pantoja, SCZB no. 44) and Sipan (Andrea Pico, SCZB no. 49). Sergia's baptismal *madrina* was the Ausaima (Chipuctac) Constantina (SCZB no. 787), who was married to Chalema (Raymundo, Mission Santa Clara Baptism no. 3803). Chalema was born at Mission Santa Clara in 1799 to parents

who lived at Mission Santa Cruz, another example of families dividing and moving along kinship lines between mission communities. Chalema's mother was Yrachis's second wife, Cosorum (Genobiba, SCZB no. 1005).

85. For an example of studies examining the connections between local environments and Indigenous conceptions of history, politics, and spirituality, see Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

86. Others have argued similarly about the significance of mission lands. For example, Haas has previously observed that the "missions remained Indigenous communities, and held many Indigenous territories and ancestral sites within their boundaries" (*Saints and Citizens*, 146).

87. The Potrero, which had been home to the mission-bound Native community, remained the home to many of the surviving Indigenous community through the end of the nineteenth Century.

88. Yrachis seems to have been the subject of the following report from the summer of 1869: "On our streets may, about twice a week, be seen the stooped form of an old Indian one of the few remnant Mission Indians, who was a resident of this valley when the Mission Fathers first landed here and build Santa Cruz Mission. The old Mission has passed away and given place to a new and elegant structure, but the Old Indian, although over a hundred years old, still remains, a lone historical monument of the former greatness of his tribe, who like the old church he helped to build, has passed before the march of civilization, but he alone remains, full of history and reminiscences of early years of California, that should be treasured before lost forever" ("Lo," *Santa Cruz City Times*, August 21, 1869).

89. "Roxas Is No More."

90. "Miscellaneous Advertisement"; "Daughters of Charity: Santa Cruz," http://www.daughtersofcharity.com/who-we-are/heritage/santa-cruz/.

91. Elliott, *Santa Cruz County*, 104. Mariano (né Guimayach, alternatively spelled Quimayach, SCZB no. 1799) was baptized on April 2, 1820, as a seventeen-year-old Huocon man. He was baptized along with a large group of eight Tejey, Huocon, and Apil teenage men and women (all Yokuts tribes from the eastern San Joaquin Valley). Guimayach lived on the Potrero through much of the years following emancipation, eventually working for two brothers from Pennsylvania, William and John Cooper. The Cooper brothers were relatives of James Fenimore Cooper. Stories suggest that Guiyamach accompanied the brothers on their trips to the gold mines, where he worked for them as an aide-de-camp. In Guiyamach's later years, he continued to work for the Coopers in their general merchandise store on the corner of Front and Cooper Streets, downtown Santa Cruz, staying sometimes in the back room. It is here that he became known as "Cooper's Indian," at least within the white community. Guiyamach, who had become blind in his later years, died on December 28, 1876. Information regarding his connection to the Cooper brothers is related by Phil Reader in *Santa Cruz County History Journal*, no. 5 (Museum of Art & History, Santa Cruz, 1998), 14. Reader incorrectly identified him as the Chaloctaca man Tejos (SCZB no. 115) because Tejos was baptized as Mariano Hablitas. Similar

to Justiniano Roxas, this is a case of Reader misidentifying based on recycled names.

92. For a discussion of the importance of social welfare to claims of Indigenous sovereignty, see Julie L. Reed, *Serving the Nation: Cherokee Sovereignty and Social Welfare, 1800–1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 6–22.

93. Sabrina Tavernise, "Centenarians Proliferate, and Live Longer," *New York Times*, January 21, 2016. In 1980 the CDC reported there were 15,000 centenarians in the United States. The 1980 census reported the population of the United States as 226.5 million. Hence the centenarian rate of 1 in 15,000.

94. E. S. Harrison, "Monterey County Illustrated: Resources, History, Biography," souvenir pamphlet (1889), 86 in Kimbro Archives, "Bio SCM Indians," Cabinet E, Drawer 5, Folder 13.

95. "Old Gabriel," *Salinas Weekly Index*, March 20, 1890, 3.

96. George Wharton James, "Culture and Legacy," *Oakland Tribune*, August 4, 1918, 3.

97. For more on the importance of ruins after the Civil War, see Megan Nelson, *Ruin Nation: Destruction and the American Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012).

98. For a discussion of this image, as well as the text from the local newspaper, see Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley: Heyday, 2012), 44–50.

99. Boyd Cothran will explore this further in a larger project. See also Phoebe Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); and Dydia DeLyser, *Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of Southern California* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

100. Benjamin Madley, "California's Yuki Indians: Defining Genocide in Native American History," *Western Historical Quarterly* 39 (Autumn 2008): 303–32; Brendan C. Lindsay, *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846–1873* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Madley, "Reexamining the American Genocide Debate: Meaning, Historiography, and New Methods," *American Historical Review* 120, no. 1 (February 2015): 98–139.

101. Larisa K. Miller, "The Secret Treaties with California's Indians," *Prologue*, Fall/Winter 2013, 38–45; George E. Anderson, W. H. Ellison, and Robert F. Heizer, *Treaty Making and Treaty Rejection by the Federal Government in California, 1850–1852* (Socorro, N.M.: Ballena Press, 1978); Robert F. Heizer, *The Eighteen Unratified Treaties of 1851–1852 between the California Indians and the United State Government* (Berkeley: Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1972); Harry Kelsey, "The California Indian Treaty Myth," *Southern California Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (Fall 1973).