The Extent and Impact of Tongva Resistance to the Spanish Missions

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Driving around Los Angeles, it is difficult to go far without seeing some reminder of its earliest inhabitants, if only in our parks, canyons, and freeway exits: Hahamongna, Topanga, Cahuenga, and—as made famous by the Disney movie "Zootopia"—Tujunga. These names are designations of places and villages of the Tongva people who, for over ten thousand years, inhabited the coastal plains and valleys of the present-day Los Angeles basin. Perhaps more common, however, are the toponymics of the Spanish colonizers, whose saints and nobles grace our cities, valleys, and mountain ranges. What Angelenos may miss in seeing these names as we sit in traffic is that some of these places were sites of resistance—sometimes violent rebellion—to the missionaries who were tasked with "civilizing" California's indigenous population. Complicating our ignorance of such violent events are decades of public education that promoted the paternalistic view that the Indians welcomed the missionaries in their task. To the contrary, from the missions' very inception, native peoples resisted missionary control in a variety of ways, periodically violently, for reasons that were at the core of Tongva cultural values. And while Tongva revolts at Missions San Gabriel and San Fernando were not numerous or overpowering enough to topple the mission system on their own, continued statewide indigenous resistance to the missions was one factor in their secularization and shifting role in the new Mexican nation.

TONGVA PEOPLE

To understand the resistance they would wage, it is important to grasp how influential the Tongva people were in the region before the Spanish made incursions into indigenous California. The Tongva are the aboriginal group of people who settled in what is today Southern California between 10,000 and 13,000 years ago. The boundaries of their 2,500

square-mile territory included the Santa Monica Mountains to the west, San Gabriel Mountains to the north, and Santa Ana range to the southeast, encompassing the San Fernando, San Gabriel, and San Bernardino Valleys. The Tongva territory is interlaced with rivers, and they made settlements on the coastal plains and the southernmost of the Channel Islands, Santa Catalina Island. At the time of Spanish contact, accounts estimate that there was a population of 5,000 or more, spread among 50 to 100 villages, the largest of which was in present-day Downtown Los Angeles with over 300 people living there.[1]

Because of the mild climate, diversity of ecosystems, the Tongva had access to some of the best hunting and gathering grounds among oak woodland, prairie, and coastal sage scrub ecosystems. Like most California Indians, the Tongva included processed acorns as a staple food, and took advantage of rich coastal food resources, such as whales, fish, and waterfowl, as well as upland game animals. [2]

The Tongva are described by early anthropologists as having acquired great "material wealth" and "cultural sophistication."[3] They demonstrated achievements in economics, having developed extensive land and maritime trade routes with other California cultures, particularly the groups who became known as the Luiseño to the immediate south, and the Chumash to the coastal northwest, near what is today Santa Barbara. To trade over sea, they carved canoes that were seaworthy enough to navigate to the Channel Islands, the farthest of which, San Nicolas, is about 60 miles from the mainland.[4] These trade routes saw

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[1] William McCawley, *The first Angelinos: the Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles* (Banning: Malki Museum Press, 1996), 25.

[2] McCawley, 2.

[3] McCawley, 3.

[4] Bruce W. Miller, *The Gabrielino. (*Los Osos: Sand River Press, 1991*)*, 3.

exchanges of objects and tools made from soapstone that was abundant near Catalina Island villages, in addition to seeds and upland game hides.

The Tongva had a complex religion that involved many rituals, some performances of which were segregated by social class. One of the most sacred practices described to early ethnographers by a surviving Tongva mission Indian, Narcisa Rosemyre, was the Mourning Ceremony.[5] This ceremony, marked by four major rituals and dances, released the souls of the people who had died since the previous Mourning Ceremony into the land of the dead.[6] The Tongva cultural legacy includes rich oral literature, as well as rock paintings, finely woven baskets, and shell beads and deer bone musical instruments. [7]

Unique among the indigenous people of North America, even though the Tongva were essentially hunter-gatherers, they had a stratified society, with a ruling elite class, that included the *tomyaar*, or chief from the village's oldest lineage, and a council of elders, and other wealthy families. They also had a middle class of craftsmen and skilled laborers who relied on patronage. The lower classes were the commoners, poor, and slaves taken in battle. Additionally, the Tongva placed value on non-binary gender individuals as a part of any social class.

Shamanic power played a major role in Tongva society, as all moral law stemmed from *Chengiichngech,* a divine ancestral leader ubiquitous across Southern California indigenous groups.[8] Shamans could be both men and women and were particularly respected, having influence over political and economic matters as well as the spiritual.

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[5] McCawley, 17.

[6] McCawley, 162.

[7] Miller, 3.

[8] McCawley, 143.

The council of elders was important for organizing and leading important community activities, especially legal matters. Consequences for committing offenses ranged from moral lectures and story telling to fines of food to execution. Execution would be reserved for crimes of murder, incest or adultery, mismanagement of food resources on the part of the *tomyaar*, and disrespectful behavior within the ritual structure.[9]

Social interactions between the Tongva and neighboring groups were considered to have been fairly stable, but periodically war would be declared by the *tomyaar,* with approval by the council of elders. Causes for such conflict included violating reciprocity agreements that were based on lineage and community, capturing women, disrespecting territorial boundaries, misuse of shamanic power, and "revenge for insults."[10] Defeat in battle resulted in immediate decapitation or later torture and execution of warriors, and the enslavement of the remaining women and children.[11]

The crimes for which the Tongva exacted the gravest punishment and the grievances that resulted in declarations of war revealed their most strongly held values: honoring the lives, bodies, and trust of individuals; the absolute necessity of reciprocity and food sharing; and the sanctity of religious spaces and purpose. This is of particular significance, because as the Tongva began their lives on the San Gabriel Mission in the 1770s, sexual abuse of women, restricting access to food, and restricting reverence to their ancestral deities would be the sparks for rebellion.[12]

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[9] McCawley, 105.

[10] McCawley, 108.

[11] McCawley, 107.

[12] McCawley, 190.

SPANISH CONTACT

Colonialism Five major expeditions into what became Alta California mark the beginnings of the Spanish establishment of the mission system.[13] The Spanish authorized the establishment of these missions as a way of securing the land as a buffer from encroachment by other European powers. In order to accomplish this, the method for colonizing involved populating the areas surrounding the missions with Christianized indigenous and ethnically mixed families—Native American, Spanish, African, Native Mexican—people the Spanish referred to as *gente de razón.*[14] In the storied 1775 expedition across the California desert that now bears his name, Juan Bautista de Anza led a group of such families and Spanish soldiers, over 200 people in total, including 115 children. To recruit the *gente de razón,* many of whom were impoverished and had suffered from years of local conflict in Mexico, the Spanish Crown paid each family and provided them with provisions to start their new colony. [15] Several families stayed at the Missions San Diego and San Gabriel as the group made its way 1,600 miles north of Sinaloa and Sonora in Mexico, finally to Monterey, California, where the remaining families, friars, and soldiers established a *presidio,* or garrison.

The families of *gente de razón* were meant to attract indigenous Californians such as the Tongva to the missions, as some groups of Indians were wary of all-male groups of soldiers and friars.[16] Teaching farming and cottage industries, such as weaving, to native people

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[13] McCawley, 187.

[14] Virginia Marie Bouvier, *Women and the conquest of California, 1542-1840: codes of silence* (Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press, 2001), 19.

[15] Bouvier, 60.

[16] Bouvier, 58.

who eventually settled on the mission was another role of the colonizing *gente de razón*. Women played critical roles in modeling "civilized" behaviors: adhering to religious doctrine, bearing many children, as godmothers to Tongva born on the mission, teaching, and as guardians to mission women's dormitories.[17] The *gente*, however, being from geographically distant and culturally distinct from the Tongva, met with varying degrees of acceptance.

Reducciones, encomiendas, and missions The missions arose out of an early tribute system the Spanish had employed in Mexico following the conquest in the sixteenth century, *reducciones.*[18] In this system, all land belonged to the king, with the indigenous people, in theory, able to continue as before within colonially-defined (reduced) spatial boundaries, with surpluses being collected as tribute to the Spanish Crown.[19] However, because California Indians continued to primarily subsist through hunting, fishing, and gathering, this system would have to work differently. The missionaries, instead of acting as benign collectors of tribute, "functioned as the despots in direct control of the means of production (land, seeds, livestock, tools, and implements) and the surplus production."[20] Over time, *reducciones* would be combined into quasi-feudal estates, or *encomiendas*, with unfree indigenous populations performing the bulk of the manual labor.[21] The *encomiendas* would give way to missions, controlled by a hierarchy of Catholic friars, as well as other spatial arrangements.

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[17] Bouvier, 86.

[18] Rosaura Sánchez, "The Mission as Heterotopia," in *Telling Identities: The Californio testimonios* (Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 55.

[19] Sánchez, 56.

[20] Sánchez, 64.

[21] Sánchez, 56.

In addition to the mission and its immediately surrounding land, the land between missions was divided into *ranchos*, large governor-granted agricultural regions, and *rancherías*, smaller farms managed by Christianized Tongva families. The mission ranchos used indigenous slave labor for agriculture and construction. In mission and rancho buildings, for example, Tongva were required to travel from the San Gabriel Mission to the mountains to gather pine timber. Today, the drive from San Gabriel to where pine timber is available is a minimum of ten miles, due north, up to about 1,000 feet elevation in the San Gabriel Mountains. According to an account by José de los Santos Juncos, a Juaneño Indian born in the 1820s, who spent time amongst the Tongva and shared information with early ethnographer John P. Harrington, "...some indians were employed to bring them on foot, such a bringer being required to make two trips from San Gabriel to the mountains and back in one day, each trip returning with a pine timber (of such a small size as he could carry) on his shoulder. They gave *azores* [lashes] to the bringers who did not complete their two trips in one day."[22] The use of flogging was common among missionaries, the primary punishment for both minor and major offenses to exact social control over the Tongva. Harsh means of control were not always met by the Tongva with the lazy docility that the Spanish expected.[23]

RESISTANCE TO THE MISSION

Kinds of resistance California Indians employed their own agency in many ways to resist the missions. The first tack was avoidance of the missions, which posed a problem for the friars and Spanish officials in the process of establishing the mission system. One friar

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[22] McCawley, 192.

[23] Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 41.

at San Gabriel wrote that the Tongva "'made themselves so scarce that even months later, one hardly saw a single Indio in the entire neighborhood…The local *ranchería* moved away to another site far from us.'"[24] While large villages of Tongva surrounded the area of the San Gabriel Mission when it was being established in 1771, for a long time the Tongva went out of their way to move existing settlements away from the mission.

As any Tongva born to Christian parents was required to live on mission property, a measure that resembled the hereditary nature of European models of slavery, control measures were put in place by the missionaries to keep them there. In response to ill treatment by the missionaries, however, fugitivism was both common and harshly punished. Neophytes who escaped the mission faced being hunted down, shackled, flogged, and returned to the mission or mission prison. Such punishments were often cited by Tongva and other California Indians as reason for fleeing in the first place. Feminist historian Virginia Bouvier notes that by the time of Mexican Independence, "3,500 of more than 81,000 Indians living at the missions had successfully escaped," over 4 percent of the total mission Indian population.[25] The Spanish hunting down escaping Indians additionally meant that the soldiers would trespass into indigenous territories, sparking conflict with neighboring Tongva groups, beginning a cycle of escape and violent capture.[26]

Work slowdowns and absenteeism were other ways in which the Tongva would resist the harsh control of the missionaries, at least initially with less risk to the individual person than escaping or outright violence. However, the missionaries responded to this form of

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[24] Monroy, 34.

[25] Bouvier, 144.

[26] Monroy, 37.

resistance by enacting further restrictions, such as roll calls and, subsequently, the ever-present whippings. Some friars recorded that the neophytes would laugh in response to the violent lashings, indicating that that the indigenous neophytes were using humor to subvert the missions' prescribed conformity.[27]

Rebellions Beyond these less overt forms of protest and resistance, some Tongva Indians were driven to extremes, resorting to violent measures of rebellion and assassination. Recall that the most serious Tongva punishments and declarations of war were designated for attacks on individuals—particularly women—as well as for violation of reciprocity rules, and for religious desecration, all of which were recognitions of the sanctity of life and social bonds vital for survival. The paternalistic view the Spanish friars held meant that imposing imperial religious prescriptions upon the Tongva and other native Californians would be a matter of "persuasion."[28] And the degree to which that persuasion violated aboriginal norms was of little significance to the greater good of saving indigenous souls, and "civilizing" and populating frontier California.[29]

Therefore, from the very outset of the San Gabriel Mission, there was rebellion. When the mission was founded in 1771 three miles from its current location near what is today Los Angeles County Bosque Del Río Hondo recreation area, Spanish soldiers raped a number of Tongva women, including the *tomyaar's* wife. The president of the missions in the 1770s who was recently sainted by Pope Francis I, Fray Junípero Serra, wrote about the abuses of the Spanish soldiers: "'…clever as they are at lassoing cows and mules, [they]

[27] Bouvier, 146.

[28] Monroy, 38.

[29] Monroy, 38.

would catch an Indian woman with their lassos to become prey for their unbridled lust.'"[30] According to Tongva morality and modes of justice, rape was punishable by death, so a full-scale incursion against the perpetrators would not be unexpected.[31] Though the missionaries were warned by a Christianized Indian child, there was a coordinated Tongva attack that surrounded the stockade of the mission, resulting in heavy fighting.[32]

The battle prompted local villages to the south near the coast and in the foothills of the San Gabriel Mountains, typically adversaries, to communicate by lighting fires that they were readying alliances to retaliate further.[33] Saint Junípero Serra, however, described a down-played, sporadic Tongva response: "'At times some Indian men would try to defend their wives, only to be shot down with bullets.'"[34] The Indians did ultimately retreat; three Tongva were killed in the fighting, including the *tomyaar* whose wife had suffered at the hands of the soldiers. Gruesomely, the Spanish beheaded the *tomyaar* and put his head on display, resulting in "pacts of peace" being forged between the missionaries and two other *tomyaars.*[35] While making a pact with the colonizers may be seen as submitting completely to their authority, this conflict and the mistrust that inevitably prevailed, delayed the establishment of a second mission within Tongva territory, the Mission San Fernando, by 26 years.

The effectiveness of the resistance to the missions was not always clear or hopeful, but what was plain was that Tongva people would not allow wholesale violations of their au-

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[30] Monroy, 29.

[31] McCawley, 106.

[32] McCawley, 190.

[33] Monroy, 39.

[34] Monroy, 29.

[35] McCawley, 190.

tonomy and core values to go unchallenged. For the Tongva, taking another man's wife was punishable by death, and so cultural differences of the *gente de razón,* often indigenous people far outside of the Tongva region, would stir conflict as well. In 1779, a Mission San Gabriel Tongva neophyte named Nicolás José reportedly perceived that advances were being made to his wife by one of the *gente*, and thus plotted the assassination of the priests and guards of the mission.[36] He was punished with prison at the mission, but was forgiven and soon became San Gabriel's first *alcalde,* or indigenous leader of the Indians on the mission, a role within the church establishment that contradicts his 1779 plot and his later involvement in Toypurina's 1785 Revolt. Even more unexpected, Father Junípero Serra's complaint to the governor casts a controversial pall over Nicolás José, accusing him of "'supplying women to as many soldiers as asked for them.'"[37] Straddling the line between his roles in both Tongva and mission societies emphasizes the disruptive nature of the mission system that Nicolás José would once more conspire against.

The rebellion at Mission San Gabriel that has reached legendary status is Toypurina's Revolt of 1785. Reading any history on indigenous California places the 24-year-old "sorceress" Toypurina at the epic center of a rebellion that unites six villages of Tongva in defense of their ancient culture, setting her up to emerge as a larger-than-life indigenous feminist heroine.[38] Retellings of the rebellion based on a history written by Californio-descended oil magnate Thomas Workman Temple II, say that Toypurina, aided by Nicolás José, led the

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[36] McCawley, 198.

[37] Bouvier, 103.

[38] Hackel, Steven W. "Sources of Rebellion: Indian Testimony and the Mission San Gabriel Uprising of 1785," *The American Society of Ethnohistory*, 50 2003. Accessed August 1, 2019. https://stevenhackel.files.-wordpress.com/2019/04/sources-of-rebellion_-indian-testimony-and-the-mission-san-gabriel-uprising-of-1785.pdf,

rebellion in which she was meant to use her shamanic powers to kill the priests, so that a war party could kill the remaining guards in order to end the mission. According to testimony, more than twenty people participated, and warriors were enlisted from several Tongva communities along 15 miles of the San Gabriel foothills.[39]

The plot was found out, however; mission guards were warned and her powers did not kill any of the missionaries, leading to the conspirators' arrest. Temple's embellished account of the trial recounts that Toypurina testified that the reason she led the attack was "'I hate the padres and all of you, for living here on my native soil..., for trespassing on the land of my forefathers and despoiling our tribal domains.'"[40] Trial transcripts, though, recorded her as saying "she was angry with the Padres and with all of those of this Mission because we are living here in her land."[41] This simpler response speaks to Tongva values of respecting territorial boundaries and resources.

The punishments they faced ranged from whippings for the warriors who participated, to Toypurina, Nicolás José, and two *tomyaars* who all helped lead the rebellion being imprisoned at Mission San Gabriel for two years. Nicolás José was later formally sentenced to labor in shackles at the *presidio* in San Diego for six additional years. Toypurina was baptized two years later, and her sentence was exile to Mission San Carlos Borromeo in Carmel, where she married a mission guard with whom she had a family and lived at several missions, dying at age 38.[42] Whatever mythical stature Toypurina attained as a result, being venerated and enshrined in local history and Los Angeles public artworks, what is true is that it was a

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[39] McCawley, 199.

[40] Monroy, 40.

[41] Hackel, 655.

[42] McCawley, 199.

backlash to the systematic suppression of Tongva culture on the part of the missionaries, which included encroachment of Indians outside of Tongva territory.[43] Historian Robert Hackel argues that trial accounts reveal it was actually Nicolás José at the heart of the revolt, enlisting Toypurina to take an active role to help reclaim access to forbidden Tongva spiritual practices. Being prevented from engaging in "heathen dances," as the Spanish officials referred to them, appears to be the most likely reason for Nicolás José calling for the rebellion, referencing Tongva Mourning Ceremony rituals and friars' prohibitions on dancing that they had implemented mission-system-wide.[44]

Planning the rebellion highlights the duality of the position Nicolás held, of being firmly entrenched in the mission structure, as well as being a trusted member of his Tongva village, deeply connected to his culture. Such a paradox was likely more common than the Spanish would care to admit, one missionized Tongva descendant sharing with a later anthropologist that "her grandmother was simultaneously 'very Catholic' and 'an equally devout adherent of the Old Religion.'"[45] Given the sheer numbers of Tongva who died of disease as a result of contact with Spaniards—most commonly syphilis and smallpox—religious rituals like the Mourning Ceremony would have been profoundly significant for any Tongva who retained cultural leanings. "One-third of the adults from Nicolás José's village and one half of the Sibapet [village] children baptized at Mission San Gabriel were dead," along with Nicolás José's first wife, their toddler, and his second wife.[46] The necessity of the ceremony to allow the dead to move on after so much devastation would have outweighed anti-danc-

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[43] Hackel, 655.

[44] Hackel, 651.

[45] Bouvier, 155.

[46] Hackel 653.

ing pronouncements or any missionary authority, again illustrating the Tongva cultural value placed on respecting religious rituals.

While later rebellions are less dramatically chronicled, resistance at Mission San Gabriel continued, erupting about once a decade until Mexico's secularization of the missions following independence from Spain. In early winter of 1810, a large-scale rebellion plot united 800 mission and village Tongva Indians, some of whom were joining from the southern-most regions of Tongva territory, today over an hour's drive from San Gabriel.[47] Given the neglect that Californians were experiencing in the wake of French empire-building in Spain, food shortages at the missions leading up to the Mexican War for Independence may have played a part in such widespread resistance. In the rebellion, the Tongva attempted to steal 3,000 sheep from nearby *rancherías* before it was quashed in June of 1811, resulting in the capture, flogging, and forced labor of just a few dozen of the 800 rebels.[48]

One commonality among Mission San Gabriel rebellions is that several were quelled before major battles took place. In 1824, sparked by a flogging of a neophyte at Mission Santa Ynez, the Chumash Indians of three missions in the region of what is today Santa Barbara County launched full-scale rebellions.[49] After the Chumash rebels escaped to Central California's San Joaquin Valley, Tongva at Mission San Fernando set off to join fighting in solidarity against their brutal treatment, this time by friars serving in newly-independent Mexico. Mission San Gabriel neophytes "were showing alarming signs of revolt," but cessation of hostilities to the north staved off further action.[50]

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[47] McCawley, 199.

[48] McCawley, 199.

[49] McCawley, 199.

[50] McCawley, 199

Two of the final acts of resistance to the missions occurred after the Secularization Act of 1833 was signed into law by the Mexican government, that officially brought an end to the mission period. In late 1834, the inland rancho that served the San Gabriel Mission, Rancho San Bernardino, was attacked by local indigenous people. Neophytes living there took shelter at the San Gabriel Mission. It is likely that the Tongva and the indigenous groups in the San Bernardino Mountain foothills bore historic animosity against one another. Prior to the Spanish settling in the region, hostility would have been averted with song duels or verbal feuds rather than outright attacks.[51] However, just two months later at the close of 1834, two former San Gabriel neophytes attacked the Rancho San Bernardino, killing neophytes there and burning the buildings.

IMPACT OF RESISTANCE ON THE MISSION SYSTEM

Considering the many factors working together at the end of the mission period in California, indigenous resistance was not likely the single reason for the secularization of the missions just sixty-five years after their founding. The geopolitical landscape had shifted in North America and was on the verge of the final United States push Westward to the Pacific Ocean. However, that is not to say that indigenous opposition to the missions had no measurable effect. Violent rebellion was one concern that had an impact, particularly economically, on Spanish military personnel in California. The repeated revolts at San Gabriel and missions across the state would require the Spanish to increase their guards, expanding the economic cost of the settlements. Throughout the mission period, distance from Spanish, and later independent Mexican, centers of power in Mexico City put a strain on the royal purse, which was less and less apt to provide for these outposts.

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[51] McCawley, 107.

Less violent means of resistance, deserting or avoiding the mission altogether, would likewise contribute to the economic decline of the missions. As Mexican Independence unfolded in 1821, discussions of shifting the purpose of the missions took place. Friar Narciso Durán, a powerful figure in the mission system, opposed secularization as a general rule, however, he wrote:

> "… I am of the opinion that a trial secularization could be made at the missions of San Juan Capistrano, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, Purisima, San Antonio, San Carlos, Santa Cruz, and San Francisco; for in all these missions it is many years since a pagan Indian was admitted."[52]

His reason for a trial secularization speaks to several circumstances: first, by 1834, when the secularization of the missions was enacted in the Alta California legislature, many indigenous people near the missions he named were already Christianized, part of the ethnic mix of this diverse site of encounter; second, a sharp decline in recruiting new neophytes was taking place, making the mission system a net economic cost, rather than a boon to the agricultural economy of Alta California; and finally, the reality of the decimation already inflicted upon native Californians by European diseases.

Ultimately, the lamentations of rebellion leader Toypurina, "the despoiling [of] tribal domains," while exaggerated in the retelling, did characterize the post-colonial Tongva experience to a certain extent. The most deeply-held Tongva values of respect for resources, people, and religion are what would move them to resist confinement to the mission property, subjection to cruel treatment, and the restriction of indigenous religious rituals in the face of catastrophic disease. Within just sixty-five years, Southern California's landscape,

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[52] Narciso Durán, quoted in Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1913), Vol.III: 488-95. Accessed July 7, 2019. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=540

resources, and cultural ways of life were changed utterly and perhaps irreparably by the mission system, but it didn't happen without a fight, directly countering the narrative of the docile, enslavable Indian. That fight for the legacy of such a diverse and influential culture as the Tongva continues today with new translation and analysis of early Spanish records, further archaeological study, support of local public universities and institutions to share Tongva history, and perhaps most importantly, the fight for Federal tribal recognition of over one thousand descendants. Too many Angelenos are unaware of the history around them, at the same time assuming that indigenous people are only relegated to history, thus the Tongva will continue to take a stand for their treasured cultural past, present, and future.

Annotated Bibliography

Bouvier, Virginia Marie. *Women and the conquest of California, 1542-1840: codes of silence.* Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press, 2001.

This academic work is an in-depth look at the Mission Period, with specific chapters on colonialism, the missions, and resistance on the part of indigenous populations. The context and thorough accounting of episodes of rebellion spoke directly to my questions, and its bibliography was helpful for identifying primary sources for further examination.

California History-Social Science Project. *History Social Science Framework for California Public Schools Kindergarten through Grade Twelve*. Sacramento: California Department of Education, 2017.

The Framework provides the pedagogical impetus for my research. It is valuable as a source of learning objectives, as well as a guide for the shift in historical perspective that our State is undergoing in history education to better serve our diverse citizenry.

Chávez-García, Miroslava. "Guadalupe Trujillo: Race, Culture and Justice in Mexican Los Angeles." In *The human tradition in California,* edited by Clark Davis and David Igler. Lanham, MD: SR Books, 2004.

While focusing on the post-secularization period, this essay provided context for the role of both Mexican and Indian women in Los Angeles and how they navigated personal and legal spaces. This specifically deals with violence committed against a Tongva woman, and the racial constructs in this period that complicate judicial matters.

Durán, Narciso. Quoted in Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1913), Vol.III, 488-95. Accessed July 7, 2019. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=540

A prominent missionary, Durán wrote of his displeasure at the secularization of the missions, but gave first-hand information about why it might be piloted at specific missions, giving credence to indigenous resistance as a factor.

Hackel, Steven W. "Sources of Rebellion: Indian Testimony and the Mission San Gabriel Uprising of 1785," *The American Society of Ethnohistory*, 50, no. 4 (Fall 2003): 644-669. Web. Accessed August 1, 2019. https://stevenhackel.files.wordpress.com/2019/04/sources-of-rebellion_-indian-testimony-and-the-mission-san-gabriel-uprising-of-1785.pdf

This article challenged oft-recycled telling of the story of the Rebellion of 1785, looking with fresh eyes at Spanish transcripts to reinterpret the reasons for the revolt.

John, Maria. "Toypurina: A Legend Etched in the Landscape of Los Angeles." *East of East.* KCET. May 15, 2014. Accessed June 10, 2019. https://www.kcet.org/history-society/toypurina-a-legend-etched-in-the-landscape-of-los-angeles

This more scholarly public history article highlights the indigenous woman who led a rebellion against the missionaries, and how her image has influenced modern-day muralists of Los Angeles. It is valuable not only for its profile of Toypurina, but also for sharing further scholarly works for exploration. Being one of many articles profiling Tongva history, it highlights KCET as a source for local public history.

Karr, Steven M. "Pablo Tac: Native Peoples in Recontact California." In *The human tradition in California,* edited by Clark Davis and David Igler. Lanham, MD: SR Books, 2004.

This essay focuses on the narratives of Pablo Tac, a native Luiseño Indian born just prior to Mexican Independence. It provides some ethnographic information about several indigenous California cultures, and discusses the colonial period and how native Californians resisted against the missionaries.

Lloyd, Annie. "A Brief History of L.A.'s Indigenous Tongva People." *LAist.* Southern California Public Radio. October 9, 2017. Accessed June 10, 2019. https://laist.com/2017/10/09/a_brief_history_of_the_tongva_people.php

This article provides a brief overview of the history of the Gabrieliño-Tongva people. It has value to my research in that it includes many links to other online sources, both relevant interviews and local public history articles.

"Mapping Indigenous LA." UCLA American Indian Studies Center. 2019. Accessed June 10, 2019. https://mila.ss.ucla.edu

This UCLA Social Sciences departmental website is a valuable source for further study of Tongva sites, scholarship, maps, and documents. This site also introduced me to Esri's ARC-GIS Story Map platform that may be a useful modality for the final incarnation of my project.

Masters, Nathan. "El Aliso: Ancient Sycamore Was Silent Witness to Four Centuries of L.A. History." *Lost LA*. KCET. June 27, 2012. Accessed June 10, 2019. https://www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/el-aliso-ancient-sycamore-was-silent-witness-to-four-centuries-of-la-history

This article gives background on a natural landmark that indicated the location of the largest village of the Gabrieliño-Tongva people in present-day Los Angeles. It is valuable for the context it provides for the geographic backdrop of Tongva resistance to the missionaries.

McCawley, William. *The first Angelinos: the Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles*. Banning: Malki Museum Press, 1996.

A thorough ethnography of the historical Tongva inhabitants of Los Angeles, this volume compiles much of the earliest unpublished ethnographic data by anthropolo-

gists, missionaries, and oral histories from surviving Tongva Indians. It provides geographic bearings for the site context of colonialism, missions, and conflict.

Miller, Bruce W. *The Gabrielino.* Los Osos: Sand River Press, 1991.

This short historical work is a more detailed examination of the indigenous group that were impacted by the Spanish at the San Gabriel Mission. It provides valuable context regarding the establishment of the missions and how Tongva people responded, referencing both oral histories and Spanish records. Its bibliography is also a source of seminal works on local indigenous people.

Monroy, Douglas. *Thrown Among Strangers.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

This California history that recounts the diversity of the region from its inception was critical for a general background as well as for some primary sources.

Sánchez, Rosaura. "The Mission as Heterotopia." In *Telling Identities: The Californio testimonios.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.

An analysis of the writings of the Californios—Mexican ranchers following the secularization of the California missions— housed at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley,. This chapter focuses on the class divisions constructed at missions, which were sites with many contradictory purposes.

Servín, Manuel P. "The Secularization of the California Missions: A Reappraisal." *Southern California Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (1965): 133-49. doi:10.2307/41169919.

This essay examines in detail how secularization of the missions came about, helping to understand factors that led to the end of the missions.

U.S. Department of the Interior. National Park Service. *2009 - Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today.* by Randall Milliken, Laurence H. Shoup, and Beverly R. Ortiz 2017. Accessed July 7, 2019. https://digitalcommons.csumb.edu/hornbeck_ind_1/6

The National Park Service has compiled histories of Costanoan-speaking tribes in the Central Coast region. The chapters used here gave brief information about the secularization of missions and resistance in the Bay Area missions. The history includes primary sources for contemporary views of the impact of secularization on indigenous tribes.